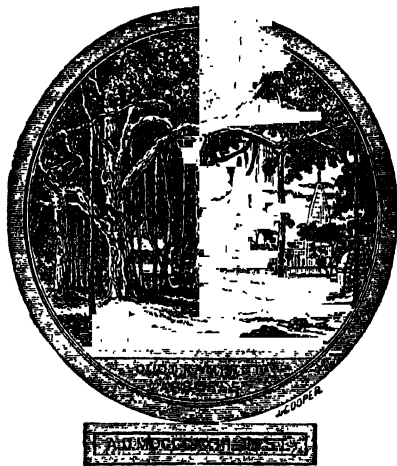


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JOURNAL

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1918

I

AKBAR'S LAND-REVENUE SYSTEM AS DESCRIBED IN THE "AIN-I-AKBARI"

BY W. H. MORELAND AND A. YUSUF ALI

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THIS paper attempts to bring together the facts disclosed in somewhat disjointed fashion in the *Āin-i-Akbari* so as to present as nearly as possible a complete view of the theory of the land revenue held at the headquarters of Akbar's administration. How far that theory accorded with the actual practice in the villages is another question, and one on which the work of Abul Fazl cannot be expected to throw light; but it is perhaps fair to assume that in the sixteenth century, as in the twentieth, practice tended to approximate to theory, and that if we make some obvious reservations and allowances we can take the theory as a trustworthy guide. So far as the writers are aware, this task has not previously been carried out, and it is not difficult to show that the partial accounts of the system contained in standard textbooks of Indian history are marked by numerous errors or omissions. The importance of Akbar's reign in the political and economic history of India appears to afford sufficient justification for an attempt

to restate the official account of what is universally regarded as one of his greatest administrative achievements, a correct understanding of which is necessary for the appreciation of much of the historical material recorded in the *Āīn*.

We may preface our account with a brief notice of the obstacles which we have encountered. The common view that Abul Fazl's writings are in themselves difficult to understand seems to us to be exaggerated so far as the third book of the *Āīn* is concerned. The style is of course distinctive, but the reader soon becomes accustomed to its peculiarities, and in the case of the few obscure sentences which we have come across there is room for suspicion that the fault lies in the state of the text. We have worked throughout on the text edited by Professor Blochmann for the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1872-7), but we have referred freely in cases of difficulty to the MSS. in the library of the India Office, some of which occasionally show readings which make sense instead of nonsense; these we have adopted, subject to the verdict of textual scholars. We may be permitted to express the hope that the consideration of this verdict will not be unduly delayed. In the preface to his edition of the text Professor Blochmann commented on the want of a single really good manuscript, and sought to draw consolation from the fact that Sir Henry Elliot's experience had been similar: the like consolation will be needed by anyone who tries, as we have tried, to find out precisely what Abul Fazl wrote. Our experience shows that Professor Blochmann's text, valuable as it is, cannot be accepted as final, and that there is urgent need of a careful recension, based on a critical study of all existing manuscripts.¹

¹ We may indicate here one particular pitfall in the printed text. Throughout the *Account of the Twelve Subas* we find an apparent distinction drawn between different items of revenue, some of which are

Apart from the text, the real obstacles are twofold, arising either from the scope of the work or from the terminology employed by the writer. Abul Fazl defines the scope in his preface, where, after a eulogy of his master and an expression of his inability to do justice to that subject, he decides (text, p. 7, l. 8) to limit himself to dealing with Akbar's regulations concerning (1) the palace, (2) the army, and (3) the administration and welfare of the Empire (*ābādī-i mulk*). As we understand these words, he does not attempt a full account of the entire administration, but only of Akbar's orders in regard to it, and certainly the third book answers to this description; to study its regulations without knowing the system which they modified is almost like reading a series of amending Acts without having access to the Acts which they amend. This difficulty would probably be greatly diminished if we had an accurate knowledge of the administrative system of Sher Shah; we have tried to make use of the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shah*, but the text is very uncertain (*vide* Elliot's *History*, iv, 302), and an attempt to reconcile the India Office MS. with the extracts as translated by Elliot has convinced us that a critical edition of the text is required before its statements can be accepted with confidence. Failing complete information as to the system which Akbar modified, we have to suspend judgment as to the precise effect of some of his modifications.

As regards the terminology employed, a perusal of the *Āīn* leaves no doubt that the revenue administration had evolved an extensive technical language of its own. This

marked by the word *naqdi*, while others are not so marked. The use of the word appears to be significant, and as a matter of fact we made some progress in evolving a theory of its meaning; but, as the India Office manuscripts show, it is merely the heading of a column, which in Blochmann's transcription has found its way sporadically into the text, and its use marks no distinction such as the reader is tempted to infer.

language is employed in the third book of the *Āīn* ; some terms are explained, but not all, and where an explanation is not furnished it is necessary to arrive at one by a comparative study of the different passages in which the term is used. The ordinary dictionaries give no help in such cases, while the technical glossaries compiled in the nineteenth century may be seriously misleading, because in some instances the signification of terms had altered with the later changes in the revenue system, and the modern use of a word is different from the use in Akbar's time. These difficulties of terminology may be illustrated by a reference to the translation of the third book of the *Āīn* prepared by Colonel Jarrett and issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1891). On pp. 44, 45, of the second volume *zamīn-i ghallabakhsh* is rendered "corn-bearing land" and *dar zabti* is rendered "at the time of collection"; these renderings are altered in the corrigenda issued with vol. iii to "land subject to partition of crops" and "in the crops charged at special rates"; in both cases the terms are technical, and their precise meaning will be considered later on. The difficulty experienced by the ordinary reader in following the system in this translation arises chiefly from the renderings of such technical terms.

A further danger is the importation of modern ideas by using the technical expressions of the present day to translate the technical expressions of Akbar's time. Thus standard textbooks sometimes assert that classification of the soil was a feature of Akbar's system, and the reader is apt to infer that the soils were classified somewhat as they are classified in a settlement carried out under the present rules. This may have been done under Akbar, but the *Āīn* does not say so; the classification which it describes was not one of soils in the modern sense, but an entirely different thing which we shall notice later on. This danger of importing modern ideas

has led us to abstain from translating some expressions for which no neutral terms suggested themselves.

The revenue system is dealt with in the third book of the *Ā'in*, and an analysis of the contents of this book is desirable; in making it, we use for convenience the numbers assigned to the various chapters in the Calcutta translation; the number I is there assigned to two chapters in succession, and these we distinguish as I and Ia.

Chapter I, a treatise on chronology, does not concern us. It is followed by seven chapters (Ia to VII) containing regulations for the guidance of some of the higher administrative officers, which may be either reproductions of Akbar's circular orders or digests of orders issued from time to time. Two of these chapters, dealing with the Mir Adl and the Qāzi (III) and the Kotwāl (IV), contain nothing relevant to our present purpose; of the remaining high officers, the Sipah-sālār (Ia), the Faujdār (II), and the Khazānadār (VII) were concerned incidentally with the revenue administration, the conduct of which was the special duty of the 'Amalguzār (V) and Bitikchi (VI).

These regulations for high officers are followed by a disquisition on economics and taxation, which leads up to an account of the changes of system introduced by Akbar; he defined the standards of land measurement, classed the lands according to their relative value in production, and fixed the revenue accordingly (text, p. 294, l. 19). We are entitled to assume that Abul Fazl's claims for Akbar are a maximum, and that he did nothing more than this, that is to say, he did not introduce a new system, but he improved the system which he found in existence. The improvements in the standards and methods of land measurement are then set out in chapters VIII to X; the net result is to fix a uniform bigha and to provide rough but workable measuring instruments. Chapter XI gives the classification of land, and the method of determining the revenue on land under regular

cultivation ; it then passes to miscellaneous taxes, which were apparently levied by the same machinery as the land revenue, and in this connexion the local officials and their remuneration are briefly discussed. Chapters XII and XIII explain how revenue was determined on land not in regular cultivation ; chapter XIV details the revenue rates of the older provinces from 1560-1 to 1578-9 ; while chapter XV gives the history of the development of the system which rendered such records obsolete for the future, and then details the grouping of the parganas in certain provinces for the purposes of the method of assessment finally adopted, and the rates prescribed for each group. Thus chapters VIII to XV form a section distinct from the chapters which precede them.

The third section consists of the *Account of the Twelve Subas* or provinces, the title being retained though fourteen provinces are described, including the new acquisitions of Berar and Khandesh, and a fifteenth (Ahmadnagar) is mentioned but not described. This section forms a sort of gazetteer: the various topics (climate, topography, agriculture, standard of life, places of interest, etc.) recur with slight variations in the same order for each province, followed by statistical details and then by historical notes ; the revenue system is indicated in the statistics, and sometimes also in the text along with the notice of agriculture.

In order to ascertain the facts regarding the revenue system of the Empire it is necessary to read these three sections of the *Āīn* together ; when this is done the facts as a rule become clear, and many difficulties suggested by reading the text consecutively find their own explanation. The results of our endeavours in this direction are set forth in the following sections, but something must first be said of the position of the superior officers and of the charges held by them.

The Sipah-sālār of the suba (or province) was not

confined entirely to military duties. He was directed in general terms to befriend the cultivators and develop cultivation; possibly he did not appoint the 'Amalguzār (or revenue officer), but he could dismiss him, and he exercised general supervision over his conduct; he was specially advised to construct and maintain irrigation works. The Faujdār also had revenue as well as military duties to perform within his smaller territorial area. The Khazānadār or Fautadār¹ was confined to treasury and account duties, but these kept him in constant touch with the 'Amalguzār, who in revenue matters was the chief executive officer, while the Bitikchi was the accountant and principal assistant in the same branch. The regulations do not purport to lay down in detail the system to be worked by these officers; they assume a knowledge of the system, and give directions how to carry it out.

We are expressly told that the jurisdiction of the Sipah-sālār extended to a suba, in which he was the Emperor's representative (text, p. 280, l. 20), and that the Faujdār's jurisdiction extended to an area consisting of many parganas (text, p. 283, l. 5). This administrative area "consisting of many parganas" must have had a name, and we cannot be far wrong in conjecturing that it was the sarkār. About the territorial jurisdiction of the 'Amalguzār the *Āīn* is silent; it could scarcely have been as small as a pargana, and we venture to suggest that it also extended over a sarkār. In that case the 'Amalguzār and the Faujdār would be colleagues in the same territorial area; the 'Amalguzār looked after the accounts, assessments, and ordinary collections of revenue, while the severer coercive processes, which were carried out by military force, were under the Faujdār, whose primary functions were military. All the strings

¹ Compare the term "Potdar" which survives in the modern financial system.

of administration would then unite in the Sipah-sālār, who was the governor of the suba, while the Central Government had no doubt ministers in charge of departments, the *Kār-pardāzān-i Daulat* (text, p. 488, l. 4). If this view be accepted, the territorial unit of administration was the sarkār. The pargana itself was probably an old Indian administrative unit, which remained in existence in Akbar's time, but the formal revenue unit then in use was the mahal. The word pargana is freely used in the *Āīn*, and in some places it is used as a synonym to mahal. For example, in the sarkār of Chanderi, suba Malwa, we have¹: "Bāra, etc., 5 mahals: each of the 5 parganas has a fort." In suba Ajmir we are told (text, p. 508, l. 5) that there are seven sarkārs and 197 parganas; when we examine the sarkār statistics we find that two of them have parganas and five have mahals, and the total of mahals and parganas amounts to 197. We are inclined to believe that the mahal was a purely fiscal (and unstable) unit, but that the pargana was a fixed historical division, which was commonly adopted as an Akbari mahal.

II. THE REVENUE SYSTEMS IN FORCE

The revenue system of the Empire was not uniform at the time when Abul Fazl described it, but was adapted to the local conditions. The *Āīn* speaks definitely of three systems under the names of *Ghallabakhsh*, *Zabt*, and *Nasag*. The first of these is the original Indian system, the second is the regulation system described at length in the *Āīn*, while the third is not specially defined or described in the text. There are also indications of assessments made in other ways, which are not specifically named. We propose to deal with these systems in order.

¹ Text, p. 460, l. 1. The manuscript readings vary, but even assuming that the confusion between pargana and mahal was due to the copyist, it illustrates the proposition that the two words were ordinarily understood to mean practically the same thing.

III. CROP DIVISION (GHALLABAKHSH)

This term obviously signifies the original Indian system under which a share of each crop was taken by the ruler. As used, however, in the *Āīn* the word appears to include such developments as the determination of the share by estimation instead of actual weighment, and the commutation of its value for cash. The classical instance of the use of this term is in chapter VIII (text, p. 296, l. 6), where it is stated that in the time of Sher Khan and Salim Khan "*Hindustān az ghallabakhshi wa muqta'i ba zabt āmad*". The Calcutta translation (vol. ii, p. 61) renders this: "Hindustan was released from the custom of dividing the grain and its apportionment"; we prefer to render: "Hindustan passed from ghallabakhsh, or crop division, and *muqta'i*, to the *zabt*, or regulation system of assessment." The meaning of *muqta'i* is open to discussion. We have not found other instances of its use in this part of the *Āīn*, and we take it to signify a method—other than ghallabakhsh—of assessing revenue, and not, as Jarrett appears to render, a synonym of ghallabakhsh. The method is not defined in the *Āīn*; it may signify an assessment made in a lump sum as distinct from one founded on details of individual holdings, but the point is not of great importance for our present purpose.

The method of conducting crop division is explained for the *Amalguzār* in chapter VI (text, p. 285, ll. 24 et seqq.); three methods of actual division are there enumerated in addition to estimation.

Crop division was the ordinary system only in a comparatively small part of the Empire, being confined to Tatta (Lower Sind) and to parts of the suba of Kabul. Of Tatta we read (text, p. 505, l. 15): "*Wa in wilāyat ghallabakhsh ast*" ("and this country is under crop division"); and of the sarkār of Kashmir (p. 570, l. 15), "*Hamagi būm nisfi ghallabakhsh*" ("the whole land [is]

under crop division in equal shares").¹ In the sarkār of Kandahar crop division was in force for some crops in cases where the cultivator could not afford the *zabt* ("Niru-i zabt na bāshad," text, p. 587, l. 22). The system had, however, a wider application, because it was retained as an option for *banjar* (land which had been uncultivated for five years or more) in tracts where the regulation system (*zabt*) applied to land under continuous cultivation (text, p. 303, l. 15). Whether it had a still wider application in *zabti* areas is a point which we shall discuss further on (*vide* Section IX).

IV. THE ZABTI OR REGULATION SYSTEM

The *zabti* system is mentioned by name in the case of the following subas :—

Bihar (text, p. 417, l. 16); 138 mahals are *zabti* out of 199. If we examine the detailed statistics we find that figures for area are given for precisely 138 mahals, the number stated in the heading to be *zabti*. No area figures are given for the remaining sixty-one, which may be presumed to be those not under *zabti*.

Allahabad (text, p. 424, l. 23); 131 mahals are *zabti* out of 177. Here there are forty-four mahals for which areas are not given, and it may be presumed that they were not under *zabti*. There is a slight discrepancy in the total of mahals in sarkār Ilahabas, so that the numbers do not agree precisely.

Multan (text, p. 550, l. 6) is "hamah zabti" (all *zabti*), but these words do not apply to the sarkār of Tatta, which we are told "was for a long time a separate state, but has now been added to the Empire" (text, p. 555, l. 21). Areas are given for all parganas in the main suba, except for two in sarkār Bhakkar; but no areas are given for any part of Tatta, which, as we have

¹ The text has *nasaqi*. We prefer the reading *nisfi* which appears in the India Office MS. No. 265.

said above, was under the system of crop division, and which does not appear under Multan in the list of *dastūrs* (*vide* Section V).

In addition to these three subas, we consider that the *zabti* system prevailed generally in five others, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi, and Lahore, and that it had been introduced in parts of Ajmir and Gujarat. The grounds of this conclusion are: (a) in these subas figures for areas are given, and, as we shall see later on, area statistics were required for the *zabti*, but not for any alternative system. (b) These subas, except Gujarat, are entered in the list of *dastūrs*; *dastūrs* were a feature of the *zabti* system, and of it alone.

The case of Gujarat is peculiar, and at a later point we shall examine it in more detail.

The system also existed in sarkār Kandahar of Kabul, but in a slightly different form (text, p. 587, l. 20).

The system of crop division, which we are justified in calling the original Indian system, has obvious drawbacks from the fiscal point of view. One of these, the dependence of the revenue on the season, is to some extent inevitable in any system which may be adopted: the other, the dependence of the central exchequer on the accuracy, zeal, and probity of the local officials, can be more or less completely removed by changes in administrative methods. Under the pure system of crop division the revenue depends (a) on the area sown, (b) on the yield per unit of area; of these two factors, the first is much more easily checked than the second, and the central feature of the *zabti* system is the attempt to eliminate uncertainties due to variation in the yield. The system in its final form laid down that each plot of land sown should be charged with a fixed assessment in cash, determined according to the nature of the crop; the revenue officer's main duty in regard to assessment was then to furnish each season a statement showing the area under each crop, and when

this statement was ready the demand could be calculated by applying the rates already prescribed. The revenue demand was thus ascertainable before harvest, provided that the crop statements were prepared in time, and collection could proceed without the need for dividing or estimating the crop, or for referring to headquarters for sanction to the rates. The system thus falls into two divisions, the schedules of rates and the preparation of the crop statements.

V. THE SCHEDULES OF RATES

The technical name for these schedules is *dastūr*; a few examples may be given of its use.

Text, p. 285, l. 20. "Lakhte az *dastūr* kam sāzad," "he should take something less than the *dastūr*"—not the customary but the prescribed standard rates.

Text, p. 286, l. 10. "Dar sāl-i-awwal chahāram hissa az *dastūr* kam sitānad," "in the first year he should demand one-fourth less than the *dastūr*."

Text, p. 347, first line after the table. "Rai-i jins wa araj-i ān bargirifta *dastūr* qarārdādi," "taking the produce and the price, they fixed the *dastūrs*."

In these instances the word *dastūr* does not convey any idea of a local area. In *The Races of the N.W.P.* Sir Henry Elliot treats *dastūr* as an aggregation of parganas (vol. ii, p. 201, and *passim*); this idea is founded on the lists given in the text (p. 347 et seqq.), where we find such phrases as the following: "Sarkār Ilahābās. Pānzdah mahal wa sih *dastūr-ul-amal*," "Jalālābās wa ghaira. Chahār mahal, yak *dastūr*." These lists have no grammatical construction, but are, in fact, tables, and the expressions *dastūr* and *dastūr-ul-amal* are in them clearly convertible. The lists show the names of parganas grouped in one *dastūr*, and hence the phrase "an aggregation of parganas" is formally correct, but we have not found any instance in the *Āīn*

where *dastūr* clearly means a local area, and there are several cases (a few of which are quoted above) where it obviously has no such meaning. The fact is that one set of crop-rates was fixed for a group of parganas, or sometimes for a single pargana; this set of rates was the *dastūr*, but the meaning of the word passes easily from the schedule of rates to the group of parganas (or, as modern officials would say, the assessment circle) for which they were sanctioned. The lists give this grouping by subas, and the cash-rates to be charged on each bigha of each crop grown in the area to which the schedule applies.

The subas for which *dastūrs* are given are Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Ajmir, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan. The entry of Oudh, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Malwa supports the conclusion already drawn that these subas were under the *zāṭi* system, since *dastūrs* are an essential part of it, and do not appear under any alternative system. It is curious that no *dastūrs* are given for Bihar, where, as we have seen, the *zabt* system is expressly stated to have been in force; probably they were fixed at a later period than those of the subas dealt with in this chapter.

Dastūrs are not in all cases given for the complete suba. In Allahabad there is no *dastūr* for sarkār Bhatkhora, where the administration is known not to have been effective (see *Races of the N.W.P.*, ii, p. 164, under "Ghora"). In Delhi sarkār Kumaun is entered, but the names of the parganas are left blank (text, p. 370) and no rates are given; this omission too shows that the revenue administration was ineffective in this sarkār. Under Multan there is no mention of Tatta, which had recently been added to this suba, but had not been brought under the *zabt*, remaining *ghallabakhsh*. Malwa also is incomplete, and it is fairly certain that the *zabt* was never extended to the whole of this suba. The

lists for Ajmir covers five sarkārs out of seven; for the remaining two, "dastūr-ul-aml-i in do sarkār mushakhkhas nist" (text, p. 365, "the *dastūrs* for these two sarkārs have not been fixed"). There are indications in the statistics that the *zabti* system was not in operation in some other parts of this suba, and it is probably fair to conclude that it had been pushed as far as administrative conditions permitted.

The case of Gujarat is held over for subsequent discussion, but we may so far anticipate as to say that, while it does not appear in the list of *dastūrs*, the statistics suggest that here, as in Ajmir, the system had been introduced as far as possible. This is in fact the conclusion to be drawn from the materials as a whole. We find *dastūrs* in existence for practically the whole plains of Northern India from Multan and Lahore to Bihar, but hill country like Kumaun and Bhatkhora unprovided for; further south, we find them in existence in Malwa and Ajmir (and probably, though the text does not say so, in parts of Gujarat), but in these regions they do not cover the whole country; in the outer fringe of later acquisitions, Bengal, Berar, Khandesh, and Tatta, the introduction of the *zabt* had not been attempted when the *Āin* was compiled.

VI. HOW THE CROP-RATES WERE FIXED

It is clear that the rates used for assessment in the *zabti* system were originally calculated in terms of produce. In chapter XI, after the classification of land has been described as *polaj*, *paraoti*, *chachar*, and *banjar*, we are told (p. 297, l. 20): "Dar du-i nukhustīn guzīdah wa miyāna wa zabūn. Har jins-ra farāham āwarand: siwūn bakhsh-i ān malisūl pindārand: wa sih-yak-i ān dast muzd-i jahānbāni bar-sitānand," "In the two former, [they take] good, middling, and bad. They total the

produce of each crop, take one-third as *mahsūl*, and fix one-third of the *mahsūl* as the demand."

The meaning of the word *mahsūl* is occasionally obscure, but in this case it clearly means the average produce of good, middling, and bad land; and one-third of this average produce gave the revenue rate. Some writers have concluded that the sentence quoted above means that the land was elaborately classified according to its productivity: Elphinstone, for instance (*History of India*, ed. Cowell, p. 242), suggests that the inhabitants of each village were consulted and that use was made of the traditional soil-classification, as is done by Settlement Officers at the present day. This is possible, but the language of the *Āīn* is consistent with a much more summary procedure; taking the words as they stand, we need assume nothing more than the practice of a common estimating device. When you want to guess the average of a number of things which vary widely among themselves, you usually find it convenient to sort them into groups more or less homogeneous, and estimate the average of each group; good land yields so much, ordinary land so much, and bad land so much, and the average of these three estimates will serve as an estimate for land of all classes. This device was familiar to Akbar's administration, for it is enjoined in cases where officers are doubtful about the estimate of produce (*kankut*) of a particular area (text, p. 286, l. 1), and it may have been employed by the same officers in the more general estimation required for fixing rates.

This account of the method of fixing the produce-rates is followed by a statement of yields, which translators have put in tabular form (translation, ii, pp. 63-5). In the original the information is given in the following style (p. 298, l. 1): "*Gandum* dar yak bigha ā'la hazhdah man: miyāna dawāzdah: zabūn hasht man'wa si wa panj ser: jumla si wa hasht man wa si wa panj ser:

Wa suls-i o dawāzdah man wa sī wa hasht ser wa yakpā mahsūl qarār girift, wa siḥ-yak-i ān chahār man dawāzdah ser wa siḥ pā pāranj-i jahānbāni." "Wheat, per bigha, good, 18 mds.; middling, 12 mds.; bad, 8 mds. 35 sers; total, 38 mds. 35 sers. One-third of this, 12 mds. $38\frac{1}{3}$ ¹ ser, taken as *mahsūl* (average produce), and one-third of the *mahsūl*, 4 mds. $12\frac{1}{3}$ sers, demand." It is worth noting that an attempt has been made to give a separate expression for "demand" in each entry in this statement; the writer has not been entirely successful, since he occasionally repeats himself, but the collection of synonyms he has given is most useful in explaining phrases which recur elsewhere in the *Āīn*.

This table would be of great value to the economic historian if he could find out the area to which it refers. This is not stated in the *Āīn*, where the table appears without introduction; it may be an example of the table for a particular *dastūr*, or it may be a generalization from the *dastūr* figures, intended to give the average result for the Empire, or it is possible (though we think improbable) that the demand was actually fixed in one schedule for the whole area, and that the differences in the schedules of cash-rates already referred to are due solely to the adoption of different prices for the purpose of commutation.

The transition from produce-rates of this type to the cash-rates finally prescribed is indicated in chapter XV. This chapter is rather difficult to follow; we offer the following paraphrase as giving the essential points more closely than the published translation.

"At the beginning of Akbar's reign the *dastūrs* were fixed annually at Imperial headquarters on the basis of yield and prices, but this procedure was very troublesome.

"When Khwāja Abdul Majid Āsaf Khān was Vazīr,

¹ The fraction $\frac{1}{3}$ is reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$, apparently to suit the weights ordinarily in use.

the revenue was *raqmī*; officers wrote down anything they chose, and the record was manipulated in connexion with the remuneration of high officers of the Empire.

"In 15th Ilahi (1571 A.D.), under Muzaffar Khān and Rāja Todar Mal, the revenue demand was determined afresh by calculation and appraisement.

"As the Empire expanded, the trouble caused by collecting price-returns for commutation increased: His Majesty met the difficulty by ordering the 'ten-year assessment', which gave general satisfaction. This assessment was arrived at by averaging the assessments for ten years from 15th to 24th Ilahi (1571-80 A.D.)."

Translating this paraphrase into technical language, we find that at first the demand-rates were fixed annually at headquarters on returns of yield and prices; that is, fixed produce-rates were not then in force, but the demand varied from year to year with (a) the yield, and (b) the price. No revenue officer will question the statement that this system was very troublesome; collections could not proceed till Imperial headquarters had considered the statements of yield and prices and determined the rates to be demanded.

What the position was under Khwāja Abdul Majid depends on the interpretation of the phrase "jama raqmi bud". We have not found this phrase elsewhere in the *Āīn*, but it recurs in the *Akbarnāma* in the form "jama-i raqmi-i qalmi", and is discussed by Mr. Beveridge in a note on p. 402 of vol. ii of his translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*). We cannot accept his view that "most probably the word *raqmi* refers to the assessment being made according to the kind of produce", because that is a feature common to various assessment systems and would not be selected to furnish a distinctive name for one of them. The alternative conjecture that the word refers to "the assessment which was expressed in *raqam* or *siyāk* characters, i.e., contractions of Arabic words instead of

Hindi figures", is worthy of consideration. We had ourselves conjectured the word to mean "an affair of figures" or "a paper affair", and this is precisely the meaning which Mr. Beveridge assigns to the word *qalmi*. We are not prepared to offer a definite interpretation of the phrase; it is probably a bit of office jargon, but we incline to the idea that it suggests in this context a divorce between the central offices and the facts, the offices continuing to prepare statements of the revenue which had lost all relation to the actual yield of the soil or the actual state of cultivation.

This *raqmi* system—whatever its nature—broke down, and eventually produce-rates were determined afresh. We gather from the *Akbarnama* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, ii, 333, and iii, 117) that there was an interval during which the revenue was *nasaqi* (a word to be discussed later), but that this was a temporary measure; it is not indicated in the *Āīn*. The produce-rates when determined had still to be commuted periodically into cash-rates according to the prices prevailing at the time, but at last this recurring trouble was got rid of by fixing cash-rates on the average of ten years' actuals, and we thus arrive at the position indicated in the *Āīn* when a cash demand was known for every bigha as soon as the crop sown on it was known, and a crop-statement for the season would show how much revenue was to be expected before the collection-season actually opened. This result was reached after 24 Ilahi, or 1580 A.D. Whether the figure so arrived at was a demand for collection or something in the nature of a budget-estimate is a question to which we recur in Section IX.

The precise method of determining these cash-rates has been the subject of some discussion. Mr. Vincent Smith, for instance, states on p. 377 of *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, that they were really "selected rates, based on the average of the best fields". The apparent difficulty arises from

the last sentence of this chapter as given in the text and rendered in the translation: "the best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted." This sentence undoubtedly conflicts with the account of the process given in the preceding lines, which we render: "The ten years' assessments from the beginning of the 15th Ilahi to the 24th Ilahi were added together, and the tenth part of the sum was fixed as the annual (assessment). Only (for) the 20th to the 24th year (the figures) were ascertained by exact enquiry, and (those for) the earlier five years on the authority of trustworthy witnesses." The conflict between the two sentences disappears if for the second we take the reading of the India Office MSS. 266 and 270 instead of that given in the printed text. They have simply: "Wa har sāl jins-i-kāmil afzūn bud," which clearly means: "And every year the superior crops extended." This reading gives no ground for the suggestion that the rates were selected; it merely states that as a result of their introduction the class of crops improved steadily—a result which would obviously be gratifying to the author of the innovation, since higher-class crops meant increased revenue. Pending the settlement of the text, we think this alternative reading may fairly be adopted as removing the discrepancy and difficulty of Blochmann and Jarrett's version. If, however, the reading of the text be confirmed, the expression *jins-i-kāmil* cannot bear the sense which Mr. Vincent Smith's observations attribute to it: it does not signify the "best crops" in the sense of the highest yields, but the superior crops, such as sugar-cane, in contradistinction to the coarse millets and pulses. The wording of the text seems to us to be meaningless, but in any case it cannot bear the meaning attributed to it.

Before leaving the question of rate-fixing, a few words are necessary regarding the tables appended to chapter XIV.

These consist of the cash-rates derived from collections year by year from 6 Ilahi to 24 Ilahi in the subas of Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan and Malwa, but figures for Multan are missing up to the 15th Ilahi, and the rates for Malwa were only changed twice in the period. The text says that these rates were tabulated for reference, and doubtless the tables were used in the period when prices had to be fixed annually for commutation purposes; the series ceases when the need for commutation had disappeared, and the figures then were of value only for historical purposes. The form in which they are given suggests that during these years commutation-rates were fixed by subas, but it is perhaps more probable that they were generalized from rates fixed for smaller areas.

VII. TREATMENT OF FLUCTUATING CULTIVATION

Under the *zabti* system the cash-rates fixed in the way just described applied primarily to *polaj*, or land under continuous cultivation. Apart from *polaj*, three other classes of land were recognized, and their treatment is described clearly in chapters XI–XIII.

Parauti means land occasionally left fallow: it bore the full rates when cultivated, but nothing when fallow, this being a necessary consequence of the system of charging revenue according to the area actually cultivated at each season.

Chachar was land out of cultivation for three or four years, and *banjar* was land uncultivated for five years or more. On these classes of land, reduced revenue was charged for a term of years in order to hasten recovery. In treating these two classes, both the text and translation seem to have an erroneous division between chapters XII and XIII, which tends to obscure the meaning. For *chachar* land, there are two alternative scales, one to be applied in cases of what may be called ordinary calamities,

the other (and still more lenient) in cases where the injury was exceptional. * On each scale the revenue increases gradually, till in the fifth year the full *polaj* rates are charged. On *bunjar* land also concessions were given for four years, but the initial revenue was nominal, one or two sers of grain for each bigha.

VIII. ASCERTAINMENT OF AREA

We have now described how the revenue rates were ascertained under the *zabti* system, and must turn to the way in which the area to which they should be applied was determined. This process is spoken of as *Paimāish*: the word may be translated Survey, or Measurement, but since each of these terms suggests disputable inferences as to the nature of the process, we prefer to retain the neutral Persian expression.

Paimāish is not described in the *Āīn*; it was clearly a well-known process, and we are told only the changes introduced under Akbar, and the precautions on which he thought it necessary to insist; from these data we have to infer the nature of the procedure. Akbar's changes are limited to (1) fixing the standard bigha (chapters VIII-X), (2) substituting a measuring-rod for the rope previously used, and (3) revising the remuneration of the staff. The first two of these call for no remarks, but the rate of remuneration is interesting. We are told in chapter XI (text, p. 300, 1, 25): "Wa āīn chunān bud ki gumāshṭahā-e shiqqdār wa kārkun wa amīn roze 58 dām zābitāna migiriftand basharte ki dar rabī kam az 200 bigha wa dar kharif kam az 250 bigha na paimāyand. Shahriyār-i daryādil bakhshish farmūd wa yak dām dar bigha qarārdāde": that is to say, "the rule was that the assistants of the Shiqqdār, Karkun, and Amin received 58 dams daily as *zābitāna*, on condition that they measured at least 200 bighas in the rabi season and 250 bighas in the kharif. His Majesty was pleased to make

a concession, and fixed the rate at one dam per bigha." In other words, Akbar found it advisable to change from taskwork to piecework. The suggestion is obvious that difficulty was experienced in completing *paimāish* in time, and general considerations indicate that this was in fact the weak point of the whole system; if the crop-statements were delayed, the whole work of collection would be thrown out.

The precautions to be taken are indicated in the instructions to the 'Amalguzār or revenue officer (chapter V, beginning at p. 286, l. 14 of the text). Security was to be taken from the staff, for whom a scale of diet-allowance was prescribed. The headman of the village (*kalāntar*) was to give a bond that he would conceal no cultivation, and would disclose any variations in crops. Any inferiority in the land was to be noted and allowed for. The headman and the accountant of the village were to keep duplicate records, which were to be passed by the 'Amalguzār. As soon as a village was completed, it was to be entered in the *muntakhab* (abstract), which was to be forwarded weekly to Imperial headquarters. Calamities occurring after the dispatch of the estimate were to be reported for sanction to the alterations rendered necessary.

Further information is given in the instructions for the Bitikchi, the accountant and right-hand man of the 'Amalguzār (chapter VI, text, p. 288, ll. 7 et seq.). He was to record the name of the cultivator and of his headman, and below it the kind of produce; he was to separate off the *nābūd* (which we take to be the unproductive area of the holding), and take the value of the *būd*. These instructions indicate a record by cultivators, or what would now be called a *khatauni*, but an alternative form was permitted; he might follow the custom of the tract and enter the particulars of the day's record under the date—that is, prepare a serial record analogous to the

khasra. When the *zabt* of the village was complete, he had to show the revenue due from each cultivator and from the whole village; this record was to serve as the basis of collection, and the assessment statement (*nuskha-i zabt*) was to be forwarded to Imperial headquarters.

These details make it plain that under the *zabt* the assessment was what we should now call ryotwari; the officials had to fix the demand on each separate cultivator. This conclusion is borne out by instructions regarding collections further on in the same chapter, which speak clearly of the accounts of the individual cultivators.

From these data we have to form an idea of the meaning of the term *paimāish*. The object of the process was clearly to get crop-statements for each season, and these were not ordinarily obtained from the village accountants, as is now the practice, but were furnished by a separate staff of officials. There is nothing to show that *paimāish* extended to the uncultivated land of the village, and the view that it was limited to cultivation is supported by the provision (referred to above) throwing on the headman the responsibility for disclosing cultivation; this would be unnecessary if *paimāish* were a complete survey in the modern sense, but is obviously appropriate if the process was limited to cultivated area, since strangers might easily miss blocks of cultivation separated by jungle from the main area. On the other hand, it is not necessary to assume that all the cultivated fields were actually measured season by season; the instructions (text, p. 288, l. 12) contemplate a reference to the previous record as a normal feature of the procedure.

Perhaps the process may be fairly described in the following terms. Each season a staff set to work to make the crop-statement, working over the cultivated area of the village, writing up the areas of the various plots from the previous records, and measuring the plots, for which areas were not on record. The record thus showed

the area of each crop contained in each holding, and the Bitikchi applied the prescribed rates to these areas and thus deduced the revenue due for that season from each cultivator and from the whole village.

It may be inferred that the areas given in the *Account of the Twelve Subas* represent the sum of the areas in kharif and rabi, and correspond to the "gross cropped area" (not to the "net cropped" or "cultivated area") of modern statistics.

As we have seen, the staff was—under taskwork—expected to cover from 200 to 250 bighas a day: compared with the task assigned to a modern village accountant in the United Provinces, this is fairly heavy duty, and the work must have been done at high pressure, with a fairly large margin of error; the task cannot, however, be described as impossible, especially as it is probable that the fields and holdings were on the whole larger than they are at the present day.

IX. THE SCOPE OF THE ZABTI SYSTEM

One important and difficult question remains regarding the *zabti* system: was the demand fixed under it an assessment in the strict sense, that is, to be realized from the individual cultivators, or was it rather of the nature of a budget estimate, intended to show the central administration a reasonable figure for the season and thus afford a check on the amounts actually collected?

On this question the writers have been unable to come to an agreement. One of us holds that certain directions in the regulations for the 'Amalguzār give the individual cultivator the option of *ghallabāksh*, that is, of having his crop divided in the traditional way if the *zabti* assessment seemed to him to be too severe: on this view the *zabti* procedure is essentially budgetary, and actual collections would fall below the estimate by an amount depending on the extent to which cultivators availed themselves of this

option in any particular season. The other holds that the directions in question do not give such an option to ordinary cultivators, but refer exclusively to terms of engagements to break up waste land, and form part of a system of concessions designed to facilitate this process and thereby increase the revenue in the quickest manner possible: On this view the *zabt* procedure was definitely of the nature of an assessment, and the demand under it was meant to be collected. The arguments on this question are lengthy and intricate: they may perhaps be stated on a future occasion, but they would swell the limits of this paper to an undesirable extent. On the practical question—the incidence of the revenue—the difference is of comparatively little importance. On the one side it is recognized that the local officials would try to collect as nearly as possible up to the estimate, so as to avoid demands for “explanations” from headquarters, while on the other side it is admitted that allowances for bad crops and irrecoverable arrears must have reduced the collections somewhat below the full standard of the *zabt*. On the whole, therefore, the revenue figures tabulated in the *Āīn* for the *zabt* areas of the Empire may be taken as representing approximately the amount which Akbar’s administration endeavoured to collect, subject to the important proviso that some of the figures have suffered considerably in the course of transcription.

X. QUESTIONABLE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE ZABTI SYSTEM

Before passing from the *zabt* system, we may indicate briefly a few questionable statements regarding it which are current in the textbooks, apart from those which have already been dealt with.

1. *The term of the settlement.*—It is commonly stated that the settlement was made for ten¹ years, and the

¹ Mr. Keene (*Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, p. 162) says nineteen years.

view that a term of years was fixed appears even in the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (iv, 206). The Calcutta translation gives countenance to this idea, which, however, is not justified by any statement in the text. The translation of chapter XV (vol. ii, p. 88) is headed "The Ten Years' Settlement": the text has (p. 347) "Āin-i diḥ-sāla." On the same page of the translation it is stated that His Majesty "fixed a settlement for ten years": the words in the text (p. 348, 1, 2) are: "jama-i diḥ-sāla qarār girift." The *diḥ-sāla* is obviously the decade 15th–24th Ilahi, that is the period (already past) which gave the basis of the revenue rates adopted, and *jama-i diḥ-sāla* cannot be read as implying a settlement for ten years to come.

2. *A distinction between grain-paying and cash-paying crops.*—This idea recurs throughout Mr. H. G. Keene's works on the history of the period: e.g., in *The Turks in India* (p. 77) we are told that cereals, vetches, and oil-seeds paid one-third of the gross produce, while sugar, cotton, and other crops were assessed in cash: the same idea recurs in the Calcutta translation in the later renderings of the terms *ghallabakhsh* and *zabtī*. This misconception appears to be due to acceptance of the nineteenth-century meaning of the term *zabtī*, and its application to the conditions prevailing three centuries before. In the province of Agra "*zabtī* rents" are well known: land which under ordinary crops pays a grain rent, or in some places a fixed money rent, is charged with a recognized cash crop-rate in seasons when particular crops are grown on it, and the rent calculated at these rates is called *zabtī*. The *Āin*, however, gives no grounds for thinking that the distinction drawn by Mr. Keene in fact existed under Akbar as regards the staple field crops, though it appears in the case of certain garden crops which paid special cash-rates (text, p. 300, ll. 17–19). The *Āin* uses *zabtī* in a somewhat different

sense, which we have explained above, and the modern use of the word is clearly derivative. If we accept the original meaning of *zabti* as the regulation system of cash-rates, it is obvious that a landholder who wished to collect in cash on sugar-cane or tobacco or some similar crop would tell his tenants that instead of paying in kind they must pay at the regulation or *zabti* rate, a standard of which the memory would survive after the system itself had passed away. So far as we know, this is the only survival of the term *zabti* in Northern India at the present time.

3. *The post of Karori*.—The appointment of these officers is frequently treated as an integral part of Akbar's revenue system. The third book of the *Āīn*, however, does not mention them or refer to them in any way, and since it is not likely that Abul Fazl could have overlooked their existence it is reasonable to conclude that they had disappeared before he wrote. If we believe Badāuni's account of them (translated in Elliot's *History*, vol. v, p. 513), we might go further and infer that the subject was an unpleasant one, and that the first set of Karoris, whose fate is there described, had in all probability no successors. It is noteworthy that the *Tabakāt-i-Akbārī* (Elliot, vol. v, p. 383) mentions the appointments, but says nothing of the results: the *Akbarnāma* also mentions their appointment (vol. iii, p. 117), but we have not traced in it any account of their subsequent development.

XI. NASAQ

We now turn to the third revenue system named in the *Āīn*, and find that we are told very little about it, and can only gather some inferences regarding it from the few passages in which it is mentioned. To begin with, we may infer that it was perfectly familiar to the writer—too familiar to be described; and we may further

infer that it was not one of Akbar's innovations, or its institution would have been described in the text. It may even be that the word had hardly crystallized as a technical term and was used in a general sense to indicate revenue fixed by arrangement or contract, and not based on definite calculations.

The word *nasag* occurs three times in the chapter of regulations for the 'Amalguzār. In the first passage (p. 285, l. 24) the 'Amalguzār is told what to do when some cultivators desire *paimāish* and others prefer *nasag*. *Nasag* is thus an alternative to *paimāish*, which, as we have seen, is an essential part of the *zabti* system; in a passage to be presently noticed, *paimāish* is used as a synonym for *zabti*, and here also this appears to be the case. The rest of the passage does not help us, as the 'Amalguzār is merely told to send the agreements up to headquarters. In another passage (p. 286, l. 24), we have merely the name of an official form, the *nuskha-i nasag*, and no particulars as to its nature. The third passage is of rather more assistance. In laying down the attitude of the 'Amalguzār towards the cultivator, whose good-will is to be secured, the text says (p. 286, l. 12), "*Nasag ba qalāntarān-i deh na kunad, kih tan-asāni wa kārna-shināsi bar khezad, wa chīrah-dastān-i sitampesharā niru bakhshad; balki ba-yak yak kashāwarz farārasad.*" Jarrett renders this passage, "He should not entrust the appraisal (*nasag*) to the headman of the village lest it give rise to remissness and incompetence, and undue authority be conferred on high-handed oppressors, but he should deal with each husbandman." There seems, however, to be no authority for the use of the word "entrust": we would render the opening words "He should not make a *nasag* with the headman". The object of the provision seems to be to ensure the separate assessment of the ryots; the 'Amalguzār might be tempted to come to terms with the headmen for the

payment of a lump sum on the village, and this course is prohibited. On this reading, *nasaq* would be an agreement rather than a detailed assessment.

With these three general passages, we may take the mention of *nasaq* in the *Akbarnama* (ii, 333), to which reference has already been made; we are told that Shahābuddin, on relieving Muzaffar Khan of the business of the revenue, curtailed expenditure and embezzlement by substituting a *nasaq* for the annual *zabt* ("zabt-i harsāla-rā bar taraf sākhta nasaqe qarārdād"). This confirms the inference that *nasaq* was an alternative procedure, and suggests further that it was regarded at that time as simpler and cheaper than the *zabt*.

So far, then, we may say that *nasaq* was a well-known and old-established mode of assessment, regarded as simpler and cheaper than the alternative *zabt*; we have learned nothing to show how the assessment was made, but have found a suggestion that it was ordinarily a zamindari rather than a ryotwari arrangement.

Nasaq was of considerable importance at the time when the *Āīn* was compiled; it extended throughout the large provinces of Bengal and Berar, it had some application in Gujarat, and according to one reading, it was found also in Kashmir. In Bengal we are told (text, p. 389, l. 15) that the assessment was made by *nasaq*, and the passage which precedes these words might throw light on its nature if we could be sure of the meaning. The MSS., however, differ materially, no reading that we have found gives a perfectly clear sense, and the passage must be left until the text has been examined in greater detail. As regards Berar, we are merely told that the suba has for a long time been *nasaqi* (p. 478, l. 19), and there is no indication of how the demand was arrived at. In Gujarat we again have the distinction between *nasaq* and *paimāish* in the phrase (p. 485, l. 18) "Beshtar nasaqi, wa paimāish

kam ravad" ("mostly *nasaqi*, and there is little *paimāish*"). This statement does not, however, accord with the facts given in the statistical tables which immediately follow, in which areas are given for nearly all the mahals in all sarkārs except one; the figures in fact suggest that much the greater part of the suba was *zabti*. Two explanations of this difficulty have suggested themselves. One is that in this province, which had been under Moslem rule before its inclusion in the Empire, the *zabt* had been introduced at an earlier stage, and had then been superseded by *nasaq*; the area figures in the statistics would then be survivals of the earlier assessment. The other explanation is that *beshtar* should be *peshtar*; the difference in Persian script is trivial, and the difficulty would disappear if we could read the text as saying that formerly Gujarat was *nasaqi* and *paimāish* little practised. We have, however, found no MS. authority for this suggestion, which—like the alternative—is pure conjecture.

In any case, the accounts of Berar and Gujarat carry us no further towards the meaning of *nasaq*: nor can we obtain light from the note to mahal Idar (p. 493, table) that it is *az qarār-i nasaqi* beyond the suggestion that *nasaq* was a form of assessment applicable to large areas, in fact to zamindari tenures. The absence of any area figures in the statistics for Bengal and Berar indicates that no detailed surveys or measurements were needed for this form of assessment, but this does not tell us what data, if any, were required. We must then leave the subject with the conclusion that *nāsaq* was a common and convenient method of assessment, that the *Āīn* tells us nothing explicit regarding its distinctive features, but that it is permissible to conjecture that its essence was mutual agreement rather than a detailed examination of the yield of crops.

XII. OTHER REVENUE SYSTEMS

The three systems which we have described above cover much the larger part of Akbar's Empire, but they do not cover the whole. One suba, some sarkārs, and many mahals are not clearly assigned in the *Āīn* to any one of the three, and to complete our task we must glance at the more important of these areas.

The suba not yet accounted for is Khandesh, or Dāndes, to adopt the name used in the *Āīn*. This suba was a very recent acquisition. The text gives its revenues in tankas (24 dāms to the local tanka), and states (p. 474, l. 13) that on the fall of Asir the demand was raised by what we should now call a summary settlement. It is clear that the assessment was neither *ghallabakhsh* nor *zabti*: it may have been *nasaqi*, though in that case it is a little surprising that the text does not say so, as it does in the case of Berar, the next following suba. If it was not *nasaq*, it must have been some other system of which we have no knowledge, which was in force under the previous administration and was continued by Akbar with the enhancement already mentioned.¹

¹ The original revenue was 126½ lakhs of tankas before the annexation of Asir. When Asir was annexed, 10 lakhs and 15 thousand tankas were added to this figure on account of the new territory. This we take to be the correct translation of "*bar-ān jama dah pānz-dah afzūdand*" in the text (474, 13). We do not think that Col. Jarrett's translation, "was increased by 50 per cent" (vol. ii, 224), is tenable. Blochmann, who edited the text, did not understand it in this sense, as is evident from his note 3 at p. 474 of his text. He rightly rejects the sentence about the total of 4,553 lakhs of Akbari dāms: it is not found in the best MSS., and was probably a gloss due to a misunderstanding. The pargana figures give the revenue of Asir as 10.60 lakhs, which differs (by a fraction of a lakh) from the 10.15 of the text as we have interpreted it. But the figures in the MSS. are rarely to be relied upon. Even Col. Jarrett himself, who translated Blochmann's text, wrongly transcribed 3.25 lakhs for Dāmri West in Dāndes, when the text has 3.52 lakhs (we omit thousands). Also, the pargana figures given in the text total up to 241 lakhs of tankas for the suba, nearly double that actually given in the text.

Of the sarkārs unaccounted for, we may take first those which are omitted from the list of *dastūrs*.

In Allahabad, there is Bhathkhora, and a glance at the Calcutta translation (vol. ii, p. 166) shows how little information could be given regarding this sarkār compared with those where the *zabtī* system was in force; the mahals are not even named, and nothing is said about area.

In Malwa, there is Garha (wrongly shown as Kanauij on p. 199, vol. ii, of the Calcutta translation). The parganas are here detailed, but there are no area figures, and with one exception the revenues are in even thousands (a fact of which the significance will be noted later). In the text preceding these statistics (p. 456, l. 1), Garha is described as *mulk-i judāgāna*—a separate state, or estate, according to the rendering adopted of this somewhat ambiguous word.

In Ajmir, Sirohi and Bikanir have no *dastūrs*. In Sirohi there are no area figures, while in Bikanir even the revenue is given in gross, the pargana figures being apparently not available.

In Delhi there is Kumaun. In five of the twenty-one parganas the revenue was *nā mushakhkhas*, that is, there was no effective administration; the rest pay round sums, and there are no other details.

With these we may class the anomalous sarkārs in the subas of Bihar and Gujarat, which were largely, though not entirely, *zabtī*, but which are not included in the list of *dastūrs*. In Bihar, there is sarkār Mungir (Monghyr), distinguished by having no area figures. In Gujarat, there is sarkār Sorath, where also there are no area figures, and where we are told only that the revenue was in cash (*naqdi*, p. 493, l. 8).

There are also some sarkārs in suba Kabul, of which the revenue system is not specified.

Regarding all these sarkārs, we can only say with

certainty that the system in force was not *zabti*, while we may reasonably conjecture that it was not *ghallabakhsh*. It may have been *nasaqi*, but it is possible that some of these areas did not yet fully recognize the revenue claims of Akbar's Empire. It will be noticed that all these *sarkārs* may be described as outliers with reference to the centres of administration: Mungir, for instance, was a disturbed frontier until the final subjugation of Bengal: and we need not be surprised that their revenue arrangements should differ from those of more thoroughly settled countries.

Lastly, there are many anomalous *parganas* or *mahals* included in the various *subas*. To begin with, there are fourteen cases where the words *az qarār-i naqdi* appear in the statistics: seven of these are in suba Ajmir, two each in Agra, Malwa, and Gujarat, and one in Lahore. In none of them are area figures given, and they thus stand on a different footing from the other *mahals* in the *sarkārs* in which they are included, and which were under the *zabti* system. The expression *qarār-i naqdi* is not explained in the text: if we may assume that it means what the words suggest, and that these *mahals* were held on agreements settled in cash, we have indications of what we should now call a *zamindari* system of assessment, these *mahals* being held on fixed payments instead of contributing varying amounts made up of the sums assessed seasonally on individual cultivators. It is quite possible, but we are not entitled on the existing data to say that the term *az qarār-i naqdi* is merely a variant for *nasaqi*.

Apart from these fourteen cases, obviously exceptional, there are indications in the statistics of assessments being made on the *mahal* and not on the individual cultivator. These indications arise (a) from the revenue being given in round figures, and (b) from the absence of area figures. Allowance must be made for the fact that the statistics

have been corrupted in copying, and too much weight cannot be placed on individual entries, but the figures are still suggestive, and their suggestions may become probabilities in the light of facts drawn from other sources.

The prevalence of round figures in such records has attracted the notice of some previous students. Irvine, for instance (*Storia do Mogor*, ii, 413), uses them to inculcate caution in handling the various statistical accounts of the Moghul Empire, and it is at any rate certain that they cannot be merely ignored. In the *zabt*, the assessment rates, stated in *dāms* and *jītals*, were not calculated to give round figures in the assessment of individual cultivators. Nor was any attempt made to round the totals: in Bihar the revenue of three *sarkārs* and of the whole *suba* is given to half a *dām*, and throughout most of the tables round totals are exceedingly rare. It follows from the theory of probabilities that in the totals of items not individually rounded, a run of three ciphers will occur about once in 1,000 times, and when we find even thousands, and *a fortiori* even lakhs, recurring time after time, it becomes highly probable that the revenue was assessed on some method adapted to give this result, and not on the regular *zabti* system.

Without attempting a detailed analysis from this point of view of the figures of all the *parganas* in the Empire, we will give a few illustrations drawn from a part of the country with which we are familiar.

In *sarkār Ilāhābās* (that is, Allahabad, vol. ii, p. 161 of the translation), eight of the eleven *parganas* have areas given. *Khairāgarh*, with a stone fort on a hill, has no area given, and pays a round revenue of four lakhs: we may conjecture that there was a *zamindar* paying a lump sum to be left in possession of his fort and its surroundings. *Kantit*, too, has a stone fort, and no area figures; its revenue is not round. There may have been a *zamindar*

here, too, but the suggestion is not so strong as in the case of Khairagarh.

Jalālābad has no area; the revenue is not round, and there is some confusion about the parganas grouped under the name. Here, too, there is a suggestion, but not a strong case. In the same suba it will be noticed that there is no round revenue in the sarkārs of Benares, Jaunpur, and Mānikpur, where all parganas have areas. In sarkār Kālinjar, there is one pargana, Ajaigarh, without area: it pays two lakhs, there is a fort on a hill, and the presence of a zamindar is suggested. This case may be contrasted with the figures for such a sarkār as Kol (Aligarh) in suba Agra. Kol is *zabti* throughout; all areas are recorded, and no mahal has a revenue in even thousands, or even hundreds, of dāms. The most striking instance of round revenues is in sarkār Garha of Malwa, to which allusion has already been made: twenty-eight entries out of twenty-nine are even thousands, and it is obviously impossible that ryotwari assessment could yield this result without intentional adjustment of the figures.

The detailed statistics of other parts of the Empire would doubtless suggest the existence of other cases of abnormal assessments to students familiar with the topography and local conditions, but we have said enough to illustrate the point that the revenue system was not necessarily uniform throughout a suba or sarkār; we may say that Lahore was a *zabti* suba, but the statement does not imply that the *zabti* procedure was carried out in every mahal. Local conditions might make it preferable to arrange with the zamindars, using that word in the wide sense which it bore at the time, and the *Āin* would not necessarily mention these arrangements, though their existence may be suggested by a careful study of the statistics. Of the nature of these arrangements we have no knowledge.

It is tempting to class them as *nasaq*, but we know too little of *nasaq* to do this with certainty.

Current manuals lay stress on the absence of the contract system under Akbar's administration, and they are so far justified that the system is not, so far as we have found, mentioned in the *Āīn*. Silence is not, however, necessarily conclusive in this matter: it is possible that contracts were given from time to time, but that Akbar made no regulations regarding them, and it is with his regulations that the *Āīn* is concerned. The existence of contracts would be a welcome aid in explaining the constant discrepancies between totals and items in the statistics, but various other explanations are available, and we cannot infer contracts from the discrepancies in question.

XIII. SUMMARY OF THE PROVINCIAL REVENUE ARRANGEMENTS

We can now indicate the revenue arrangements in force in each suba at the period to which the statistics in the *Āīn* relate.

Bengal.—The assessment was *nasaqi*.

Bihar.—Out of 199 parganas, 138 were assessed on the *zabti* system. The remaining sixty-one (comprising the sarkār of Mungir, fourteen parganas in sarkār Bihar, and smaller numbers in most of the remaining sarkārs) were held on some different tenure, of which the nature is not stated, but which may be conjectured to have been *nasaq*.

Allahabad.—Out of 177 parganas, 131 were assessed on the *zabti* system. The remaining forty-six parganas are stated to be *naqdi*, and no area figures are given for them: it is probable that the revenue was paid through zamindars. They comprise the sarkār of Bhatkhōra and a few other parganas, mostly lying towards the hills south of the Ganges.

Oudh.—The *zabti* system prevailed throughout this suba, but a few parganas in Gorakhpur may have paid through zamindars.

Agra.—The *zabti* system of assessment was the rule, and it was apparently universal in the sarkārs situated in the *duāb*, but subject to exceptions south of the Jumna. Two pargānas are shown in the text as held *az qarār-i naqdi*, but these words do not occur in all the MSS., and cannot be relied on. Area figures are wanting for a few parganas in Kalpi, Irij, and Bayānwān; the omissions may be accidental, or they may indicate that these parganas were held by zamindars.

Malwa.—The *zabti* system of assessment was the rule, but it was subject to important exceptions. It had not been applied to sarkār Garha, the revenue of which was most probably paid by zamindars: the entire absence of area figures for sarkār Marosor suggests that it had not been effectively introduced there; and zamindars may have paid in this sarkār as well as in certain parganas in Raisin, Chanderi, Mando, Hindia, and Gagron, for which also area figures are wanting. Two of the parganas in Gagron are stated to have been held *az qarār-i naqdi*. The record of sarkār Chanderi is suspicious: areas are given for all parganas except one, but the revenue of nineteen out of thirty-nine is given in even thousands, and cannot possibly be the result of assessment on the ordinary *zabti* system. The exact significance is doubtful, but it may be conjectured that the *zabti* system had been tried, and then superseded by some other arrangement.

Khandesh (Dandes).—We know only that the old system was continued under Akbar: we do not know what the system was.

Berar.—The assessment on the cultivators was in general *nasāqi*, but the revenue had been enhanced from time to time (text, p. 478, l. 21), and apparently these enhancements had been made in such a way as to

give round figures for the sums due from the parganas. Some parts of the suba were clearly held by zamindars; they are referred to in the text as existing in sarkārs Kherla (p. 477, l. 4), Narnala (p. 477, l. 9), Kalam (p. 477, l. 15), Basim (p. 477, l. 19), Mahor (p. 477, l. 22), etc. Manikdrug fort is described as "not yet brought under administration" (ba 'aml niyāmadah, p. 477, l. 25). No revenue is entered for certain parganas of Kherla and Kalam; the former were in the possession of various zamindars, while the latter were included in Chanda, for which we are told (p. 478, l. 25) that "jama-i o na rasīdah". This probably means that the revenue-roll had not been received, and we are left to conjecture the cause of its non-arrival. The number of sarkārs is given as sixteen, but particulars are entered for thirteen only. On the whole, it appears that large portions of the suba were administered through the zamindars, whose administration was not uniformly effective. The revenue was apparently realized in Berari tankas (each equal to 16 dāms of the Empire), but accounts were kept in dāms, not in tankas as in Dandes.

Gujarat was not a homogeneous suba, as we have already seen. The port dues are included in the statistics, but are shown in *mahmūdis* and are thus separate from the land revenue. Judging from the detailed statistics, *paimāish*, which we take as an indication of the *zabti* system, had been carried out in all sarkārs except Sorath (Kathiawar), but not throughout all parganas; there are "unmeasured" parganas in sarkārs Ahmadabad and Pattan, and one of these (Idar in Ahmadabad) is distinguished as held *az qarār-i nasaq*. Elsewhere (text, p. 486, l. 18), we have mention of the Chief of Idar. Two parganas were held *az qarār-i naqdi*. Jhālāwār was classed as a pargana, but had a chief (p. 487, l. 1). Sorath is described under the various tribes in possession. Kachelh and Nawanagar are noted as separate states (an

ambiguous word). Gujarat itself was definitely administered, though some of the seaports had, "through the carelessness of ministers and frontier officers," passed into the possession of the Franks (p. 488, l. 4), and there were some zamindars: Kathiawar was held by tribes liable to tribute, and to the north and west there were "separate states", reaching to the limits of Sind or Tatta, on the west, and Ajmir, on the north.

Ajmir also was heterogeneous. Of the seven sarkārs, three may perhaps be classed as zamindari: these are Bikaner, where the text gives only the names of the constituent parganas, and Sirohi and Jodhpur, where no areas are recorded and the revenue is stated in round figures for all parganas except one. Of the remaining four, Ajmir and Nagor appear to have been assessed mainly on the *zabti* system, while in Chitor and Ranthambhor a larger proportion of the parganas probably paid through chiefs or zamindars, and a few are definitely stated to be held on cash agreements (*az qarār-i naqdi*).

Delhi.—The plains area was assessed on the *zabti* system, and there are few traces of zamindars' possession: there may have been zamindars in Amroha and a few other parganas of sarkār Sambhal, and in a few parganas of Hisār. The hill-tract, sarkār Kūmaun, was assessed on some other system.

Lahore.—The *zabti* system of assessment prevailed in the four *duābs* into which the suba was divided. The outlying parganas (described as Birun-i Panjnad) have no record of areas and probably paid under some other system. In the *duābs* the proportion of parganas paying revenue in round figures is abnormally high, and suggests that considerable areas may have been administered through zamindars. One pargana (Darband in Sind-Sagar) is exceptionally shown as held on a cash-contract (*az qarār-i nadqi*).

Multan.—This suba (excluding Tatta) is described as completely *zabti*, and the statistics contain very few suggestions of administration through zamindars.

Tatta.—This sarkār, or group of sarkārs, paid revenue by division of crops, and no other tenures are indicated.

Kabul.—The revenue arrangements are described for three sarkārs, Kashmir, Kandahār, and Kabul: the remainder appear to have been occupied by tribesmen, whose subjection was the chief interest of the administration. Kashmir is described as "*nisfi* [or *nasaqi*] *ghalla bakhsh*", with miscellaneous revenue (*sāir jihāt*) paid in cash. This we take to mean that no areas were measured, but the revenue was taken by division of crops. The payments were expressed in so much weight of produce and so much cash, but the basis in either case was a share in the produce. Theoretically, the traditional one-third had been the rule, but in practice two-thirds had been exacted. Akbar fixed a standard of one-half and abolished some cesses. The standard of weight for revenue in kind was the *kharwār* (= 3 man 8 ser of Akbar), of which the conversion value was taken in Qazi Ali's assessment approximately at 29 dāms in money. The cash amounts were expressed in cash *kharwārs*, which were fixed at $13\frac{8}{25}$ Akbari dāms. Thus for every mahal we have the revenue recorded as so many produce *kharwārs* and so many cash *kharwārs*, but there are, besides, miscellaneous dues, as in the south-eastern parganas.¹ The two kinds of *kharwārs*, of course, represent different cash values, and do not add together.

In Kandahār, the system was complicated. A distinction was drawn between cereals, grapes, green crops (including rice, fruit and vegetables) and other crops,

¹ Col. Jarrett's translation of "forty horse loads" for the Persian "40 *asp*." may be a mistake for "forty horses", in mahal Bānihāl. Cf. the sheep and the Bilochi horses delivered as part of the revenue of the sarkār of Kandahār.

while there is a cross-division according to topography. A modified form of the *zabti* system was in force: the rates varied not by locality (as in ordinary *zabti* areas) but according to the class of cultivation (best, between best and medium, medium, etc., seven grades in all); but crop division was authorized as an alternative, as has already been explained.

Lastly, in Kābul it may be inferred that the old revenue system remained in force with alterations, due on the one hand to remission of some imposts, and on the other to inclusion of others not previously brought to account. The system itself is not described in the *Ā'in*.

XIV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, we may offer a general estimate of the revenue administration dealt with in the *Ā'in*. The administrative ideal is to be found in the regulation or *zabti* system, under which individual cultivators were in direct relations with the revenue officers, while the functions of these officers were so fixed as to facilitate superior control. The demand for a season was not—as in the indigenous system of crop division—an uncertain figure ascertainable only when the crops were ripe; it was known (approximately, or accurately, according to the theory adopted) as soon as the statements showing the areas of the growing crops were available. Its practical success depended on two main considerations. One of these, the possibility of preparing the crop statements in time, is obviously a question of efficient local administration; the other, the reasonableness of the rates adopted, is outside the scope of this paper. Assuming a tolerably efficient administration, and rates reasonably adapted to local agricultural conditions, the system contained the elements of success.

This system, we gather, was pushed as far as it would go. We find it prevalent (but not universal) in the heart of the

Empire, the plains of northern India from Sind to Bihar ; we find it also less fully established to the southward, in Malwa, Ajmir, and Gujarat. Its extension was, however, conditioned by facts. When new provinces were added to the Empire, the regulation system was not introduced as a matter of course and independently of local conditions : in Bengal, Berar, Khandesh, Tatta, and parts of Kabul, which, taken together, make up a very substantial portion of the Empire, the earlier systems were maintained, while more summary methods were adopted in the case of smaller areas where conditions were (we may assume) unfavourable to the success of the regulation system. It is in accordance with the design of Abul Fazl's work that we should be told very little about these alternatives, which were not invented or modified under Akbar's orders, and it is not possible to state the basis on which assessments under them were made, but it would probably be a serious error to assume that any approach to uniformity was attained or even sought. There are clear indications that local conditions were the governing factor, and we think it reasonable to suggest that if all the facts were available, we should find in addition to the regulation system a wide range of methods, varying from summary assessments on individual holdings, through assessments on larger areas, to sums fixed either by mandate or by treaty and representing what we should now call tribute rather than land revenue.

II

"JANG NAFUSKH" AND "THE RED THREAD OF HONOUR"

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

IT was in April of 1839 that Sir John Keane's army found its way up the Bolan Pass to Quetta. When Outram reached Shikarpur on March 2 of that year he found the heat at 104° in the shade. This is nothing to the 130° in tents and hospital sheds which Jacob and others record in 1840-1, but it is an earnest of what the Bolan Pass, with the heat radiating from the rocky slopes and cliffs, meant in April.

Behind Keane's army, which pushed on to Kandahar and Ghazni, predatory tribes closed in, cut off his convoys and cut up his *kāsids* (messengers) as opportunity offered, the leading spirit being Bijar Khan Dumki. Military and political authorities in Upper Sindh, at their wits end how to deal with those mobile marauders, turned to young Jacob, then a gunner lieutenant, and commissioned him to take his pick of 150 British derelicts of Keane's army, left behind at Sakhar as "unfit for active service". He trained forty-two of them and marched them out from Sakhar for Shikarpur on a midsummer night. When they reached Shikarpur after three short night marches, sixteen of the forty-two were dead. After that the cold weather was awaited. Eastwick, in his *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, has a story which found its counterpart in the Boer War, when the dispatch of a piano from the base to the front provoked the righteous British Press to wrath. The Bolan had witnessed the passage of a piano sixty years before. Eastwick says: "I had been requested to dispatch through the Bolan no warlike engine, nought else in short than one of Broadwood's

best pianos. Its notes, we may suppose, were soon jangled and out of tune. Perhaps at this hour it forms part of the household goods of some turbulent Kákar or shaggy Baluch."

The country across which Keane's and Willoughby's columns moved to the invasion of Afghanistan in 1838-9, and in which the military operations from 1839 to 1845 took place, is simply a flat arid plain, measuring roughly from Sakhar, the base of operations, to Púlaji, at the foot of the hills, 100 miles in breadth, and skirted on the north by a range of rugged and inhospitable mountains. That range is a tangle of rugged heights, stony river-beds, dangerous rifts, and perilous passes. If the Bolan and Harnai routes could speak, they would unfold strange tales. After Charles Napier had conquered Sind, a division, with its headquarters at Sakhar and Shikarpur and outposts along the mountain base, held Upper Sind, a country which, be it plain or be it mountain, is abnormally hot, abnormally dry, and abnormally ill-adapted to the movement of troops. Add to this great dearth of water.

The first nucleus of Jacob's famous Irregular Sind Horse consisted of a detachment of the Poona Horse, placed under the command of an infantry officer named Lieutenant Walpole Clarke, a man of first-rate metal and mark, who accompanied Major Billamore during his demonstration in the Baluch Hills in the cold weather of 1839-40. In April, 1840, Captain Lewis Brown, with some 300 bayonets of the 5th Bombay N.I., and eighty sabres of the Sind Horse, under Walpole Clarke, was sent to occupy Káhan, the chief town of the Marris. Brown marched by the Sartáf and Nafuskh Passes, met with some little opposition, occupied Káhan, and then sent Clarke back with his eighty Sind horsemen and seventy rifles of the 5th to fetch up supplies. Further he sent eighty additional rifles under

a Subedar to see Clarke safe over the Nafuskh mountain and then return to Káhan. That Subedar and his eighty never returned. As soon as they parted from Clarke the Marris in hundreds closed upon them and destroyed them to a man, and then, flushed with success, followed up Walpole Clarke, found him halted at the bottom of the Sartáf Pass, and fell upon him in overwhelming numbers. They were sternly opposed by Clarke and his party during several hours; but ammunition failed the latter, the ground was such that horsemen were useless, and notwithstanding the most gallant resistance the detachment was overpowered by numbers, Lieut. Clarke killed, and nearly all the infantry destroyed. Lieut. Clarke's orderly, Sowar Kadurdad Khan, was killed with him, fighting on foot by his side. On June 20, 1840, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay wrote to the Commandant of the Sind Irregular Horse, Lieut. Curtis, to express on behalf of the Hon. the Governor in Council his "sincere regret at the loss which the Service had sustained by the death of Lieut. Clarke, 2nd in Command, a promising young officer who had distinguished himself by great gallantry". This is the verdict which, as Sir Charles Napier bears witness, his Baluch foes also passed upon him. Sir Charles' words are these¹: "Honour, however, be to the memory of the noble soldier Clarke! He fell with his men gallantly fighting. The Marris told me Clarke's death was heroic; he slew seven of their warriors ere he fell, and they tied strings on his wrists: they do so on one wrist when a warrior dies bravely, but they tied them on both his." It is needless

¹ *Life of Sir C. J. Napier*, by Sir Wm. Napier, vol. iii, pp. 257, 315. Dr. Buist, Editor of the *Bombay Times*, in his *Operations in Sindh and Afghanistan*, 1839-41, published in 1843, with illustrations of the actions at the Sartoff (May 16) and Nafosk (Aug. 31) Passes in 1840, is one of the best authorities on that period. Dr. Buist says of Walpole Clarke: "He was the pride and ornament of his profession. To this day the Marris speak of his bravery, calling him 'Barra Bahadoor'."

to pile up corroborative evidence, though that could be done galore. Suffice it, to quote young Alfred Williams, of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers, who himself fell gallantly a few months later in Clibborn's attempt to force the Nafuskh Pass and relieve Capt. Lewis Brown, beleaguered in Káhan. Williams, in a letter to his mother, dated June 3, 1840, describes Clarke as one of the finest specimens of a man, whether in point of physique or morale, that he had ever met.

Charles Napier was a good judge of a man. He had proved himself a man in the Peninsula, in the Ionian Islands, in the Chartist riots, and in Sind. When he associated the name of Walpole Clarke with those of the sergeant and ten men of the Somersets, who are the theme of Sir Francis Doyle's touching poem, he simply did justice to both. A period of nearly five years separated the two events; for it was not till early in March, 1845, that Napier hemmed in Bijar Khan Dumki and other recalcitrant Baluch chiefs in Trukkee and made them submit.

By March 4, 1845, Sir Charles Napier held Trukkee surrounded and had fixed the 5th for the attack on the southern entrance to it. The attack was averted by the timely surrender on the 4th of Bijar Khan Dumki and his brother chieftains of the Bugti, Jekrani, and other clans; but before intelligence of this could reach Captain Beatson at the northern entrance, the incident had occurred to which we owe Sir Francis Doyle's "Red Thread of Honour".

Trukkee is off the beaten track and known to few. A picture of the southern entrance, painted in 1860 by a Royal Academician named G. Jones, hangs in the United Service Club, and William Napier's "Administration of Scinde" furnishes three or four indifferent views of it. I have never seen Trukkee, but I know the country from Kelat and Nushki to Zhob and from the

Kozhak Pass to Nari Gorge and the Bolan as well as most men. The Chappar Rift as we found it in 1881, when we moved up to join Phayre for the relief of Kandahar, a rough track just passable for camels having been hurriedly made through its length of three or four miles, may suggest to us some of the difficulties with which Sir Charles Napier had to contend.

I give you, as nearly as possible in William Napier's words, the description of the event which became the theme of Sir Francis Doyle's poem. When all the entrances to Trukkee had been secured, Sir Charles Napier "proceeded to arrange a plan to force a way in and fight the human hornets in their stony cells. Captain Beatson and Mir Ali Murad had ascertained at the northern entrance the formidable nature of the obstacles which they would have to surmount. Having penetrated some little way they saw from a high point the hillmen moving with evident difficulty from point to point over ground of infinite intricacy, offering defensive positions at every 100 yards, and spreading like a network over sixty square miles". Beatson and the Mir had, as stated, carried their reconnaissance a short distance into this defile. From some error, a sergeant and sixteen (others say ten) privates of the 13th Somerset Light Infantry got on the wrong side of a small chasm, and, in profound ignorance of what was awaiting them, steadily climbed a steep ascent, which was crowned by a breastwork behind which lay concealed seventy or eighty Baluchis. The captain of the company from which the sergeant's party had got separated, seeing how strong were the enemy at the top of the rock, signalled to the sergeant to withdraw; but the signals were misunderstood, and the ascent continued. At the moment when the Somersets topped the crest the Baluchis closed on them. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, which ended, as might be expected, in the death of all the Somersets, but not until seventeen Baluchis and

their leader had bitten the dust. William Napier refers to these Somerset men as "the veterans of Sale and Dennie",¹ and well I remember how Chaplain-General Gleig speaks of the fine condition and experience of these men in the fourth year of the First Afghan War. His words were, "They were as good on a hill-side as any Afghan." (The passing thought suggests itself to me that our New Army is also in its fourth year, and that there is nothing in the way of a trench or a "pill-box" to which they are not equal.) William Napier concludes his story in these words: "Amongst the hillmen, when a warrior dies with noted bravery, a red or green string is tied round the wrist of the corpse, the red being of most honour. Here, they tied a red string on both wrists. They had done the same before to the heroic Clarke, whose personal prowess and intrepidity had been remarkable." Those who would read Sir Francis Doyle's poem will find it in *War Songs* (Clarendon Press, 1908), or in Doyle's own *Poems*. It is not as universally known as "The Private of the Buffs". I shall only quote here the last two verses, and I quote them as much as a tribute to their fine old general, Charles Napier, as to the men themselves:—

And when we found their bodies,
 Left bleaching in the wind,
 Around *Both* wrists in glory,
 The crimson thread was twined.

Then Napier's knightly heart, touched to the core,
 Rang like an echo to that knightly deed.
 He bade its memory live for evermore,
 That those who run may read.

Unanimous as is the verdict of all, from the head of the Government to the young ensign, on the sterling—

¹ Sir Robert Sale and Colonel Dennie, of the Somerset Light Infantry, were pillars of the defence of Jalálabad in 1842. Dennie lost his life there.

super-sterling would be the word of to-day—qualities of Walpole Clarke, his name is connected with the “Red Thread” on the testimony of the same “knightly heart”; and it is the death of Clarke and the annihilation of his detachment that lead up to the incidents which are sung and celebrated in the Baluch ballad of Jang Nafuskh. Among those whose pens have handed down to us the history of the events which group themselves around that stubborn fight, E. B. Eastwick, then a young political who rose in 1863 to be Chargé d’Affaires at Teheran; young Alfred Williams (brother seemingly of Professor Monier Williams), who fell in the fight; and Ensign Edward Fanning, who survived it, are the three on whose narratives I have most relied. The record left by these two young subalterns is contained in private letters, addressed by the first to his mother and by the second to his father. Dr. Buist, the then Editor of the *Bombay Times*, in his *Operations in Scinde and Afghanistan, 1838-41*, has compiled at second-hand a most useful account of these events, but for our purpose I like the evidence of the men on the spot, coupled with that of the Journal of Captain Lewis Brown, who for his resolute tenure of Káhan, the Marri chief-town, from May to September, 1840, was afterwards always known as “Káhan Brown”.

In August, 1840, the Head-quarters of the Upper Sind command were at Sukkur on the Indus. I can well imagine that the intensity of the heat in the tract lying between Sukkur and Shikarpur and the foot of the arduous Sartáf and Nafuskh Passes leading up to Káhan made the General in command hesitate to undertake at once the relief of Captain Lewis Brown and his small detachment of some 200 bayonets of the 5th Bombay Light Infantry. It was not till August 12, three months after Clarke’s death, that Eastwick saw “Major Clibborn’s force, consisting of 400 of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, 250 Irregular Horse,

the Light Company of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers, and some artillery (viz. three guns), passing through Shikarpur *en route* for Káhan". Eastwick had heard that it had been proposed to send two companies of Europeans with them and a whole wing of the 2nd Bombay Grenadiers. "You had better take them," he said to Clibborn as they stood together on the steps of the Agency, "I am sure you will have hard fighting."

Eastwick noted among the officers of the Grenadiers "an Irishman of gigantic stature, 6 ft. 5 in. high, and of Herculean proportions".¹ A few weeks later Eastwick writes: "The sun's heat, even then—the end of August—was so great that several men died of sunstroke, among them the gigantic officer of Grenadiers. The charge of bringing up the rear-guard had fallen to him. So craggy was the road that the last gun was not up at the halting-place till 3 p.m. That day's work killed the strong man. The feeble survived, while he whose arm—like that of *Front de Bœuf*—could have stricken down a bull, was, in an instant—dead, without a sign to show where death had smitten him."

Three weeks after the talk on the Agency steps at Shikárpur, Eastwick was in camp on September 1, 1840, at Jani-dera, a few miles from the spot upon which rose later the cantonment of Jacobabad. His Munshi came to him with a grave face and told him that the day before (August 31) the sound of guns had been heard all day, and that rumour had it that Major Clibborn had been defeated. Eastwick poohpoohed the idea either of cannon being heard a hundred miles off or of news travelling so fast.

Mr. Eastwick, at second-hand, gives a graphic account of the Jang Nafuskh, the theme of the really interesting Baluch ballad which Mr. Longworth Dames has most

¹ I have identified this officer as one bearing the not inappropriate name of Captain Heighington of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers.

kindly translated for us. I turn here, however, to the letter written by Ensign Edward Fanning of the 1st Grenadiers, a participator in and eye-witness of the battle, to his father on September 25, 1840, after the return of Clibborn's force to Sukkur. I shall only quote what is needed to put before you clearly and graphically the very difficult task set before Major Clibborn. Assistant-Surgeon Kirk, who at Nafuskh proved himself at once a doctor, a combatant, and an artist, has left us two drawings depicting the scenes I try to describe.

Ensign Fanning says: "After making six marches from Poolagee¹ unmolested, we arrived at the foot of a tremendous mountain called Surtoof, the place where poor Clarke's party were cut up. Over this mountain there was a pass about a mile in length, of sheet rock, and up this we were to bring guns and 1,100 camels. At 2 o'clock a.m. on the morning of the 30th August we commenced the ascent of this mountain pass, and, by the incessant exertions of the sepoys, the guns and convoys were dragged and conveyed to the halting ground on the top by 6 p.m., through a burning sun. There was no water whatever here." It was on this day's march apparently that Eastwick's gigantic Irishman succumbed. He was in charge of the rear-guard, a duty which, as soldiers know, means long hours and heavy work. The night of the 30th was not one of rest. The Baluchi snipers gave them no peace. At 8 a.m. on the 31st they started for the Nafuskh Pass, over which the road to Káhan led. Arrived at the foot of the pass, "the heights of which were crowned by thousands of the enemy," the guns were placed in position to enfilade the summit, and from 10 to 1 p.m. they waited, without water and under an overpowering sun, for the advent of the rear-guard. At 2 p.m. the attack commenced, Captain Raitt leading

¹ Poolagee is about 60 miles north of Jacobabad, and Káhan is some 30 miles as the crow flies from Poolagee.

the storming party of two companies, covered by the fire of two companies commanded by Ensign Fanning. "While I was forming my men," says Fanning, "we were fearfully knocked over by the enemy's musketry." Raitt's storming party's ascent was blocked by breastworks of stones topped with thorns. Over these they climbed, young Alfred Williams being shot through the heart while so doing. Raitt shortly afterwards was shot through the thigh. He turned to Franklin and said, "I am shot: lead my company while I bind up my wound." He was soon again at the head of the attack. The breastworks were all surmounted, the men were preparing to charge, when a dense mass of the enemy rose from behind the crest of the mountain and completely overwhelmed the storming party with showers of stones and with musketry, while others fell on with their sabres. Raitt, Moore, and Franklin here lost their lives. All our troops now fell back on the guns and colours, and only just in time. The word "rallying square round the guns" was immediately given. The square was formed and the hard fighting commenced. "The Marris were on all sides, dashing large stones into the square, and many closing and fighting sword to bayonet. Our wounded and dying were all inside the square, mad with thirst. We fought in this way for twenty minutes, making a complete circle of dead men about five yards from our bayonets. Our ammunition was now nearly expended, not above four rounds left in each man's pouch. However, the fire on our side was so heavy and our volleys of grape-shot beautifully directed by Captain Stamford, of the Artillery, blowing them away from the muzzle of the gun, killing thirty in one round, had such an effect upon them that they all made for the hill again. All the camel-men and palanquin-bearers had absconded, so we were perfectly helpless." I draw a veil over the grievous scene, amid dead, dying, and wounded,

all without water and parched with thirst, which Ensign Fanning describes as continuing after the Marris had been beaten off.

As far as I can judge, no more genuine testimony to the conduct of Clibborn and his little force exists than that of the enemy themselves, who, while they foiled the British effort to relieve Kāhan, could not penetrate their rallying square, and finally withdrew heavily punished and defeated to their hills.

A word or two now as to the discovery of the Baluch ballad, for which I am indebted to Mr. Denys Bray, I.C.S., and to E. A. C. Rai Bahadur Diwan Jamiat Rai, to whom Mr. Bray passed on my letter suggesting that a search for the ballad should be made. Nearly two years have elapsed since I first thought of inquiring whether such a ballad did or did not exist.

I will give you Diwan Jamiat Rai's account. "I have made enquiries from the Marris in Kāhan, and the result is that a war-ballad, known as the 'Sha'r Mari wa Angrez', exists in the Baluchi language. It contains about 1,000 verses, out of which about 100 were written in Persian character and sent to me. The ballad is said to have been composed about seventy-five years ago (immediately after the war), by Gidū Dōmb (= a minstrel) of Kāhan (now dead), and most of it is now remembered by heart by his grandson Atu Dōmb, also of Kāhan. Mir Murad Bakhsh Khan Ghazani took down for me from Atu about 100 verses. These verses mention Nafuskh and Sartāf as the scene of the fight, and names of several Maris who took part in it are mentioned, as well as of a couple of Kahiris and some Bugtis. It mentions that 'Moore Sahib' was killed in the fight by Kabūr (or Kahūr) Khan Ghazani Mari. I am told that the complete ballad mentions some other European officers also who were present at the fight. A brief account of this fight is given at pp. 276-7 of the Sibi District Gazetteer, but

the names of the four British officers killed in the fight are not given. If necessary, I will get the complete poem in Persian character some time, but even to transliterate it would take considerable time."

We can hardly appreciate too highly the pains thus taken by a hard-worked official to rescue from oblivion a ballad describing an incident and a scene which reflects honour on the gallantry alike of Briton and Baluch. You have heard what Ensign Fanning wrote. Of sterner and stubborn fighting we do not often read. With the Baluch rested the advantage of food, water, and coming fresh to the fight. At 10 p.m. on August 31 Clibborn's force, bearing up bravely against thirst and exhaustion, started on its march back to Pulaji. It was not seriously molested. The Baluchis had had enough.

In forwarding to me his translation of the ballad on June 8, 1917, Mr. Dames accompanied it by remarks which must be placed on record as elucidating what few of us understand. "Like all ballads of this sort," he writes, "it is rhapsodical, and gives no connected narrative, but I think certain points can be gathered from it, viz., that on the commencement of the Afghan campaign, when the British force passed through Multan and the Bahawalpur country without opposition, the Baloch tribes along the Indus took fright, and hastened to submit, while the more independent tribes took refuge in the hills. The Kahiris are especially stigmatised, and some of the Bugtis (the latter being hereditary enemies of the Marris). Some of the Marris, too, seem to have hung back, and are abused accordingly. There is no mention of Kahan, nor of Brown. The behaviour of the troops on our side at the Nafuskh fight seems to have won the admiration of the Baloches; Loch and Moore are mentioned by name; and the steadiness of the Sepoys as if on parade seems to have made a great impression."

When the Court of Directors wrote on June 2, 1841,

to the Governor of Bombay, after "perusing with the greatest interest Major Clibborn's narrative,"—"this narrative has impressed us with sentiments of the highest admiration of the intrepid, collected, and soldier-like conduct of Major Clibborn, of the persevering gallantry of the officers under his command, of the patience, fortitude, and bravery of the Native officers and men,"—they little thought that a more or less barbarian Baluch bard was sitting down in Kāhan and singing in his unsophisticated but earnest poetry the very same thoughts that inspired their warmly-worded dispatch. It matters little, poetry or prose when both tell a tale of honour. Lieut. Loch, of the 1st Cavalry, was not killed, as the ballad says. He is returned as "severely wounded". As we have seen, Raitt, Moore, Williams, and Franklin fell in action, and Heighington succumbed to heat and exhaustion.

Sir Charles Napier pays high tribute to the chivalry of the Baluch. John Jacob saw in him no single virtue. The warriors who fight desperately and foil their foe, and then sing his praises to themselves, and finally loyally keep their word, when their enemy marches out of Kāhan under their safe-conduct with all the honours of war, those men *are* chivalrous. I have already mentioned the fine work that Napier's two Baluch battalions and Jacob's one have done in the present War, and Colonel C. H. U. Price told me that the real Baluch contingent in those battalions had acquitted themselves excellently in East Africa.

Captain Lewis Brown, who was shut up in Kāhan (he had been there about four months) while Major Clibborn fought at Nafuskh, wrote late on the night of "31st August, 1840. A day of great and almost overpowering excitement. About sunrise saw collected on the very top of the pass (3 or 4 miles from Kāhan fort) about 2,000 Baluchis and others in all directions. 2 p.m. Saw

the shrapnel bursting in the middle of the Baluchis with beautiful effect. 8 p.m. Heavy firing of guns and musketry for ten minutes, when all was silent for the rest of the night. I should be very sorry to pass many days of my life thus."

"Kāhan Brown" earned golden opinions by his resolute defence against the Marris of their own capital. At last, as I said before, the Marris let him march out with all the honours of war.

JANG NAFUSKH

1. Khanān ¹ mālim o yārān
2. Khudāi kissavo khārān
3. Thashī cho Sabharon zwārān
4. Bahi cho khēn mangārān
5. Havālē hanchoshēn bitha
6. Yazīd jāhē kharo bitha
7. Watan dān Kalkatta zitha
8. Amar zha khāwanda bitha
9. Shamōda ki rawān bitha
10. Dēhān Multān nām jwānēn
11. Sawā lakh momanē mām ēn
12. Musalmān zādgi nām ēn
13. Naith bandaghān chārā
14. Hukam bithā zha Sattārā
15. Wilāyat gipta zōr kārā
16. Azha Dādopotrān dangā
17. Shamodā gwastha be-jangā
18. Giyāvēn Kābulo Kandahār
19. Jatho dēha kutha-i andrhār.²
20. Chihār kundchalitha-i kirwār
21. Agar Sindha bunā mirēn
22. Baloch ding bār zirēn
23. Nishān dēm dāthagān dirā
24. Saloinē khāyēn cho sirā.

¹ *Khanān* is here substituted for *Khia*.

² Read *andhār* for *andrhār*.

25. Diyānē zar ambirā
26. Balochān ē hawāl bītha
27. Phara jangā baghā bītha
28. Duryā cān Bakhar Sakkar.
29. Balōchi trān kuthēn yaksar
30. Mazāriē jathēn ṭakkar
31. Mariē nishta mā khōhā
32. Baloche bītha gōṇ drohā.
33. Janc khashi ashān khōhā
34. Phithai mā phiruka ḍeha
35. Nawāb gon Abdulla Shēhā
36. Phadhī randā shuthēn. kāfar
37. Yazīda yā Ali shērbar !
38. Marān yā Ali darbar !
39. Nigoshae Bugṭi khohae
40. Mala shān tha bunā drohē
41. Hamān mākh o hamān gaṭṭā
42. Hazār bār hākīmān jhaṭṭā
43. Hamān Turki alaṭhān
44. Gon harāmēn tho naukri zarā
45. Balochi gār kutho barā.
46. Shuma sāhē kutha piyārā
47. Kalāt gōn laṭh Sardāra
48. Burtha Turkān azha bāzārā,
49. Kutha mā lērāi bārā
50. Burthan dāṇ Kalkatta shahrā
51. Sarawān gēhēn mardān
52. Burē bē-akulī dardān
53. Baraēn thō wathī Mirī
54. Jihān azh shwā shutha gīri
55. Gēhēn na droh tarān bītha
56. Pa zarā dēm siāh bītha
57. Gushān pa Mir Hassan Khāna.
58. Sakhien sūrihēn dānā
59. Dēān pattē dillo jānā
60. Mawī ambrā gon eshiā

61. Yahūdān bē nimōshia
62. Khudā bārthi khalāsiā.
63. Sushi cho dār āsiā.
64. Khudā amīn khanē gālān.
65. Philang shāhā kutha thālān.
66. Guzi zhā khandaghī gattā
67. Kalātā ātka yak saṭṭā.
68. Girethi sūrehēn waṭṭān.
69. Mirēn gōn atkēghēn maṭṭān.
70. Sarā Shādo phē khapta.
71. Miragha shēr-nar rapta.
72. Jatha galah o dar khapta.
73. Murīdo ma hamān phahrā.
74. Hadhen Sobdār mān kapta
75. Girethi Kāhemān ghāzī
76. Khurīān tēlathai tāzī
77. Miragh pa jang daul bāzī.
78. Dalel sanj khan hazāria
79. Khudāi hīl tāriā
80. Wathā dā sob Sāriā.
81. Salāh Dīn Muhammada ārtha.
82. Yazīd shirrē ki phādh ātka
83. Manā pīr dar-miān ātka.
84. Hazār dhak mān ātka
85. Zarūra Kalkatta sāritha.
86. Phadhā sharmindgha gartha.
87. Salahā Dost Ali Mirēn.
88. Bahādur o sutam-zirēn
89. Gēhēn Khārān agham-girēn.
90. Hāsāl Khān Manṛāyāni
91. Jawāb-gir bādshāhāni
92. Gushi Gāman muhādāi.
93. Tumana Hān saḍḍai
94. Dalēl Rahmatān jāi.
95. Biyāē jang dāwāi.
96. Nafuskh khandaghē drāhi.

97. Radēn topān ṭawār bīṭha
98. Hazārān mār-mār bīṭha ¹
99. Muzh ō daz o gwār bīṭha
100. Shaf o siāhēn tahār bīṭha
101. Gēhēn mard bāz gōn bīṭha
102. Hudhāi kudratē dīṭha
103. Laghor-gal chap-rāst bīṭha
104. Phadān Jakhān baghāi ā.
105. Khanān sāh Tamāi ā.
106. Shahidān niyādh gōn hīrān.
107. Sarā Loch Sāhiba mohrēn.
108. Murtho cho thangavān sohrēn.
109. Nī Sipāhiā sipat jwānēn.
110. Kawāizo dō maidānē.
111. Wathī tambūro thānēn.
112. Gon sawādān kuzrata mānēn.
113. Hamē Angrez dukkhānēn
114. Sipat thai hathiārāni
115. Awa! naptēn hazārāni
116. Lawār garmē guzārāni.
117. Gadrāten² dīr tawarāni.
118. Shumālēn jauhar dārāni.
119. Janagha chalmo³ khārēn.
120. Jathā Rūmi shikāriān,
121. Ghalimēn yagh-rahēn hathiār.
122. Thai topān chawān rukhdār.
123. Hazārē gōnē phullidār.
124. Sarathī nēzaghān bāzār.
125. Do paina jamdaro kātār.
126. Hamēn kul bīthaghan yak-khār.
127. Janokhēn gōn bāzigar.
128. Burtha⁴ gōn-dāṭha mā maidan.
129. Ni jallav ārtha philangēgha

¹ In lines 98, 115, and 123 *hazār* has been read in place of *jazār*.

² *Gadrāten*. Probably a mistranslation. Meaning uncertain.

³ Read *jularo*.

⁴ Or *bukhta*.

130. Bahādurān dorangī ā
131. Mīrōnī dil na chhandiā.
132. Malūk 'Mor Sāhiben Khānā
133. Jathai Zahm mā Maidānā.
134. Phitha phiruka nāma
135. Sakhi Dōdānā sardār
136. Balochai thangvën wāndkār.
137. Tharā sakhti niāi jammār.
138. Buland bakhtēn manī Sardār.
139. Kamānā jigh khana chāryār.
140. Hamēsha shāhirē guftār.

TRANSLATION

O friends, I will make it plain to you,
 A wonderful tale will I tell ;
 It rushes on as the riders of Sabhar,
 It flows like the Mangār stream.

Tidings came that the Unbelievers have arisen in a certain place and have seized the whole land as far as Calcutta.

Mercy has been shown by the Lord !

Thence they set forth and came to the land of Multān, great of name, where dwell a lakh and a quarter of the Faithful. Great is the fame of the sons of the Musalmāns, but no men go forth to watch.

The order came from the Creator. The mighty have taken the land from the armies of the Dāūdpotras ; and they passed thence without fighting to wealthy Kābul and Kandahār. They smote the country and made darkness, and their fame spread to the four quarters.

" If we fight in Sindh, in the low lands, there will be a heavy load on the Baloch.

" They have sent out their standards from afar, as though a bridegroom were coming from his wedding. They have given great sums of money."

When the Baloch heard this news, they fled from the war, from the river by Bakkhar and Sakkhar. The Baloch made a bond together to fight in the Mazārī hills, they halted in the mountain land of the Marris, in the country of their fathers and grandfathers, but Nawāb and Shekh Abdullāh (the Kāhiris)

were false to the Baloch; they took their women away from those hills.

Then the Kāfirs turned back. Oh, 'Ali, overthrow Yazid! Oh, 'Ali, save the heroes. Give me your ears. In the Bugti hills I declare that you were false to the bottom. When we were on one side and the gorge on the other, a thousand times did those Lords, those Turk'-like oppressors, swoop forth, while you, with your cursed wages of servitude, have destroyed the Baloch without cause, and while you took your ease for a space in dalliance the Turks have carried off the Chief's fort and embanked fields, loaded them on their camels, and taken them to Calcutta town! You afflict the brave men of Sarawān with the pains of your folly. Go you back to your Mirī, the world no longer remembers you! Good men are not false to their bond; you have blackened your faces for gold.

Let me speak to Mir Hasan Khān (Bugti), the generous, the wise, the brave! Let me give him some advice in confidence, heart to heart! Let not his companions be with him, those Jews without faith. May God carry them clean away, and burn them like wood in the fire! To God the just make your speeches!

The Lord has scattered the Philang (i.e. Firang or Firangis) as they pass by the rocks of the mountain-pass. They come of a sudden to the fort. The heroes showered rocks on them, the equal adversaries met in fight. Shādo (Ghazanī Marī) fell on them from above, the male tiger rushed to the battle, he came forth and charged. Murīd was there at that time and Sōbdār fell on them. Let Kahīm Khān the Ghāzi be held in remembrance. The Arab mares made their heels fly! They fought with many tricks of war! Dalēl saddled his thousand-rupee horse, and showed his trust in God, who alone gives victory to all. Dīn Muḥammad (the Marī Chief) counselled thus: "When the war with the unbelievers broke out a Pīr came to me, saying, 'A blow from God has fallen. They were forced to set forth from Calcutta, and to return thither with shame.'" Dost 'Alī Khān too (brother of Dīn Muḥammad), the brave and valiant, the

¹ The word "Turk" here as elsewhere in Balochi poetry is used for the Mugals, and especially for the Arghūns, against whom the Baloches fought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here it is applied to the English in the sense of powerful enemies.

Governor of noble Khārān, gave his counsel, and Hāsāl Khān Manrāyāni, giver of answers to kings.

And then Gāman the bold, with Dalel and Rahmatān (Loharānis) made a request to the Khān of the Tuman, saying, "Come ye on to the struggle of war, and meet at the Nafuskh pass."

Then was heard the report of the loud guns, thousands of blows were struck; there was dust and haze and rain, it became dark like black night. Many good men were there, and God's might was seen!

The cowards scattered to right and left, the traitor Jakhān fled, Tamāi departed to take rest, he was not of the martyrs with the Hūrīs!

In front stood Loch Sāhib the leader; he died like red gold! And good is the fame of the Sepoys, who paraded upon the Maidān beating their drums. In that sight there was power. This is the business of the Angrēz; honour to thy weapons. First guns in thousands made a hot wind blow from the force (?) of distant reports.

In the north they hold the bright jewels (i.e. swords) as they strike in the charge (?).

The hunters of Rūm smote, all their weapons of one kind. The cannon were all facing to the front; there were a thousand of them, fired with caps, and above them a bazaar of spears, below them the glittering swords. They were all of one kind, the strikers and the acrobats, they opened out and met upon the plain. Now the Firangīs made a charge; heroes of two colours; in the fight their hearts do not tremble. The noble Moore Sahib was their chief, he wielded his sword on the plain, to the glory of his father and grandfather.

The generous Dodā Khān is chief; the golden leader of the Baloch. May misfortune never come nigh thee! Of lofty fortune is our Sardār. His bow is strung by the four Companions; he is ever sung by the bards.

Note.—As I have not been able to compare the transliteration of this ballad with the version in Persian characters, I have made a few conjectural emendations in doubtful passages.—M. L. D.

III

A SAMARITAN MS. OF THE SECOND OR THIRD CENTURY: A PALÆOGRAPHIC STUDY

By M. GASTER

ALL the elements are missing for even a moderate attempt at establishing definite rules for Samaritan Palæography. Of all the MSS. of the Pentateuch known in Europe only a few specimens have hitherto been published in facsimile, and, as far as I am aware, not one of them dated. The same holds good for all other Samaritan documents, prayer-books, letters, etc. There is therefore practically nothing to go upon, except personal experience, and the examination as far as possible of the materials available to as large an extent as circumstances allow. It is the course which I have endeavoured to pursue, but as will be seen the examination of MSS. hitherto known does not lead us further back than the eleventh or twelfth century. With all modesty I may claim to have seen most of the Samaritan MSS. in England and in Nablus. In the rest of Europe they are an almost negligible quantity: possibly the oldest dated fragment of a scroll of the Bible is in my possession. I have seen all the scrolls in the Kinsha in Nablus, inclusive of the famous one ascribed to Abisha, grandson of Eliezar, the son of Ahron the priest, and I have obtained copies of the Tarikh, or as they call it of the Teshkul (pronounced Tesh'ul), i.e. the date of most of them. I have taken a photo of the scroll of 1140, and done my best to get an insight into Samaritan palæography, intimately bound up as it is with the history of the Bible. If anywhere, it is among the Samaritans that the ancient traditions have been fossilized, and their scribes betray

a most touching anxiety to imitate the originals as closely as possible.

Professional scribes will often retain the archaic characteristics of the script which they are copying. This is best seen in connexion with the scrolls of the Bible among the Jews, and what holds good for the Jews holds good also for the Samaritans. If not for some differences in the general character of the letters which mark off Oriental from Occidental forms, due to recognized traditions and not due to the vagaries or differences introduced by the scribes, it is often impossible to fix even an approximate date for such scrolls. It now often happens that a document discovered in the Genizah judged by outside appearance is considered to be of a more recent date, yet by the date which it bears it is found to be of far greater antiquity. We learn to our astonishment that the script which we considered modern is really very ancient, and that the scribes of a later date had retained intact the old form for centuries with the utmost fidelity. If we had to determine the date of these documents on the basis of palæography alone, we should have set them down as belonging to a period three to four hundred years later than they really are. If this is the case with Hebrew MSS., of which the libraries in Europe count about 10,000, not to speak of the equally great number of Genizah fragments in England alone, how much more fallacious must any estimate of the age of a Samaritan undated MS. be! The Jews have established long ago—how long it is impossible to guess—standard codices of the scroll of the Law, for subsequent scribes to imitate word for word, line for line, column for column. To this very day such models are placed in the hands of the scribes. This probably is also the practice followed by the Samaritans, and I have had therefore four or five scrolls copied for me by the Samaritans in order to find out the principles

followed and the originals which served as their model. Given the reticence of the Samaritans on many points affecting the scrolls in their possession, this was the only means of obtaining some reliable information as to the rules followed by them. A large number of Pentateuch copies in book form, some anterior to 1480, others of more recent origin, even a copy of the Triglott and the Targum, yielded important material towards an attempt to establish Samaritan palæography. I should like to add that the oldest fragment of the Bible scroll in Europe (belonging to the twelfth century) is in my possession. I also possess a large number of fragments of various ages and dates, of which each one contributed its quota to the elucidation of the problems connected with Samaritan palæography.

I reserve the detailed description for a special study on the palæography of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Yet in spite of the examination of so many ancient and modern Samaritan MSS. I must own that an attempt to fix the age of an undated MS. must still be more a matter of conjecture and hypothesis. There are to my knowledge no Samaritan MSS. available anterior to the twelfth century, except probably the famous Abisha scroll, the date of which will only then be determined when the study of the palæography of the Samaritan Pentateuch is established on a sound and definite basis. I have been informed by Mr. Warren of Michigan that a photographic copy has been taken of the whole of it by the American Society, and that the plates are now stored away in Jerusalem. One can only hope that they will survive the devastation of the War.

All this is mentioned here to show that I have spared no effort to reach some satisfactory result from the study of as full a material as could be gathered together under actual circumstances.

Nothing, or scarcely anything reliable, however, exists

older than the eleventh or twelfth century by means of which the age of an older MS. could be fixed with any hope of reliability, and none with certainty unless and until other dated texts are discovered. As far as I am aware there is little hope for such a contingency. No facsimile has been published of the Samaritan fragments from the Genizah of Nablus, carried away under false pretences by Firkovitch some seventy years ago and now deposited in the library of St. Petersburg. Among them there are a number of dated Ketuboth, a list of which had been furnished by Harkavy to Nutt, and published by the latter in his Samaritan Targum (p. 166). Still, the oldest is dated only from the year 916 Heg: (1510), the rest from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. It is a pity that none of these had been reproduced in facsimile, and thus no help is forthcoming in that direction, nor would it carry us higher up beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century. But in addition to the MSS. there is other material available, that of the Samaritan inscriptions, of which a fairly good number has recently been discovered, and most of which have been reproduced in facsimile by Spoer Mušel Lidzbarski and by Montgomery. Paradoxical as it may sound, these inscriptions are probably posterior to written documents. They owe their preservation to the indestructive material—the stone or clay—on which they have been engraved. But writing is undoubtedly older, especially in Jewish and Samaritan literature, than any of these inscriptions, which merely attempt to copy the script which they followed as closely as the hard material allowed. Unfortunately most of these monuments are undated. The dates assigned to them rest mostly upon mere conjecture and on the comparison of the writing with other known inscriptions which are either dated or whose age has been determined by the names and incidents recorded thereon.

The dated monuments are helpful in showing the form which letters had assumed at a given period, and that a monument whereon the letters differ must be of a different age. If in addition to certain graphic details there is no other indication through the contents, it would be impossible to state which of the two monuments thus compared is the older or younger unless we follow the historical evolution of the script on the Semitic inscriptions through the ages. We are thus reduced to the comparative study of the alphabet and other details. The absence of old Samaritan inscriptions greatly adds to the hypothetical character of the results thus obtained. Still, though a wide margin may be given, I hope that this internal evidence and the comparison with old inscriptions may lead to results as much assured as has hitherto been the case with other ancient North Semitic or rather Palestinian epigraphic monuments.

The epigraphic material is thus the only available, but unfortunately it is very scanty. There are only very few old Samaritan inscriptions known, and they are of uncertain date. Some are ascribed to the fifth century, and others possibly to a little earlier period (third or fourth century). No convincing proof has been given for the dates, but there is nothing to contradict these views. No palæographical criterion has yet been established by which to determine the real age of these inscriptions. Montgomery in his *Samaritans* has reprinted a number of them. He has evidently not been guided by the assumed antiquity of each of them in the order in which he published them, for those numbered 1, 2, 3 are not the oldest. They are ascribed to a period anterior to the sixth century (the destruction of the Temple by Justinian before 531). Only No. 4, the inscription of Einmaus, of which more anon, may claim, in my opinion, to be the oldest hitherto recovered. For if we examine the writing on plates 1, 2, and 3 we shall find that the characters differ

very considerably in their outlines, and in the manner in which the strokes of the letter have been drawn from the oldest available Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic inscriptions, and approximate more closely some of the oldest Samaritan MS. fragments of the Pentateuch in book form.

The lines are quite horizontal, especially the lower lines of **ב כ**. The **כ** has no stroke or jot at the right or left of the foot and the top. The **ב** is very slanting, and the middle stroke passes through the back. The **י** is broken in the middle; the vertical line of **ק** does not protrude above the top lines, and the vertical line of the **י** is not perpendicular, but rather slanting. On the whole the letters are not slanting. Characteristic is also the form of the **י**. Owing to the hardness of the stone the rounding of the letters, notably the top parts of **בכפר**, is not complete. Very characteristic is the **ל**, whose lower stroke forms a sharp angle with the upper one, which slants from right to left. This letter has undergone a remarkable development. In the oldest Phœnician and Aramaic inscriptions the lower horizontal line is very small, but it has grown continually in the course of centuries to such an extent that it has become the most prominent part of the letter, and has reduced the upper line to a mere fraction of its original size. In these Samaritan inscriptions the lower line is already greatly developed, and the upper one has become completely slanting. All these features are especially noticeable in the Schechem inscription of the Ten Words on Creation reproduced by Lidzbarski on a larger scale and in smaller form by Montgomery (plate ii). As already remarked, it is extremely difficult to compare inscriptions cut with the chisel on hard stone with the writing by a reed pen in some soft material like papyrus and parchment. But the general outlines would no doubt be the same and in each case characteristic of the age of each of these monuments.

What I mean to say is this: that definite characteristic features in the shape and outlines of letters would be found in written as well as in cut letters, and that the ornamentation, slanting or upright position, of the letter in one set of monuments is sure to correspond with the same size, form, shape of the letters in the other, independent of the material upon which they have been produced. The changes that supervene in the course of time will be seen in either of them, though, as already remarked, it is much more easy to retain archaic features in written documents prepared by expert scribes, and notably in those cases in which they copy ancient and sacred documents. They would then be inclined to imitate also the outward form of the letters whilst copying the contents. I have already referred to this peculiarity in connexion with the writing of sacred scrolls or anything invested with a sacred character. Close imitation is almost part of the scribe's duty, and yet in spite of this slavish imitation changes are slowly introduced into the writing. But these will be almost imperceptible at the beginning, and a long time must elapse before a definite change can be recognized. This, on the one hand, increases the difficulty of fixing the date of any such document, and on the other hand helps us approximately to fix the date, for if a decided difference can be noted between one document and another, and taking into consideration the slowness of the evolution and the change, one is justified in assuming that a long space of time must separate one from another. Centuries must have elapsed in those cases. If we thus compare the Emmaus inscription with the preceding three in Montgomery this difference in type will at once be noticeable. There are practically no lower horizontal lines in the letters **בב**. There is only a short slanting line in lieu of the vertical and horizontal, the lower stroke of the **ב** is short in comparison to the upper line, and there seems to be also a slight stroke on the left-hand

corner of ך which approximates this inscription very closely to Phœnician forms, and to a certain extent to the old Siloam and also slightly to the Moabite inscription, though centuries must have elapsed between e.g. the Siloam and the Samaritan inscriptions. There is now another point—the interpunction. In the Aramaic inscriptions, which curiously enough have all come to light during the last fifty years, we find the words separated from one another by a dot. No such separation of words takes place in any of the numerous Phœnician and Punic inscriptions, nor is a dot found separating the words from one another on the Hebrew coins. On the other hand, all the Samaritan documents which have come to light—I refer here especially to the written documents—have this dot of separation between one word and the other. If we turn now to the Samaritan Schechem inscriptions we find that instead of one dot there occur two dots—the colon—which separates the words from one another, and is not used as syntactic interpunction, either separating sentences or marking the end of greater divisions. I am not aware that anyone has yet drawn attention to this problem of word separation by one or two dots. In any case it is a very remarkable fact that these dots and colons do not occur on Phœnician inscriptions. In view of the fact that the dot separating the words occurs already in the Aramaic inscriptions at Zindgerle and on the Moabite Stone, if the latter be genuine, would carry this marking up to very high antiquity, and the same would be the case with the Siloam inscription if it is carried back to the time of Hezekiah, and thus the question arises: Why should the Phœnician not have used the dots to separate one word from another?

There are evidently two different traditions here, and the problem becomes complicated if we turn to the Samaritan literature. Did the Samaritans use these dots for separation of words from one another in very ancient

times, or are they of a later origin? In the absence of decisive documents the question is an extremely difficult one to answer. The epigraphical evidence would point in the direction that the Samaritans did not use originally a dot to mark the end of a word, but rather two dots—a colon—appear in the Schechem and other inscriptions, whilst no dot at all is found in the Emmaus inscription. In the facsimile published by Montgomery there may be a dot found in the second, but I doubt its existence, and only one dot is found in No. 3, which, however, may have a syntactical and not a diacritical value. In the absence of other evidence it would be idle to inquire when the dot had been introduced, and to what influences that dot is due. All the MSS. available, even the oldest, have these single dots. If now a document should be discovered in which the words are not separated by any dots, either single or double, unquestionably that alone would suffice to mark it as an extremely ancient one, anterior in any case to the inscriptions of the fifth or sixth century, and much nearer in age to the Emmaus inscription, and if the character of the letters would also agree in the main with the first Emmaus inscription this would have to be accepted as sufficient evidence for the document to be considered as one of equal antiquity and if possible even older, unless there would be direct internal evidence to show that such an assumption is impossible.

Among the Samaritan documents in my possession there is a large number of phylacteries or amulets. I have recently published in the PSBA. for 1915-17 one of the most complete of these amulets. I have endeavoured to show that by their contents these amulets led us back to the first centuries of the Common Era, if they are not even older. For I see in these amulets the very phylacteries mentioned in the New Testament. I have gone into a minute description of the palæographical peculiarities of these documents (ib. 1915, pp. 163 ff.), and

I have pointed out their very archaic character. Not wishing to make them out too old, I see now that I have erred on the wrong side in making them out to be much younger than I am inclined now to think. The constant occupation with them has sharpened the sight for many minute points originally overlooked, and minute points count for much in these delicate investigations, and their importance has grown with the closer study of the Samaritan inscriptions.

Among the phylacteries there is one (my Cod. 1103) which has all the characteristics referred to above in the epigraphic monuments, and marks it out as probably the oldest Samaritan MS. which has thus far been recovered. A careful examination of this document will convince us of this fact. Not only do the letters bear close resemblance to the first Emmaus inscription, but this is also as far as I am aware the only Samaritan document in which the words are not separated by dots, and the whole writing is consecutive. It is remarkable that the words are not separated from one another. All the letters are written close to one another just as they are found in Phœnician inscriptions, and not in the other phylacteries with the words carefully separated by dots. If the whole were not a collection of Biblical phrases these documents would offer to the scholars the same difficulties of decipherment and interpretation as those Phœnician and Punic inscriptions offer. It cannot be suggested in explanation of the omission of the separating dot that because the phylactery would be used for magical purpose the text would be written consecutively, as may sometimes be the case for magical formulæ, but as the text consisted of Biblical sentences the writer would not have ventured to alter the Biblical text and to make it as it were unintelligible by the omission of dots if he had found them in the original. No doubt, at his time, the Biblical text had not yet been separated into words marked off by dots, and this would

carry it back to very high antiquity. It represents in a faithful manner a much older original, the scribe not venturing to take any liberties with the older original which he transcribed and which he wanted to use as, a prophylactic against all kind of hurt and evil. This is the more remarkable as the scribe knew the value of the dot as a diacritical sign, for he used it as such and not for the purpose of separating one word from another, but to mark the pause between certain words which evidently had to be pronounced emphatically, like the word *kadosh*, "holy." It is used at the end of certain groups of mystical letters, notably in the second column. He also knows the value of the colon, but it is used only and solely for the purpose of dividing certain lines into two equal halves, each consisting of ten letters. Now there are in Samaritan orthography also diacritical points corresponding more or less to the Hebrew accents. They were described by me and fully explained in my article in *Noldeke Festschrift* under the title "Massoretisches im Samaritanischen".

The older the Samaritan MSS. of the Bible are, the more carefully do we find the accents and orthographic signs inserted in the text, and probably because they have been connected with the sacred text of the Bible use is made of them also in most of the phylacteries, and the same phenomenon can be observed in these as in all Bible MSS., for the older they are the more carefully are these accents entered in the text. This MS., however (Cod. 1103), again shows no trace of any of these diacritical points and accents. Only occasionally there appears a vertical stroke at the end of a whole paragraph more or less like the Hebrew Silluk, but none of the other signs, dots, or hooks, or any of the graphic signs found in all the other Samaritan MSS. I take this to be another proof of the high antiquity of this MS. If, as I suggest, those Samaritan accents had been invented and introduced about the fourth or fifth century, then their absence alone

would already prove that this MS. must be anterior to the fourth or fifth century.

We turn now to the letters. We shall be struck by the close affinity, not only with the Emmaus inscription, but on the whole with the older Phœnician inscriptions. This is a point of extreme importance inasmuch as it shows that the Samaritans borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnician and not from the Hebrew, or that all go back to a common stock, yet in their development the Samaritans kept close to the Phœnician, but the Hebrew and Aramaic developed their alphabet on more independent lines. It will be noted that there is scarcely any straight horizontal line under **בפמכ**—they are all on the slant—but also that the **מכ** have practically, in most cases, no horizontal line at all. They finish the upper part with a kind of tail slightly turned on the left exactly as we find them in the Emmaus inscription, and as we find these letters in the old Phœnician inscriptions. It agrees with col. 3 in Montgomery's table, which is early Hebrew, meaning thereby the Siloam inscription, and even more closely with col. 4 (middle Phœnician) with the exception of one or two letters. If we turn to the **ה** we find the lower stroke very small and the upper line curved upwards and not straight, slanting to the right. The **א** is in most cases standing upright, quite perpendicular, and the upper line protrudes beyond the stroke on the right and not in the middle as in the inscriptions of Nablus, and in all subsequent monuments. The **ק** has also an upper stroke and we find it revived afterwards by the scribe of the eleventh or twelfth century, and on the foot of the **קק** there are strokes to the left.

These archaic forms in the present text cannot be mere graphic vagaries, for it is a long document consisting of no less than 185 lines, and this is only half of the original document; the other half has been torn off, and who knows whether it is still in existence? The

preservation of these documents is almost a miracle in itself, and with one single exception, my cod. No. 1100 (C), there is no one single whole phylactery known to exist anywhere. They are all only fragments of one-half, or two-thirds of the original, all written with great care, and are copies of much older documents as mentioned before. They are the oldest representatives of the amulets current in Palestine, not only in the first century but unquestionably much earlier. The agreement between these phylacteries and the oldest Greek magical papyri is very close. What is still more pertinent to our purpose now is the fact discovered by me that all the Samaritan inscriptions hitherto discovered contain precisely the same text in the same order with the same abbreviations as found in the phylactery. They were in fact phylacteries in stone put there for the same purpose of protection. They contain the very same phrases and even the same abbreviations, and the very inscription of Emmaus is found here in line 13 of this phylactery (excluding the two top frame lines). This makes the graphic comparison even much more easy.

There is now another point. In all the other phylacteries we find two kinds of writing, small and big letters, and although the practice of writing small and big letters is very old, still this is the only document of its kind in which the whole writing is in one single alphabet. It is neither the real minuscule nor a real majuscule, but a bold full-sized type, the same for the text as for the surrounding marginal lines and the frame lines, as I call them, which in all other MSS. are written in very big type. In the other phylacteries there are in addition to the two frame lines also intercolumnal lines separating one from the other, and the text of the frame lines is continued in these intercolumnal lines. In this MS. there are no such intercolumnal lines.

There is one interesting feature to which attention may

be drawn now in this connexion. The Samaritans, like the Jews, have two kinds of alphabet; the latter have one called the square and the other called by a misnomer Rashi type, for it seemed to have been used for the first time in Europe for the writing of the commentary of Rashi to Bible and Talmud, but recent discoveries have shown that this second type of writing is much older than Rashi (twelfth century). Documents of the seventh and eighth centuries in the Genizah are already written with this alphabet, and it is not at all unlikely, nay, very probable, that we have in this cursive writing a direct development of the older Aramaic script in the papyri. Many of the letters agree much more closely with the latter, and in fact it is suggested that the so-called square character is nothing else than a further development of the much more ancient Aramaic writing going through the intermediary of the Palmyrene. Be it as it may, the characteristic features of the cursive writing and of the older Aramaic is that the letters are supported by a long vertical stem, which, in the course of time, seems to have been bent over to the left so as to form a kind of rectangular basis of the body of the letter above it. Now the Samaritans have also in addition the well-known alphabet which can only be compared with the Hebrew inasmuch as it has a definite character; it is by no means square, a kind of script, which they call half letter (*ḥeši-ōth*). Hitherto, all the Bible MSS. known are written with the full-letter alphabet and not in the half-letter alphabet. I have discovered, further, among the Samaritan fragments, old scrolls of the Bible written with these half or cursive semi-uncial letters. This fact proves that this alphabet must have been much older than one would have been inclined to believe from the MSS. in which it has been used, all thus far comparatively modern (fourteenth century downwards). But this writing must have been considered by the Samaritans

to be of equally sacred character as the uncial alphabet, or otherwise it would never have been used for the writing of sacred scrolls. Samaritan palæography has hitherto taken absolutely no notice of this alphabet, and, yet in the light of the discovery of the present document, the Samaritan phylactery, one will be able to trace the close connexion between the semi-uncial writing and the oldest script used by the Samaritans themselves. The very letters **מ**, and especially **נ** (cup-like, on a slightly bent stem), show the very same characteristics—the absence of any horizontal line at the base of the letters and the prevalence of plain strokes downwards in lieu of these straight horizontal lines. The same is the case with the **ה** and **א**.

A special feature of the semi-uncial is the letter **ב**, and in modern copies the lower stroke has been prolonged to such an extent that it sometimes runs under the whole length of the word. It is only by this peculiar feature that it is distinguished from the **ב**. The **י** agrees also with the form as found in the oldest Emmaus inscriptions, where the script approximates also closely to similar writing in the cursive alphabet. We thus have a parallel development among the Jews and Samaritans in the use of their alphabet. In both the more ancient forms seem to have survived in that cursive writing, the study of which hitherto had been almost entirely neglected. The Samaritan documents are thus a link again between the past and the present.¹

¹ The **י** in this Samaritan alphabet is quite characteristic, with the exception of the Emmaus inscription, where the **י** resembles a circle; in all the other Samaritan documents and monuments the **י** has the form of a triangle. Now it may be a mere coincidence, but in Christian iconography we often find a triangle depicted either on the altar or on the porch outside the church with a human eye inside and the rays of light shining out from the three sides; sometimes the Hebrew tetragrammaton is written either inside or over this triangle. It is clear that this picture is intended to represent the eye of God inside this triangle, which probably stands as a symbol for the Trinity. The

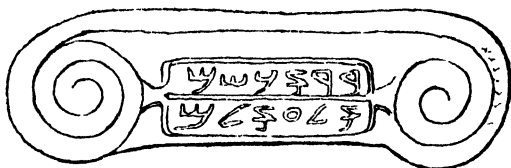
A brief description of the document may now be given. It is written on parchment, consisting possibly originally of four columns, only two of which have been preserved, and even those in a somewhat dilapidated condition. The text agrees in the main with the one published by me, although it presents some very curious variations, to which reference has been made in the other publication in connexion with Cod. O [Cod. Gaster 899]. The writing is in the main carefully done, but the alignment is occasionally not so straight as in the other documents, especially in the lower half. The copyist does not follow any definite rule in the number of letters in each line, varying from 17 to 23 letters, and when writing shorter lines he follows the same tradition as found in the Samaritan Bible codices, viz. he leaves a blank space in the middle of a word and finishes the line with either one or two final letters of that word. From every point of view, therefore, this MS. may be considered as belonging possibly to the second or third century, and is probably the oldest Hebrew Samaritan MS. in existence anterior to any document in these languages that has come down to us. But this would not exhaust the full importance of the present text, which goes far beyond its value for palæography. It must be remembered that most of the contents of this document, which is a phylactery or amulet, are taken literally from the Pentateuch. We have therefore here one of the oldest fragments of the connexion, however, between the triangle and the eye is not so clear. But if we look at the Samaritan writing we shall find this very letter **י** is such a triangle, only with the apex downwards. The name of that letter is in Samaritan as well as Hebrew *'ayin*, which means "eye". Now the connexion is obvious. The triangle is the letter **י**, which means "eye", that very eye which is painted within, and the word of the Psalm thus applied to it, "Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him" (Ps. xxxiii, 18), and the commentary to it is thus pictorially expressed. On another occasion I may be able to show the close connexion which exists between the Samaritan teaching and practice and primitive Christianity, when the explanation of ancient symbolism will not appear as a mere fortuitous coincidence.

Hebrew Bible either in the Samaritan or Jewish Hebrew recension. No older MS. is known to exist, and although the phylactery is only a fragment, still the quotations from the Bible are numerous enough to be most helpful, in the direction of elucidating some of the problems connected with the Pentateuch. In the first place, of course, also from the archæological side, for if this is a true representation of the text in its oldest form with undivided words, we have here, as already mentioned before, a clear evidence of the existence of such a text. No dot or other mark separates the words from one another. Moreover, we have then a further proof that at the time when that ancient original was compiled of which this is only a copy, the original being probably many centuries older, the Samaritans were then already in possession of a text which in every detail down to the most minute agrees with the recension in their possession, notwithstanding some minute differences from the text published by me in PSBA. The rest agrees also with the Hebrew recension in many instances, even as far as the *scriptio plena* and the *scriptio defectiva*. I do not wish to draw conclusions for the antiquity of the Pentateuch. But if this document is as old as it seems to be, as this is only a copy of a much older document, then it is obvious that the Samaritans must have been in possession of their Pentateuch at a very early time. For in this document we find catchwords as shown by me which represent either whole sentences or even small sections, and presuppose the existence of a text divided up into small sections and also into sentences, sufficiently distinct to be able to be recognized by one single word—the catchword—being taken out of the contents. That ancient codex of the Bible must have already been written in conformity with definite rules still prevailing among the Samaritans, for we find them followed implicitly by the writer of this document. The reason why I consider

this amulet to be a copy is obvious. The whole principle underlying this charm or phylactery must have already been fully elaborated, and a complete compilation must have been made of various elements before it assumed the actual shape in which we find it here. In this document we do not recognize a first attempt. On the contrary, it represents a definite final formulation, a kind of *ne varietur*, which the other documents followed at whatever time they were written; whether the copy was made in the twelfth century or the fourteenth century or the nineteenth century, they are all faithful copies of one or two originals rigidly transcribed. It agrees, moreover, in all its minutiae with the actual recension of the Samaritan Pentateuch, especially the graphic details, and yet it is much more ancient by centuries than any scroll yet found among the Samaritans. How has it escaped destruction? The answer is obvious. Its very nature and character assured for it the greatest care, for with its preservation he who wore it preserved himself from every hurt and evil. His own safety was, as it were, bound up with the safety of the amulet. In spite of all the persecution under the Greek emperors when the whole literature of the Samaritans was destroyed, even then though the wearing of amulets was equally strongly forbidden, it was possible to conceal it, for to this very day however large the sheet of parchment be on which these amulets are written they are folded so many times until they occupy a very small space, so small that one could conceal it almost in the palm of one's hand. It was worn next to the skin, and every care was taken to hide it. Should the views here set forth be accepted—and I do not see how they could be controverted—then one might venture to look upon this document as a most valuable contribution to Hebrew and Samaritan palaeography, and a new means for determining the date of similar documents should they be discovered.

I am reproducing here in facsimile the top part of the manuscript in question—about one-fourth of the whole—and I am subjoining the transliteration in Hebrew square characters of the first thirty-five lines, which are in a better state of preservation, to which I am adding a few explanatory notes. It follows the original line for line, and no attempt is made to divide the words, so as to give to the reader an exact impression of the original. The English translation will facilitate the reading of the original.

THE FIRST EMMAUS INSCRIPTION



It reads ברוך שמו לעולם, "Blessed be his name for ever."

Cod. Gaster No. 1103 (E)

1 ב ש מ י ה ה י ה ג ד ו ל
 ב ש מ י ה ה א ל ה י ש ר א ל א ש ר י
 כ י ב ש מ י ה ה א ק ר א א י נ כ א ל י ש ר ו נ
 ק ו מ ה י ה ה ע ל ד כ א ה נ כ ת ב ו ע ל ש מ
 5 ס ב ו ל ו ה ה מ כ ת ב ב ר א ש י ת ב ר א א ל ה י מ
 ו פ ס ח י ה ה ע ל ה פ ת ח ו ל א י ת נ
 ה מ ש ח י ת ל ב ו א א ל ב ת י כ מ ל נ ג פ
 כ י ב ש מ י ה ה א ק ר א ו ה ב ו ג ד ל
 ל א ל ה י נ ו ה צ ו ר ת מ י מ פ ע ל ו כ י כ ל
 10 ד ר כ י ו מ ש פ ט א ל א מ ו נ ה ו א י נ ע ו ל
 צ ד י ק ו י ש ר ה ו א י ה ה א ל ה י נ ו
 י ה ו ה א ח ד ב ר ו כ א ל ה י נ ו ל ע ו ל מ
 ו ב ר ו כ ש מ ו ל ע ו ל מ י ה ה ה ג ד ו ל
 י ו ו ה ה נ ו ר א י ה ה ה נ ס י

יהוה אשכלה: 15
 עשותוהאלהים : המטריהאלהים
 ויצריהאלהים : ויטעיהאלהים
 ויציהאלהים : ויקחיהאלהים
 ויצויהאלהים : וייהאלהים
 ויצריהאלהים : ויפליהאלהים: 20
 ויבניהאלהים : עשהיהאלהים
 כיאמראהאלהים : כיידעאלהים
 והייתמכאלהים: קוליהאלהים
 ויקריהאלהים : וייהאלהים
 ויאמריהאלהים: ויעשיהאלהים 25
 ויאמריהאלהים: וישיהאלהים
 עדעולמיהוהילחמלכמואתמתחר
 שונ

רפאירפאאלהים
 לבושה... נאמנ:
 כיבשמיהוהאקראויאמראהאלהים 30
 יהיאורויה[יא]ורויצריהוה
 אלהימאתהא[ד]מעפרמנהאדמה
 ויברכאלהימאתנחואתבניו
 ואברכמברכי[כ]ומקלליכאאראל
 עליונקניש[מי]מוארצאתהאל 35

Translation

[1] In the name of the Lord the great one. [2] In the name of the Lord God of Israel do I begin, [3] for in the name of the Lord I call (Deut. xxxii, 8). There is none like the God of Jeshurun (Deut. xxxiii, 26). [4] Arise, O Lord, for him who has written these writings, and for the name of [5] him who wears this writing. In the beginning created the Lord (Gen. i, 1). [6] And the Lord will pass over the door and will not suffer [7] the destroyer to come into your houses to smite you (Ex. xii, 23). [8] For in the name of the Lord will I call, and ascribe ye greatness unto [9] our God. He is the rock, His work is perfect. For all [10] His ways are judgment. A God

of faithfulness and without iniquity. [11] Just and right is He (Deut. xxxii, 3, 4). The Lord is our God, [12] the Lord is (Deut. vi, 4). Blessed be our God for ever, [13] and blessed be His name for ever. The Lord is great (cf. Deut. x, 17) [the Lord is mighty?]. [14] The Lord is fearful (Ex. xv, 11), the Lord is my banner (Ex. xvii, 15). [15] The Lord is consuming fire (Deut. iv, 24). [16] The Lord God made (Gen. ii, 4). The Lord God caused it to rain (Gen. ii, 5), [17] and the Lord God formed (Gen. ii, 19). The Lord God planted (Gen. ii, 8), [18] and the Lord God made to grow (Gen. ii, 9), and the Lord God took (Gen. ii, 15). [19] And the Lord God commanded (Gen. ii, 16). And the Lord God said (Gen. ii, 18). [20] The Lord God formed (Gen. ii, 19), the Lord God caused to fall (Gen. ii, 21). [21] And the Lord God builded (Gen. ii, 22). The Lord God made (Gen. iii, 1), [22] for God said (Gen. iii, 3), for God doth know (Gen. iii, 5), [23] and ye shall be as gods (ibid.). The voice of the Lord God (Gen. iii, 8), [24] and the Lord God called (Gen. iii, 9), and the Lord God said (Gen. iii, 13, 14), [25] and the Lord God said (Gen. iii, 22), and the Lord God made (Gen. iii, 21), [26] and the Lord God said, and the Lord God sent him forth (Gen. iii, 23) for ever. [27] The Lord will fight for you and ye be silent (Ex. iv, 14). [28] God will surely heal him [29] who is clothed with it. Amen. Amen. [30] For I call in the name of the Lord (Deut. xxxii, 3). And God said [31] let there be light, and there was light (Gen. i, 3). And the Lord God formed [32] Adam from dust from the earth (Gen. ii, 7). [33] And God blessed Noah and his sons (Gen. ix, 1). [34] And I will bless them who bless thee, and those who curse thee I will curse (Gen. xii, 3). God [35] the most high one, possessor of heaven and earth (Gen. xiv, 19). Thou art . . .

Note to translation

In this text the Ten Words of Creation found in other phylacteries after line 15 have not yet been inserted. They form partly the contents of the Sichem inscription.

In H. 16 ff. the Tetragrammeton is often represented in an abbreviated form by the first two letters $\overline{\text{H}}$, and some other words are equally abbreviated.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

RULERS OF LAHIJAN AND FUMAN, IN GILAN, PERSIA

This account of the local dynasties of Gilān is culled from the following sources:—

1. Ta'rikh-i-Gilān wa Daylamistān (750-894 = 1349-1488) of Mīr Zahiru'd-Dīn Mar'ashī, published at Rasht in 1330 A.H., by H. L. Rabino, from the only known manuscript which is in the Bodleian Library.

2. Ta'rikh-i-Khānī (880-920 = 1475-1514) of 'Alī ibn Shamsu'd-Dīn ibn Ḥajjī Husayn Lāhijī, edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1857.

3. Ta'rikh-i-Gilān of 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ Fūmānī (923-1038 = 1517-1628), edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1858.

4. Majālisu'l-Mūminīn of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Tustarī, in which appears the genealogy of Amīr Kiyā, and a brief account of his successors.

Other Persian works, such as the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū, the Sharaf-nāma of Sharafu'd Dīn of Bitlīs, etc., have also been consulted.

LĀHIJĀN

The district of Lāhijān, one of the largest and most important of the province of Gilān, lies eastward of the Safid Rūd, and is nearly all plain, having but few mountains to the south. It is bordered on the north by the Caspian, on the east by Langarūd and Rānikūh, on the south by Sumām and Daylamān, on the south-west by Siyāhkal, and on the west by the Safid Rūd and the districts of Mawāzī and Lashtanishāh.

Its length from north to south, that is from the former mouth of the Safid Rūd to Sarlayl, is about 27 miles, and its width from east to west, or from Kīsum to Dizbun, about 15 miles.

Mustawfi in the eighth (fourteenth) century describes

Lāhijān as a fair-sized town. Much silk was manufactured here, and the district grew rice and corn, also oranges and shaddocks with other fruits of a hot region.

During the beginning of the third century of the Hijra, Lāhijān was part of the dominions of Wahsūdān, king of Daylam, who, by ceding Shamīrān to the Āl-i-Kangar family, i.e. to Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, lost his supremacy over the whole of Gilān, and thus confined his own dynasty to the possession of Lāhijān, that is to half only of his former kingdom.

When Uljāytū Sultān invaded Gilān, the ruler of Lāhijān, Pādishāh Nū¹ and his relatives, came out to meet him with a sword and winding sheet, and made their submission. He was well received, and was given in marriage the daughter of one of the Mongol Amīrs. He was not only confirmed in his government, but the other rulers of Gilān were made subordinate to him. Rashidu'd-Dīn Faḡlu'llāh describes him as the greatest ruler in Gilān in wealth and in dignity. The ruler of Tamijān was at that time Amīra Muḥammad, who also submitted to the Mongols.

Half a century later, the rulers of Lāhijān and Rānikūh were two brothers of the Nāsirwand clan. Amīra Sharafu'd-Dawla, son of Amīra Pahlawān, had relinquished the throne of Lāhijān to his son, Amīra Jihān, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but, falling ill at Tabriz, he returned to Lāhijān, where he died.

His brother, Amīra Muḥammad, was ruler of Rānikūh. He also abdicated in favour of his son, Nū Pāshā, and went to reside at Chahārda.

Nū Pāshā had first to contend with Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. The latter, with the help of Sayyid Rikābzān Kiyā of Tunakābun, entered Rānikūh and surprised Chahārda, where he put Amīra Muḥammad to death. Nū Pāshā compelled Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā to retire to Āmul, and entered

¹ ? Pādishāh-i-Naw.

into an alliance with Sayyid Rikābzān. These two compassed the death of Amīra Jihān, and occupied Lāhijān. On the approach of Amīra Anūz Kūhdumī to the help of Amīra Muḥammad and Amīra Pahlawān, the sons of the late ruler, the inhabitants of Lāhijān rose against and slew Sayyid Rikābzān Kiyā, whilst Amīra Nū Pāshā fled to Rānikūh. The latter was soon compelled to leave the country by Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, who in 769 A.H. = 1367-8 A.D., rendered himself master of the whole of Biyapīsh (that part of the plain of Gilān lying to the east of the Safid Rūd). After the defeat and death of Sayyid 'Alī at Rasht, Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman gave Lāhijān to Kūla Bahādur Nāṣirwand, who had married the sister of Amīra Muḥammad Rashtī, Gūka to Fir'awn ibn Malik, Pāshijā to Amīra Jalālu'd-Dīn, and Rānikūh and Kīsum to Amīra Mas'ūd. These governors belonged to the Nāṣirwand clan. Rānikūh was given to Salūk Mardāwij, a person formerly in the service of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, but who had left it out of spite, and was in command of the troops that had defeated the Sayyid at Rasht.

This second rule of the Nāṣirwand only lasted five months, from Ramazān, 791, to Šafar, 792 (Aug., 1389 to Jan.-Feb., 1390 A.D.), when Sayyid Hādī Kiyā again seized the whole of Biyapīsh.

The Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids ruled Biyapīsh from 769 to 1000 A.H. (1367-1592 A.D.). The first person of this family to rebel was Amīr Kiyā, son of Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī (who removed from Fashtām to Malāt) ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ghaznawī (so called because he was for some time a pupil of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Ghaznawī), ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Zayd (who left Abhar for Gilān, where he settled in the village of Fashtām in Kūhdum) ibn Ābī Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Akbar (known as 'Aqīqī Kawkabī), ibn 'Īsā al-Kūfī (a very learned person who out of fear of the 'Abbāsids fled from Kūfa

to Abhar), ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar ibn 'Alī Zaynu'l-Ābidin.

Sayyid Amīr Kiyā was compelled to retire to Rustamdār, where he died about a year later, in 763 A.H. (1361-2). His son Sayyid 'Alī, with the help of the Mar'ashī Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of Biyapīsh in 769 (1367-8), and gradually extended his rule to the mountains of Ashkawar and Daylamān, to Kūhdum, Lashtanishāh, and Kūchisfahān, and even to Tārum and Qazwīn, which latter city he held for seven years. Timūr summoned him to surrender Qazwīn, Tārum, and the castle of Shamīrān, a summons which had to be obeyed. The loss of prestige consequent upon this surrender emboldened the rulers of Rasht, Fūman, Shaft, and Gaskar to endeavour to wrest Kūhdum and Kūchisfahān from the Sayyid's hands. Sayyid 'Alī and many of his brothers and relatives were killed in 791 (1389), in a battle outside Rasht, and Biyapīsh, together with the mountainous country south of it, fell once more under the sway of its former rulers. Five months later Sayyid Hādī Kiyā, a brother of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, who had been appointed governor of Tunakābun, where he had remained unmolested after his retreat from Rasht, was invited by Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman to bring Biyapīsh under his rule. This he succeeded in doing, but in 797 (1394-5) his nephews, Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā, son of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, and Sayyid Muḥammad Kiyā (known as Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad), son of Sayyid Mahdī Kiyā, dissatisfied with their uncle because of his refusal to return to them the districts which had belonged to their father, compelled him to retire to Tunakābun. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā became ruler of Lāhijān, and Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad ruler of Rānikūh. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā was an incompetent governor who soon alienated the good will of the inhabitants, so that his brother, Sayyid Rāzī Kiyā, had no difficulty in ousting him. The new Wālī turned his attention to the mountainous

region south of Lāhijān, from which he expelled the Hazāraspī, Kūshayj, and Isma'īlī (Assassin) rulers, and brought the whole of that country, including Alamūt, under his sway. His authority once firmly established, he began rebuilding and embellishing Rānikūh, Rūdisar, Malāt, Daylamān, Sumām, and other villages. He died on the 1st Jumāda i, 829 (March 11, 1426), and was succeeded by his brother, Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā, the former Wālī. The last-named seized the Pusht-i-Kūh district of Rustamdār, but was ordered by Timūr to return it to its rightful owner, Malik Kayūmarth. In consequence of a private quarrel with Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad of Rānikūh, the latter in Ṣafar, 833 (November, 1429), came with his troops to Lāhijān, where he installed his son, Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā, as ruler. Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā having collected reinforcements marched on Lāhijān, and Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā was compelled to retire to Malāt. Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad expelled Sayyid Ḥusayn Kiyā a second time, and appointed governor the latter's nephew, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Kiyā. Shortly afterwards Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā and Kārgiyā Sayyid Aḥmad rebelled against their father, Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad, and confined him in the castle of Alamūt, where he died on the 8th Jumāda i, 837 (December 21, 1433).

Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā then became ruler of Lāhijān, and his brother that of Rānikūh, but the latter, dissatisfied with his share, openly took up arms against his brother in 845 (1441-2). He was defeated and finally sought refuge with Amīra Muḥammad at Rasht, where he died on the 28th Rajab, 853 (September 17, 1449).

Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā died on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 851 (January 19, 1448), and was succeeded, as ruler of Biyapīsh, by his son, Sulṭān Muḥammad, who, at one time, was overlord of the whole borderland, "*dāru'l-marz*," from Astārā to Astarābād, by appointment of the Court of Persia. Sulṭān Muḥammad sent many expeditions to Rustamdār, and in 872 (1467-8) occupied Qazwīn, which he held for

some time. Later, on agreeing to pay to the Royal Treasury of Ḥasan Beg 40 *kharwārs* of 60 *mans* of Tabriz of silk, he was given full control of Biyapas (that part of the plain of Gilān lying to the west of the Safid Rūd), and in 882 (1477-8) proclaimed Amīra Is-hāq ruler of that district.

Sultān Muḥammad died on the last day of Rabi' i, 883 (July 1, 1478), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirzā 'Alī, who abolished the "*zana-zar*" and "*murdashūrāna*" taxes (on weddings and funerals) and allowed daughters of parents who had no male heir to inherit. During the zenith of his power his rule extended to Qazwīn, Shahriyār, Tih-rān, the district of Ray and Warāmīn, Firūzkūh, Tārum, Sāwa, Zanjān, and Sultāniyya, and he sent numerous expeditions to Māzandarān.

His relations with the rulers of Biyapas, however, became very strained, and his brother Sultān Ḥasan, taking advantage of the invasion of Lāhijān and Daylamān by the troops of Biyapas, deposed him and proclaimed himself Wālī. Eighteen months later, on the 4th Ramazān, 911 (January 29, 1506), Sultān Ḥasan was murdered by his brother, Mirzā 'Alī, who himself was killed the next day by the followers of his victim.

Sultān Aḥmad Khān succeeded his father, Sultān Ḥasan. His barber, Warsar Qāsim, had been appointed by him Wakīl of Biyapīsh, and had been given full control of the affairs of that province, so that nothing but the name of sovereignty remained to his master, by whom he was eventually put to death in 936 (1529-30). Sultān Aḥmad Khān, after a visit to the court of Persia, gave up the Zaydī tenets for the Shī'a doctrine, and, on his return to Gilān, made the inhabitants follow his example. He died in 940 (1533-4), having reigned 30 years and 2 months. His son, Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Alī, was of a quiet and mild disposition, which alienated from him the military officers, who joined his brother, Kārgiyā Sultān Ḥasan. The latter seized Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Alī and put him to death in 941

(1534-5). The new ruler died of plague in 943 (1536-7) whilst on an expedition to Biyapas.

Kārgiyā Sultān Ḥasan left a son a year old named Khān Aḥmad Khān; Shāh Tahmāsp profited by this, circumstance to appoint a prince of the royal family governor of Biyapish. Khān Aḥmad Khān's rights, however, were soon recognized, and he extended his rule to Biyapas, but, by refusing to obey the royal mandates, he incurred the Shāh's wrath, and was obliged to seek refuge in the mountains of Ashkawar, where, after many months of wandering, he was surprised, and interned first in the castle of Qahqaha, and, later, in that of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs, where he remained for twelve years, until the accession of Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda. In 984 (1576-7) he was released, married a daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp, and returned to Gilān. During the war between Turkey and Persia he offered to surrender Lāhijān to the Turks, and invited the Sultan to send troops from Shīrwān to Lāhijān, whence it was but a short distance to Qazwin. After the conclusion of peace with Turkey, Shāh 'Abbās summoned his vassal to appear at his Court, but this Khān Aḥmad Khān refused to do. The Shāh, thereupon, invaded Gilān at the head of a large army, and Khān Aḥmad Khān sailed in Shawwāl, 1000 (July-August, 1592), for Shīrwān, whence he fled to Constantinople, and remained there until his death.

The Shāh then appointed a governor of Biyapish to reside at Lāhijān, and a governor of Biyapas to reside at Fūman. I am unable to say when the whole of Gilān was entrusted for the first time to a governor residing at Rasht, but this was probably towards the end of the reign of Nādir.

Gmelin, who was in Gilān in 1772, mentions that it was only seven years since Lāhijān had submitted to the authority of Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. A few years prior to his visit the *nā'ib* of Lāhijān, summoned to Rasht by

Hidāyat Khān, was shot on the road. Karīm Khān-i-Zand, on hearing of this, sent strict orders for the apprehension of the assassin, but the latter was never found, and Karīm Khān imposed a yearly contribution of 500 *mans* of silk on Gilān so that the crime should not remain unpunished. It was generally believed that Hidāyat Khān had instigated the murder of the *nā'ib*, as he had doubts of his fidelity. This *nā'ib* is said to have been Āqā Ma'sūm, Ṣāhib Ikhtiyār, whose sister had married Hidāyat Khān. Āqā Ma'sūm left a son, Mirzā Ṣādiq, and his great-grandchildren, Mirzā Ṣādiq, Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī, and Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, sons of Hājji Abū Tālib ibn Ṣādiq, are now in Lāhijān.

The last hereditary governor of Lāhijān was Mirzā Aḥmad Khān, Sālār-i-Mu'ayyad (dismissed by the Nationalist Government in 1907), ibn Mirzā Husayn Khān, Mu'azzamu's-Saltāna ibn Hājji Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Amīn-i-Diḡān ibn Mirzā Kāzim (who died in 1842) ibn Hājji Abū'l-Qāsim (brother of 'Alī Akbar Khān, who was governor in 1831 and built the Akbariyya mosque) ibn Hājji Ṣādiq (presumably a brother of Āqā Ma'sūm, Ṣāhib Ikhtiyār) ibn Hājji Mahdī ibn Hājji Mirzā ibn Hājji Ḥasan.

FUMAN

Fūman lies west-south-west of Rasht. It is mostly in the plain, with only a few mountains belonging to it to the south-east. It is bounded on the north by Gaskar, the Murdāb, and Tūlam; on the east by Shaft and the Pasi Khān River; on the south by Pusht-i-Kūh-i-Tārum and the mountains of Shaft and of Māsūla; and on the west by Māsāl. Its greatest length, from north to south, is about 24 miles, and its width, from east to west, about 16 miles.

The following is the description of Fūman given in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fī Mamāliki'l-Amsār*: "Le souverain de Foumen, seul entre tous les princes de Djil, suit les

dogmes de Schafei, car les rois de cette province sont élevés dans les principes de cette secte. Les troupes qu'il a sur pied montent à plus de 1,000 cavaliers. Lui et le souverain de Lahidjan règnent sur un territoire de peu d'étendue. La plus grande partie de leur revenu provient du commerce. La soie s'y recueille en abondance; aussi les Tatars entretiennent avec les deux princes des relations d'amitié et d'alliance, afin que les marchands puissent entrer librement dans les deux provinces, et en exporter la soie: de leur côté, ces princes ont besoin des droits qu'ils lèvent sur ceux qui viennent faire le commerce dans leurs états.

"Les autres province de la contrée de Djil ont besoin de celles de Foumen et de Lahidjan pour le même objet; mais surtout de celle de Foumen, où l'on trouve des étoffes et autres articles manufacturés. Dans le même territoire, au voisinage des montagnes, est une mine de fer.

"Le prince de Foumen prétend être allié à la famille du Prophète. Il protège avec zèle les gens de lettres et tous les hommes de mérite. Le costume des rois et des gens de guerre ressemble à celui d'une partie des Tatars. Celui des hommes de lettres à de l'analogie avec celui des marchands. Les uns et les autres laissent, comme les Sofis, pendre par devant les bouts de leurs turbans. Toute la masse du peuple est vêtue comme le peuple des nations voisines."

Fūman was the seat of Dābū son of Gil Gāwbāra. Nothing is known of the rulers of Fūman before the time of Sultān Shāh Gil. He gave refuge to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, son of Shāh Ghāzī Rustam of Māzandarān [whom he succeeded in 558 (1163)], when 'Alā'u'd-Dawla was defeated by the Ustundār Kay-kā'ūs, against whom he had been sent by his father. Iskandar Munshī mentions that the Is-hāqī dynasty of Fūman claimed descent from the prophet Is-hāq. Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fazlullāh, however, asserts that they are descended from Sāsān.

The genealogical tree of Amira Dubbāj, who was reigning in Fūman when the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids seized the government of Lāhijān, is as follows: Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Dīn ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj (who at the time of the Mongol invasion opposed Qutlugh Shāh and after the latter's death was defeated by the other Mongol chiefs and compelled to submit to Uljāytū; he is described as the most influential amongst the numerous rulers of Gilān) ibn Filān Shāh ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj ibn Khilū ibn Sharafu'd-Dawla ibn Sultān Shāh ibn Dubbāj ibn Arkān ibn Jayhūn ibn Fanākhusrāw ibn Abi'n-naṣr ibn Is-hāq (whence the dynasty derives its name of Saḥāqī, Is-hāqī, or Is-hāqwand) ibn Salm ibn Qābūs ibn Īraj ibn Ḥabash ibn Shahriyār ibn Firūz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Balāsh ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ashk, the founder of the Ashkāniān (Parthian) dynasty. This genealogical tree slightly differs from that given in the *Durratu't-Tāj li ghurreti Dubbāj*. Its author Qutbu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd Shīrāzī mentions that Ḥabash, grandfather of Arkān ibn Dubbāj, was the son of Balāsh ibn Narsī ibn Hurmuz ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Vīhan ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ashk.

The dominions of Amira Dubbāj, ruler of Fūman towards 766 (1364-5), included Māsūla, Fūman, and Tūlam. He helped the other Amīrs of Biyapas to expel the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān, and his troops defeated and slew Sayyid 'Alī at Rasht, in Ramazān, 791 (August-September, 1389). Five or six months later, he quarrelled with Amira Muḥammad Rashtī, and invited the Sayyids to take possession of Biyapīsh. He died about 812 (1409-10) and was succeeded by his son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. Amira Dubbāj, the latter's son, ascended the throne in 837 (1433-4). His son and successor, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, died in 844 (1440-1) on his return from an expedition against

Biyapish. Amīra Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Dīn followed and after him his son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. For the space of two years, however, Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, cousin of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, had possession of Fūman; he died in Tārum. Meanwhile Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, out of fear of Amīra Muḥammad Tijāspī Rashtī, was hiding in the mountains. He re-ascended the throne in Jumāda ii, 863 (May, 1459), and after some time put Amīra Muḥammad Tijāspī to death and annexed Rasht. He died about 880 (1475-6). His eldest son, Amīra Dubbāj, refused to ascend the throne, and the people tendered their allegiance to another Amīra Dubbāj, son of that Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, who, as already mentioned, had ruled over Fūman for two years. With the help of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish, Amīra Is-hāq, the younger son of the late ruler, rendered himself master of Fūman in 882 (1477-8). He subsequently quarrelled with Mirzā 'Alī, son and successor of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish, and this led to much bloodshed. At length peace was signed and Kūchisfahān ceded to Amīra Is-hāq, who died three months later. His eldest son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, was assassinated soon afterwards, and the second son, Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, succeeded him. He was as bitter an enemy of the rulers of Biyapish as his father had been and refused to accede to the wishes of Shāh Isma'il I Ṣafawī, who had sent envoys to request him to make peace with Sultān Aḥmad Khān. The Shāh, angered at this refusal, came with his army to Gilān, but relented, and it was arranged through Shaykh Najm Rashtī, who was Amīru'l-Umarā of the Shāh's court, that Amīra Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn should receive Kūchisfahān as the price of peace. Sultān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapish refused to surrender that district and Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn advanced to the Pūlirūd, sacking Lāhijān, Rānikūh, and Rūdisar on the way. In 917 (1511-12) he again incurred the Shāh's displeasure, but sent his wife and child to court to intercede for him. In 920 (1514)

Shāh Isma'il decided to march a second time upon Gilān and bring this unruly vassal to order, but the war that broke out with Sultān Sélīm of Turkey compelled him to postpone the execution of this project. Husāmu'd-Dīn died about 922 (1516) and was succeeded by his son Amīra Dubbāj, who proceeded to the Shāh's court to make his submission. He was given the title of Muẓaffar Sultān and received the hand of one of the Shāh's daughters in marriage. When Sultān Sulaymān of Turkey invaded Persia, Muẓaffar Sultān joined him at Khūy with 8,000 men. On his return to Gilān Muẓaffar Sultān found the way barred by his former vassal, Amīra Hātim Kūhdumī. He fled to Shīrwān, where he was seized by the Shāh's officers and brought to Tabriz. There he was placed in a cage and set on fire; this happened in 942 (1535-6). Biyapas was then entrusted to Khān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapīsh, who, however, was unable to establish his authority over the district, and a certain Amīra Shāhrukh, related to the Is-hāqī dynasty, was invited by the inhabitants in 950 (1543-4) to rule over Fūman. He governed peacefully for seven years and was then summoned to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. Unable to offer the presents claimed by the officers of the court he left without permission for Gilān. He was brought back to Tabriz and put to death by order of the Shāh.

In 965 (1557) Shāh Ṭahmāsp gave Biyapas to Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Muẓaffar Sultān, and appointed Kārgiyā Sultān Aḥmad regent and guardian of the prince. Five years later the regent fell into disgrace, and, by order of the Shāh, Maḥmūd Khān was brought to Shīrāz, where he was poisoned by his tutor at the instigation of Khān Aḥmad Khān. His posthumous son, Jamshīd Khān, a lad 10 years of age, was given Biyapas in 975 (1567-8), and Kārgiyā Aḥmad Sultān was named regent and appointed his guardian. In 977 (1569-70) Jamshīd Sultān married

a daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp and in 980 (1572-3) transferred his capital from Fūman to Rasht. He was put to death in 989 (1581-2) by his Prime Minister, Kāmran Mirzā Kūhdumī, who had succeeded Kārgiyā Aḥmad Sultān. Kāmran Mirzā remained for some time ruler of Biyapas, but was eventually slain, and the two sons of Jamshīd Sultān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, bid in turn for the rule of their hereditary possessions. Ibrāhīm Khān was at first supported by Khān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapish, who, however, abandoned his cause for that of Muḥammad Amin Khān. Shāh Malik Fūmanī, whom Khān Aḥmad Khān appointed guardian of the latter, brought eastern Biyapas up to the Pasi Khān River under the rule of the young prince, but, two years later, in 999 (1590-1), 'Alī Beg Sultān, guardian of Ibrāhīm Khān, who was at Fūman, expelled Muḥammad Amin Khān from Khushkbijār, where the latter resided, and compelled him to retire to Lashtanishāh. Finally, when in 1000 (1591-2) Khān Aḥmad Khān fled from Gilān to Constantinople, he took with him Muḥammad Amin Khān, who died of smallpox at Ganja.

Shāh 'Abbās sent Ibrāhīm Khān to Kirmān, and thus came to an end the rule of the Is-hāqiyya dynasty of Fūman. After the rebellion of Shāh Malik in Biyapas in 1002 (1593-4) the Shāh summoned Ibrāhīm Khān from Kirmān with the intention of appointing him governor of Biyapas. He was, however, dissuaded from doing this, and Ibrāhīm died of grief at Isfahān.

At the death of Shāh 'Abbās and on the accession of Shāh Ṣafi, the natives of Lashtanishāh revolted, in 1038 (1628-9) elected king of the province a certain Kālānjār Sultān, who claimed to be a son of Jamshīd Sultān, and proclaimed him ruler under the title of 'Ādil Shāh. His followers sacked Fūman and Rasht, but Qālānjār, or Gharib Shāh, as he was nicknamed by the Qizilbāsh, was taken prisoner by the royal troops after a fruitless defence

and carried to Qazwīn, where he suffered a very remarkable death. The Shāh, with his customary cruelty and in derision of his captive, ordered iron horse-shoes to be nailed to his feet, alleging that as he had been used to the soft rich soil of Gilān, he could not walk unshod on the harder earth of 'Irāq. After lingering some days in this torture, Kālānjār was shot to death with arrows, the Shāh discharging the first, and his courtiers following his example.

There is no more remarkable instance of the fierce feuds prevalent in olden times than that which existed between the chiefs of Shaft and those of Fūman. "In the time of Shāh Sultān Husayn, Kāzim Khān Shafti slew Āqā Kamāl (Fūmanī), governor of Rasht; his son, Āqā Jamāl (connected on his mother's side with the Is-hāqī dynasty), slew Karīm, the son of Kāzim. Rafī' Āqā, the brother of Kāzim, slew Āqā Jamāl (1753-4)¹ and revenged his nephew. Hidāyat Khān, the son of Āqā Jamāl, slew Rafī' Āqā and five of his brothers and nephews; a child, called Āqā 'Alī, the son of Kāzim, was the only person of the family of Shaft that was preserved. Hidāyat Khan, desiring to employ the tribe of Shaft, was compelled to put this child at their head, as they refused to serve except under one of the blood of their chiefs. Āqā 'Alī made his escape, and when he attained his sixteenth year was aided by Āqā Muḥammad Khān in an attempt to revenge his father, uncle, and brothers. He succeeded in taking Hidāyat Khān, whom he slew.² Two of that chief's sons, Husayn 'Alī and Fath 'Alī, were sent to the Persian Court, and when Fath 'Alī

¹ Gmelin says that Hājji [Rafī' Āqā of] Shaft slew Hājji Jamāl in 1167 (1753-4) in Shaft, and afterwards, together with Mirzā Zakī of Gaskar, ruled over Gilān. Four months later Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār suddenly arrived in Gilān, put them both to death, and entrusted Gilān to Hājji Taqī Nā'ib, of Kasmā, whom he appointed guardian and deputy of Hidāyat Khān, the son of Hājji Jamāl, then too young to rule.

² Hidāyat Khān was shot when trying to escape by boat from Anzālī to Lankurān.

Shāh obtained the throne he gave the former a small force to reconquer Gilān. This chief ordered two of his men to conceal themselves in a wood and assassinate Āqā 'Alī; they did so (near the bridge of Khaṭībān on the 26th Rabi' i, 1212 = September 18, 1797 A.D.), and the relations of that chief, alarmed at his fate, fled to the island of Lankurān, and claimed the protection of Muṣṭafā Khān Tālīsh. Fath 'Alī Shāh invited them to return to their family possessions of Shaft. On his sending a sealed Qur'ān, as the most sacred of pledges, they came back, but they thought of nothing but revenge; day and night they watched the movements of Ḥusayn 'Alī; at last one of the brothers of Āqā 'Alī succeeded in shooting him (10th Safar, 1215 = July 3, 1800 A.D.)¹ as he was riding along the road. On the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī, his brother, Fath 'Alī, fled to Tabriz, where he became Begler-Begī. Ḥusayn 'Alī left an infant grandson, but none of the descendants of Hidāyāt Khān proved themselves worthy of their family traditions,"² and the feud, which in 1810 had continued about seventy years, was allowed to lapse.

At the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, Fath 'Alī Shāh had the *farmān* of governor of Fūman made in the name of Hidāyatu'llāh Khān (also known as Khānlar-Khān), the former governor's infant son, and Hājji Muḥammad Khān³ was appointed deputy governor. Hājji Muḥammad Khān soon won the affection of the inhabitants and became governor. Hājji Ma'sūm Khān, his son, was appointed

¹ Another version is that he was shot near the Dūpurdān bridge at Lālam in Gaskar by a notable of that district with whose wife he had had an intrigue. Colonel Trézel mentions that the inhabitants of Gaskar refused to submit to a governor who was not of their tribe. A governor was appointed by Fath 'Alī Shāh, but was shot on the Gaskar border when trying forcibly to enter that district. The date of this incident is the same as that of the death of Ḥusayn 'Alī, who very probably was the governor in question.

² Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*.

³ His father, Āqā Moḥsin Fūmanī, was governor of Fūman in 1212 (1797-8). Some authors describe Āqā Muḥsin as the son of a Khalkhālī named Kas Ākhūnd, others as a descendant of Amīra Dubbāj.

governor of Fūman at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. He was waylaid on the way from Rasht to Fūman by Ḥasan Khān ibn Hidāyatu'llāh Khān, who was shot in the affray. On the 1st Ramazān, 1265 (July 29, 1848), Ḥājji Ma'sūm Khān was shot from without whilst sitting in an upper room of his house on the Sabz Maydān (Commons) of Rasht. His nephew, Riẓā-qulī Khān ibn Naṣir, whose mother was a sister of Ḥasan Khān, was immediately accused of the deed. By order of the Prime Minister, Amīr Nizān, he was handed over to the relatives of the murdered Khān, who hacked him to pieces with their *qamas* (daggers) on the 13th Ramazān of the following year (July 23, 1850).

The next governor of Fūman, Ḥājji Qāsim Khān¹ ibn Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān, was succeeded by his son, Maḥmūd Khān Sartip, Mudīru's-Sufarā, father of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, Mudīru'l-Mulk, better known under the title of Sardār-i-Humāyūn. The Sardār-i-Humāyūn died in 1912 after having ruled Fūman for close on twenty years.

H. L. RABINO.

THE DIWANS OF AN-NU'MAN IBN BASHIR AND
BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL-'IJLI

Early in 1914 I obtained from Constantinople, through the kind offices of Dr. O. Rescher, photographs of the unique manuscript Sultān Fâtih, No. 5303, which contains, in addition to the Dîwāns referred to in the title, those of 'Amr b. Qamī'a, 'Amr b. Kulthūm, al-Hārith b. Hilliza, two poems of Muzāḥim al-'Uqaili, and poems of several other little-known ancient Arabic poets. The poems of Muzāḥim, together with verses of the same poet collected from various sources, I hope to publish at a later date. The above two Dîwāns are being printed in a lithographed edition in Haidarābād at the expense of Syed Hosein

¹ Qāsim Khān married a daughter of Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān and a daughter of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, so that his sons were descendants of Hidāyat Khān.

Bilgrâmî, to whom I forwarded a vocalized copy with short Arabic biographies of the authors about a year ago.

An-Nu'mân b. Bashîr is stated to have been the first-born of the Anşâr after the arrival of Muḥammad in Medina, and a tradition upon his own authority records his being scolded by the Prophet for not delivering some grapes which had come from Ṭāif and which the Prophet sent to an-Nu'mân's mother. Later in life an-Nu'mân occupied positions of trust; he was for seven months governor of al-Kûfa under Mu'âwiya, and later governor of Ḥims (Emessa) under the same caliph and his successor Yazîd. When the latter died an-Nu'mân took sides with 'Abd Allâh b. Zubair and attempted to proclaim the latter's authority in his district. The inhabitants of Ḥims, however, offered opposition, the stroke failed, and an-Nu'mân attempted to save himself by flight. He was pursued and killed at Bîrîn, a short distance from Ḥims, early in 65 A.H.¹ The commander of the Yamanites who had pursued him, Khâlîd b. Khâlî al-Kalâ'î, sent his head to Marwân, while his wife, Nâ'ila bint 'Umâra al-Kalbîyya, and his family were brought back to Ḥims.

An-Nu'mân had, contrary to the attitude of the Anşâr, displayed a strong aversion to the cause of 'Alî, and while governor of al-Kûfa refused to pay the troops there the increase in the pay which had been promised because he knew the attachment of the people of al-Kûfa to the family of 'Alî.²

The Dîwân contains no references to his political convictions, but it has the remarkable feature of commencing with three poems which might have been composed by Umayya b. Abi-ş-Salt but for their Muḥammadan allusions; as, however, I have not found a single verse from these three poems cited anywhere else

¹ Yāqūt, Buldân ed., Cairo, ii, 331; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Isti'âb, 311⁴, calls the place Bîrân; Ibn Ḥajar Tahdîb, x, 447-9.

² Agh. xiv, 120.

the authorship might be doubtful, and I hope to refer to them again when the printed edition is accessible to other scholars. There remain only ten further fragments, extracts from which are cited in the *Kitâb al-Aghânî*, xiv, 119-30, and a few lines by an-Nu'mân's daughter Hamîda and his son Ibrâhîm.

To make the collection of poems more complete I have added an appendix containing verses and poems collected from various sources, which are indicated in the introduction of each fragment.

Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azîz was entirely unknown to me as a poet, and in no anthology or work on Arabic literary history accessible to me have I found the slightest reference to him. The title-page of the *Dîwân* gives his name and genealogy as follows: Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Dulaf b. Abî Dulaf al-Qâsim b. 'Îsâ al-'Ijlî, from which it appears that he was a descendant of the redoubtable rebel and general Abû Dulâf al-'Ijlî, whose grandchildren had established themselves as virtual rulers of the Persian highland in the second half of the third century of the Hijra. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azîz received in 279 A.H. the command from the caliph al-Mu'taḍid to eject the rebellious Râfi' b. Harthama from Rai, which he succeeded in doing, but Aḥmad died the following year. Râfi' used this opportunity to regain Rai, and though 'Umar and Bakr, brothers of Aḥmad, offered a stout resistance, they were forced to retreat to Ispahân, and it appears that 'Umar assumed the actual authority, as in the following year we find that al-Mu'taḍid granted him the government of Ispahân, Nuhawand, and al-Karj. In 282 A.H., upon the marriage of al-Mu'taḍid to the daughter of the Egyptian governor Khamarôye, he sent to al-Karj and demanded from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz treasures and jewels which he possessed. These were sent, but 'Umar preferred to stay away from meeting the caliph, no doubt out of fear of extortions. For in Sha'bân of the following year 'Ubaid

Allâh b. Sulaimân was sent by the caliph into the highland to encounter 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azîz, provided with a safe-conduct in case he submitted, which he did, and as reward received robes of honour for himself and his family. Bakr, his brother, however, had already previously declared his submission to 'Ubaid Aliâh and Badr, of the household of the caliph, and had been granted the governorship held by his brother on condition of his making war against him. 'Umar, no doubt, was able to pay a higher price and the promise could not be fulfilled. The brothers were advised to bring their case personally before the caliph, who would decide. An-Nausharî was appointed temporarily governor of Ispahân, but it became evident that his appointment was on behalf of 'Umar. •Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azîz fled to al-Ahwâz, of which the caliph was informed immediately, and he sent against him Wasîf b. Mûshgîr. They met at the borders of the province of Fârs, their armies facing one another, but Bakr, no doubt finding his adversary too powerful, marched to Ispahân, while Wasîf, instead of pursuing him, returned to Baghdâd. The caliph then sent messages to Badr, commanding him to go in pursuit of Bakr, who deputed 'Îsâ an-Nausharî to accomplish this task. However, Bakr was able to defeat the general of the caliph. In the following year, however (284 A.H.), 'Îsâ an-Nausharî was more successful in an encounter with the army of Bakr, near Ispahân, which was practically annihilated, and Bakr was forced to seek refuge in Ṭabaristân with Muḥammad b. Zaid al-'Alawî, where he stayed till the following year, when he died, and the caliph presented the bringer of the news with 1,000 dinârs.

The Dîwân has plenty of allusions to these events; the poems appear to refer all to the events of the later years of his life, and the poet is full of bitterness against Badr, one of the generals of the caliph, who apparently had behaved badly to Bakr's family, who had fallen into his

hands.¹ He complains of the wickedness of his times, how war is kindled and evil follows upon evil. He derides an-Nausharî and al-Mûshgîr (*sic*) for their cowardice, and refers to some other persons of note who are not named in Ibn Athîr's chronicle.² The whole of the fourteen poems contained in the Diwân are in the style of the ancient Fakhîr poems, and they were quite a surprise to me in a contemporary of Abû Tamîm and al-Buhturî; they are less studied than the poems of al-Mutanabbî, and we can still discover the influence of the ancient Bedouin poetry. It is difficult to tell whether the collection of poems is complete, as the leaf following poem No. 14 commences with a poem of our poet's ancestor Abû Dulaf, introduced by the words

ولأبي ذُلفٍ أيضا

from which it is evident that other poems of Abû Dulaf preceded. There are six poems by the latter followed by two fragments addressed to him.

The manuscript from which these two Diwâns are taken dates probably from the seventh century of the Hijra, and is well written, with many vowels, and the scribe understood what he was writing, and I hope that the scribe preparing the text for lithographing will keep closely to my copy.

F. KRENKOW.

¹ Poem 1, v. 21, 22.

يا بَدْرُ لَوْ شَهِدْتَ مَوَاقِفِي * وَالْمَوْتُ يَلْحِظُ وَالصِّفَاحُ دَوَامِي
لَدَمَمْتَ رَأْيِكَ فِي إِدَالَةِ حُرْمَتِي * وَلَصَاقَ دَرَمُكَ فِي أَطْرَاحِ نِيَامِي

² Poem 3, v. 11, 12, 13.

وَلَبَّوْا الْمُوشْجِيرَ أَفْضَى إِلَيْنَا * وَبَلَّالُ رُوبِنٍ بَيْضٌ وَسُمْرُ
مَجْرَا مِنْ يَدِ الْمَدَايَا جَمِيعًا * وَمَجَا الْمَسْمَعِي إِذْ خِيفَ نَهْرُ
وَتَرَكْنَا هَارُوتَ يَأْكُلُ مِنْهُ * بَيْنَ تِلْكَ الْقِفَارِ ذُنُوبٌ وَنَسْرُ

THE NOMINATIVAL GENITIVE IN OLD KANARESE

On p. 393 (§ 352. 1a) of his Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language, Kittel gives the statement of Kēśava and Bhaṭṭakalaṅka that the genitive in Old Kanarese may stand for the nominative, but expresses his disbelief in it. I give here some irrefragable instances from inscriptions which show that this rule has at any rate a certain basis in actual idiom.

In an inscription from Sogal of the year Śaka 902, l. 55, we have the words *Kaṁchale-kānteya biṭṭa dharmamamaṁ*, "the pious foundation which the lady Kaṁchale granted." Here the first word is clearly the genitive. Apparently the phrase is the result of a conflation of two idioms, namely the regular possessive genitive, *Kaṁchale-kānteya dharmamamaṁ*, "K.'s foundation," and the nominatival construction, *Kaṁchale-kānte biṭṭa dharmamamaṁ*, "the foundation of which K. granted."

Two inscriptions at Huli of Śaka 1084 (one of them is given in the Society's copy of the Elliot Collection, vol. ii, fol. 11a) have the same phrase: *isṭa-śisṭara bayt=iṭṭa suvarṇam*, "gold which agreeable and cultured men have laid in deposit." Here we see the same conflation of possessive genitive, *isṭa-śisṭara suvarṇam*, and nominative, *isṭa-śisṭar bayt=iṭṭa suvarṇam*.

The above examples are from verse passages. I now quote one in prose, from an inscription at Hottur of Śaka 988, l. 32. The words are: *Kēsi-Gavunḍana māḍisida keṛey-ēriya mēgaṇa*, "above the embankment of the tank which K.G. built." Here again we have the same contamination.

Lastly, we read in an inscription at Kulenur of Śaka 950, ll. 9-10, *maṇḍilakara* (read *maṇḍalikara*) *darppam=ōgaḍisit=āntu bigurttur*, "rulers of provinces, spewing up their pride, as they face him are terrified." Here there is no contamination. But the genitive is directly followed by another substantive; and this seems

to be the only condition necessary for the use of this peculiar idiom.

These passages, to which probably many more could be easily added, will show that the dictum of the grammarians was based upon good authority, though the sweeping conclusion drawn by them, that the genitive might take the place of the nominative in general, is scarcely supported by the facts at our disposal.

L. D. BARNETT.

EASTERN KINGS CONTEMPORARY WITH THE *PERIPLUS*

Of the ten Eastern potentates mentioned by name in the *Periplus* only one, Malichas, is known to history. "The road from Leukē Kōmē," says the *Periplus* (c. 19), "goes to Petra to Malichas, king of the Nabatæans." From the time of Augustus, and even before it, the Nabatæan kingdom had been a protected state and ally of Rome; and in A.D. 67 Malichas II sent 1,000 horse and 5,000 foot to join the army which Titus took with him to meet Vespasian at Ptolemais.¹ We have coins of this Malichas; he is mentioned in two inscriptions, and probably in a third; and the Dumēr inscription shows that his son, whose name is variously read on his coins as Dabel or Zabel, and as Rabel in inscriptions, succeeded Malichas in A.D. 71. The Dumēr inscription is translated thus by Mr. Cooke, the latest editor:² "[This is the c]ippus which Hami'u set up, the freedman of Gadhi, daughter of

¹ Josephus, *Wars*, iii, 4, 2. Cooke says that Josephus calls *Māliku*. *Mālixos* and *Māλxos*. Cf. St. John xviii, 10. The *Periplus* calls him *Mālixas*.

² Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 97, p. 249. I have quoted Cooke's translation in full because in the quotation I gave from Mommsen, JRAS. 1916, p. 835, the year is said to be 410, and according to it Dabel would have commenced to reign in A.D. 75-6. Cooke's translation is the latest, and he appears to have no doubt about the date. Dumēr or Dmēr is the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The "reckoning of the Romans" refers to the use of the Roman solar month in place of the Macedonian lunar one.

Bagarath, mother of Adramu the stratēgos, in the month of Iyar in the year 405 by the reckoning of the Romans, which is the 24th year of King Rabel." The era is the Seleucid era of B.C. 312; the inscription therefore dates from May, A.D. 96, and Dabel's reign from A.D. 71. Another inscription says that Dabel "brought life and deliverance to his people".¹ He was the last Nabataean king. In A.D. 105 Trajan's lieutenant, A. Cornelius Palma, the Governor of Syria, perhaps on the occasion of Dabel's death, annexed the kingdom and made it a province of the Empire.²

The remaining nine monarchs of the *Periplus* may be classified thus: First, we have three Arabian names, Charibael, Eleazos, and Cholaebos. Charibael (Karib'il) and Eleazos (Ili-azzu) were names common to several kings of the Homerites and of Hadhramaut; and scholars are not agreed as to which of these were the *Periplus*' contemporaries.³ The "tyrant Cholaebos",⁴ or Caleb, was a petty local sheikh without a history. Three Indians come next—Kērobotras, Pandion, and the "elder Saraganes". Kērobotras (Kerala-putra) and Pandion the

¹ Ibid., No. 101, p. 255.

² Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Πάλμας, τῆς Συρίας ἄρχων, τὴν Ἀραβίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο (Dio Cass., lxxviii, 14, 5). We know none of the details. The event is commemorated in the era of Bostra, which now became the capital, and Trajan's milestones are still found *in situ* along the great Roman road which he constructed from Damascus to the head of the Atlantic Gulf.

³ "It is regarded as probable that Prideaux is right in his identification of the Karib'il Watar Yehun'im, who struck coins at Raidan, with the Karib'il Watar Yehun'im, king of Saba and Raidan, known from a number of inscriptions, and with the Χαριβαήλ, who was reigning at the time when the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* was written, that is, about A.D. 70. But since there were three rulers called Karib'il, it must be admitted that the last-named equation of the Charibael of the *Periplus* with the king who struck the coins is open to dispute" (G. F. Hill, *The Ancient Coinage of Southern Arabia*, p. 13). Several Hadhramaut kings bore the name of Ili-azzu according to Glaser, but they have left no coins, and their dates are still unknown.

⁴ Tyrannos in the *Periplus* (and also in Strabo) denotes a petty local chief, usually a vassal like Cholaebos. JRAS. 1913, p. 125.

Pāndyan were ethnic titles with which the Romans were familiar. The "elder Śaraganes" has not been identified, but he must have been an Āndhra king, and probably a Sātakarni. Last of all come three for whom a chronological position has been claimed independently of the *Periplus*.

1. The Abyssinian Chronicles contain the name of a king Za Hakele who is to be identified with the Axumite king Zoskales, described in c. 5 of the *Periplus*. As chronological guides these Chronicles have scarcely as much value as the Indian Purānas. They are late works based on tradition; their figures disagree; and in the case of Æzanes, where their chronology can be tested, they are 130 years out. Salt, who published his work in 1812, conjecturally assigned Za Hakele to the years A.D. 76-89. Modern scholars date him c. A.D. 60-80. The date of Za Hakele depends upon the *Periplus*, not the date of the *Periplus* upon Za Hakele.

2. In c. 41 the *Periplus* mentions the king of Barygaza. Unfortunately the first part of the name is illegible in the MS., but the last two syllables are βαρον.¹ Various attempts at restoration have been made; some editors propose μαμβάρον, others μανβάρον; Müller gives both μαμβάρον and μαμβάνον; and Fabricius boldly substitutes Σαμβαρόν. M. Boyer proposed to read the name as Nambanos; this supposed Nambanos he identified with Nahapāna, and Nahapāna with the founder of the Saka era, A.D. 78. The *Periplus*, therefore, is later than A.D. 78. This whole argument depends on a series of assumptions which are anything but proved. The name certainly ended in "-bares" or "-baros" and not in "-banos"; so far is clear, and it seems to me fatal to M. Boyer's theory. Then, even granting M. Boyer's equation of Nambanos with Nahapāna to be correct, it is very doubtful whether Nahapāna founded the Saka era.

¹ Cf. JRAS. 1916, pp. 836-7.

There is little evidence for it; some scholars deny it; others accept it as a pious opinion at the best.¹ But to found any argument regarding the date of the *Periplus* on the basis of such a series of conjectures is obviously impossible. The *Periplus* must control them, not they the *Periplus*.

3. Chap. 52 of the *Periplus* runs thus: "Local market-places successively below Barygaza are Suppara (Sūpārā) and the town of Kalliena (Kalyān), which in the time of the elder Saraganes was an authorized emporium,² but since Sandanes has got possession of it, landing is prohibited; and should Greek ships by any chance touch at these places, they are conducted under guard to Barygaza." This Sandanes has given the commentators much trouble. Fabricius substitutes Sanabares, an Indo-Parthian king known only from his coins, whose date is disputed,³ and who may be one of the earliest or one of the latest of his line. Schoff alters Sandanes to Sandares, and talks of an obscure Āndhra monarch named Sundara who reigned only for a year, and to whom Mr. V. Smith tentatively

¹ Nahapāna issued a great number of coins; it is therefore inferred that his reign was long. He is mentioned in inscriptions dated 41, 42, 45, and 46, of an era which is generally taken to be the Saka era. These years correspond to A.D. 119, 120, 123, and 124; and from other inscriptions it would follow that he died soon after. But Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji disputes the attribution of the years to the Saka era (JRAS. 1917, pp. 273 ff.), and places him at the commencement of the Christian era. Accepting, however, the era as the Saka era, the date of Nahapāna's accession to the throne is quite uncertain. Mr. V. Smith puts it between A.D. 60 and 90.

² *Authorized emporium* = ἐμπόριον ἐνθεσμον. A more usual expression in the *Periplus* is ἐμπόριον νόμιμον. It means a place where authorized tolls and market dues were levied. Foreigners had to pay for permission to trade; they were therefore limited to certain places; and the dues were levied, according to the immemorial custom of the East, partly in the markets, but more generally at the houses where the foreigners put up. Adule, Mouza, and Apologos, at the head of the Persian Gulf, were such authorized trading centres according to the *Periplus*.

³ Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Grundriss), p. 15, para. 61. Sallet puts him after A.D. 77.

assigns the date A.D. 84.¹ McCrindle, here as elsewhere, more faithful than the others to his text, retains Sandanes, but refers vaguely to an Indian tribe called Sandineis by Ptolemy. There is, however, no occasion for any change. Sandanes is a genuine Indian name. The Georgian version of the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph renders the name of Buddha's charioteer Chanda[ka] by *Zandani*, and the Greek version by *Ζαδάν*, while Stobæus says that Sandanes was the name of the Indian ambassador from whom Bardaisan obtained the materials for his *Indika*.² Sandanes is therefore the Greek equivalent for Chandaka; and the meaning of the *Periplus* is perfectly clear. As long as the "elder Saragenes" (Sātakarni) held Suppura and Kalliena, Greek ships were welcomed there. But when Chandaka wrested these places from him these ports were closed, and ships were sent back under guard to Barygaza. In other words Chandaka was a subordinate chief, and a vassal of the king of Barygaza, where alone custom dues were allowed to be levied.

This passage therefore of the *Periplus* gives us no chronology, but it does give us a piece of history. For it shows that when the author was making his voyages to and from India—say between A.D. 60 and A.D. 70—the Sakas were pushing down the western seaboard, and ousting the Āndhras from the Konkan. I say the Sakas, because we find them in the following century in possession of the country, and because the king of Ozēnē (Ujjain) and Barygaza was certainly a Scythian, and the new capital which he established, Minnagara, bears a Scythian

¹ V. Smith, *Early History*, etc., table, p. 202 (2nd ed.). On p. 194, speaking of this table Mr. Smith says: "The intermediate dates inserted in the chronological table at the end of this chapter are merely rough approximations to the truth, being based upon the lengths of reigns as stated in the Purāṇas, which are known to be untrustworthy."

² JRAS. 1917, p. 482, n. 1, where the matter is more fully discussed.

name.¹ Indeed, the very fact that he abandoned the ancient capital, and founded a new one of his own, is a characteristic of these Scythian nomads. This Saka kingdom was established before the author's time; it must therefore have been in existence by the middle of the first century A.D.; but how much earlier, it is difficult to say. The title *Kshatrapa* or Satrap which these Sakas take shows that they owed allegiance at one time to some Greco-Indian or Indo-Parthian king—Gondophares perhaps. We must bear in mind that these Sakas were a mere band of adventurers; there is no proof of any Saka migration, or general settlement of Sakas in the country ruled from Ujjain; while we see that the Saka's vassal Chandaka bears an Indian name. Moreover, our author expressly distinguishes Malwa from Indo-Scythia. He counts Malwa and Barygaza for the beginning of India proper. And his evidence proves, I think, that the Sakas had been in possession of these places for at least 30 or 40 years before the institution of the Saka era (A.D. 78); while in his own day they were pushing southwards at the expense of the Āndhras.

We have now exhausted all the chronological data furnished by the *Periplus*; and we find that the date of the Nabataean Malichas II alone is certain. He died in A.D. 71; and I have shown elsewhere that the *Periplus* cannot have been written much before A.D. 70.² Thus we get A.D. 70–1 for the composition of the work.

Assuming this to be the date, the passage in c. 23 which refers to the Roman emperors acquires a new significance. Charibael, we are told, was a friend of the emperors, and cultivated their friendship by a succession of embassies and presents; *συνέχεσι πρεσβείαις καὶ δώροις φίλος τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων*. In three years, between A.D. 68 and A.D. 70, Rome saw no less than five emperors—Nero,

¹ Cf. *Periplus*, c. 41 and c. 48.

² JRAS. 1916, pp. 835–6.

Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. No wonder that Charibael found it hard to curry favour with each, and that his embassies were constantly on the move.

Thus everything points to the year A.D. 70-1; and to my mind the evidence is conclusive. But Mr. Schoff thinks otherwise, and he has broached his latest view in a recent number of this Journal.¹ His latest view; because in the Introduction to his translation of the *Periplus* he discussed, and rejected, the claims of Za Hakele, Nambanos, and Sundara to have any decisive weight; and he then argued for a date c. A.D. 60 for the composition of the book. "The date of the *Periplus*," he says, "or at any rate the date of the voyage on which it was based, can probably be fixed at not later than the summer of 62 and not earlier than the summer of 58. The nearest single year that suggests itself as the date of the *Periplus* is, therefore, 60 A.D."² He has now changed his opinion, and he comes to the conclusion that the work was written "between A.D. 70 and 89". The author's voyages, he argues, must have extended over several years, in the course of which he met, or heard of, various kings in different parts of the Eastern world; but as this information was gained at different times, the kings need not have been contemporaries. It is "clear that the author could not within the same season have met Māliku, who died A.D. 75 (*lege* A.D. 71); Za Hakele, who began to reign A.D. 76; Nahapāna, whose reign began A.D. 78; and Sundara, whose reign of one year came between A.D. 80 and 84". "The *Periplus* must be considered as a compilation, parts of which were several years old when the finishing touches were put upon it."³ And so Mr. Schoff concludes that the work was written at various dates between A.D. 70 and 89.

¹ JRAS. 1917, pp. 827 ff.

² Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 14-15.

³ JRAS. 1917, p. 830.

I trust I have shown that the date of Za Hakele depends upon the *Periplus*, that Nambanos-Nahapāna is a myth, and that Sundara has no connexion with the matter. And I am a little surprised to find that Mr. Schoff should now accept without discussion what he had previously discussed and rejected. But, apart from this, his argument appears to be based upon an entire misconception of the nature and object of the *Periplus*. The author of the *Periplus* draws his material partly from his own experiences and partly from the experiences of other Greek navigators. Mr. Schoff, of course, is quite correct in saying that the author's voyages extended over several years. He had visited Adule on the western and Mouza on the eastern shore of the Red Sea; he had sailed along the southern coast of Arabia; and he had been at Barygaza, and traded as far south as Muziris and Nelcynda. Regarding all these places there are personal touches which could scarcely have been got at second-hand. Further than Nelcynda the author had not gone, although he describes the coast as far as Cape Comorin, and even beyond it; and in describing it he sometimes makes mistakes. His account of the Persian Gulf is vague in the extreme, and he derived his account of the coast of East Africa, in part at any rate, from others. His book is the result of many years experience, a *résumé* of all that was known in Myos Hormos and Berenice regarding Roman trade and navigation in the Eastern seas. And this is why the book is valuable and unique. As I have said elsewhere,¹ the *Periplus* was written to be a *vade mecum* for Roman sea-captains trading with the East. It is neither a literary work nor a book of travels, but a practical guide, written throughout in the present tense, and in colloquial Greek. The author's intention is everywhere apparent. He speaks of the seasons, the winds, the approaches to the harbours, the anchorages, the presents which must be

¹ JRAS. 1916, p. 829.

given for permission to trade, and what it is good to buy and what to sell. Anything else is merely incidental, and is never dwelt on. Part of the information may have been antiquated, although we have no reason to suppose that it was; and if it was, the author did not know it. Nor could Malichas have been dead unknown to the author, for the author was writing in Egypt, and caravans came and went between Egypt and Petra almost daily. The book was written in Malichas' lifetime; it is of a single web and woof throughout; and the theory that it is merely a collection of travel-notes made at different times appears to me as baseless as are the claims of Za Hakele, Nambanos, and Sundara.

J. KENNEDY.

THE SIVA NARAYANIS

The Śiva Nārāyaṇis are a small monotheistic Indian sect, whose head-quarters are in the Districts of Baliā and Ghāzīpur, in the United Provinces. The only account hitherto available of these people is that contained in H. H. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, written in 1828, and republished in London in 1861 (p. 358).¹ I therefore make no apology for submitting to the Society the following note written in 1917 which has been kindly prepared for me by Babu Bajrangī Lal, Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, Ghāzīpur, who drew it up in response to my inquiries, after personal communication with the Sant at present in charge of the local Dhām. The story of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's adhesion to this sect is new to me. I can find no mention of it in Mr. Irvine's

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i, pp. 178 ff., and Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii, pp. 185 ff., have dealt at some length with these people, but they treat them as identical with the Rai Dāsīs, a different sect, holding somewhat similar opinions, and composed only of Camārs.

account of "The Later Mughals" (JASB., vol. lxxiii, pt. i, 1904, Ext. No. pp. 55 ff., and J.Proc. A.S.B., vol. iv, 1908, pp. 511 ff.). Except for a few verbal alterations I give Mr. Bajrangi Lal's account as it has been received by me. It is as follows:—

"This religious sect was founded by Swāmī Śiva Nārāyaṇ Singh in Sambat, 1791. He belonged to the Naraunī (नरौनी) tribe of Rājputs, and was a native of village Candrawār (चन्द्रवार), which lies near Rasrā, a town and Tahsil in Baliā District (formerly a part of District Ghāzipur). His father's name was Bāgh Rāy. The parentage and place of birth of Swāmī Śiva Nārāyaṇ are described in the following Hindi couplet (Dōhā):—

आस पास चन्द्रवार मँहँ, गाजीपुर सर्कार ।

बुन्द नरौनी कहत सब, बाघ राय के बार ॥¹

"This sect has got four chief monasteries (धाम) presided over by chief Sants (heads). The three Dhāms in Baliā District are at Candrawār, Bhēlsari, and Sāsna Bahādurpur, while the fourth is in the city of Ghāzipur. These Dhāms are at present presided over by Sants Raghunandan Singh, Jadu Singh, Sēwak Singh, and Mahādēo Singh respectively. The followers gather at these Dhāms, read their Granth (religious book), and adore Para Brahma (the Absolute God). Here offerings are made, and an establishment thereby maintained for the performance of religious service. Instructions in the teachings of Swāmī Śiva Nārāyaṇ are given at these centres, but there is at present no regular college or school for the teaching of the sect at Bhēlsari (भैलसरी) (Balsande is written for Bhēlsari in Wilson's book, perhaps by mistake).² A disciple, Bihārī Rām, Khaṭṭik

¹ In the neighbourhood of Candrawār, in the *Sarkār* of Ghāzipur, they all say that, by blood a Naraunī, was born the son of Bāgh Rāy.—G. A. G.

² According to Wilson, in his time they had a college at *Balsande*.—G. A. G.

by caste, has erected a temple at Cawnpore. There is also a temple in Bombay in the Kōharbāri lane. The followers of this sect are to be found in Calcutta, Rangoon, Karāchi, and many other places in India. Some Indian Christians in Shahabad are converts to it. Persons of any denominations without any difference of caste or class are admitted. The practice of initiation is the same as that given by Wilson in his book. The men are generally found temperate.¹

“The followers of this sect are buried, cremated, or thrown into the river, according to their direction at the time of their death. The dead body of a Śiva Nārāyaṇī is generally taken to the burning ghāt in a procession accompanied by music and recitations from their Granths.

“At present there are only about seventy persons following this sect in Ghāzīpur, and they are mostly drawn from the lower classes of the people. Chamārs and Dusādhs number more than any other castes or classes as its followers. In former times Rājputs, Brāhman̄s, and other high-caste persons were members in an appreciable number, and the chief Sants, or heads, have been as a rule Rājputs or Brāhman̄s. Rām Nāth was the favourite disciple of Śiva Nārāyaṇ. His other important followers were Muḥammad Shāh, the Emperor of Delhi, Sidasī Sāheb, and Lakhan Rām. The sect flourished in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, whose initiation into it was the cause of its rapid growth. This initiation of Muḥammad Shāh is described in the following Hindi verse:—

मोहम्मद शाह को शब्द सुनाये ।
मोहर लेकर पन्थ चलाये ॥ ²

“Muḥammad Shāh gave his royal seal to the founder.

¹ Wilson says, “Śiva Nārāyaṇīs, of the lower orders, are occasionally addicted to strong potations.”—G. A. G.

² He taught the texts to Muḥammad Shāh, and taking his seal conducted the sect.—G. A. G.

The seal is still preserved, and Parwānas (precepts) are issued to the followers under it. •

“The faith and practices of the sect are the same to this day as they are described in Wilson’s book, *The Religious Sects of the Hindus*. His teachings (i.e. Śiva Nārāyaṇ’s) are contained in Hindī verses, the substance of which is given in one of them :—

सन्त पुरुष कर्ता कहूँ, खोजी धर बिश्वास ।

शिव नारायण जानइ, ब्रम्ह रूप प्रकाश ॥ ¹

“Śiva Nārāyaṇ’s verses, showing love and adoration for the Nirāṅkar Par Brahma ² (the perfect God), are to be found in his sixteen granths. Twelve of these are mentioned in Wilson’s book (one written as *Vajan granth* • is probably the ‘Sant ō jān’ (सन्त ओ जान)). The other four books are (1) Barā Stōtra, (2) Barā Parwāna, (3) Patī Parwāna, (4) Parhō Bāṇī.”

G. A. G.

NOTE ON A PASSAGE IN THE QURAN

In the last verse of the Yusuf Sura (Quran, xii, 111) there occurs a word which seems to have been wrongly understood by all translators. This word is قَصَص (qaṣaṣ), which has always been taken as if it were the plural of the common word قِصَّة (qiṣṣa). The passage runs as follows :—

لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِأُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ

This was rendered by Sale, “Verily in the histories (of the prophets and their people) there is an instructive

¹ Seek ye the Sat Puruṣa, the Creator, and believe. Recognize Śiva Nārāyaṇa as the illumination of the form of Brahma.—G. A. G.

² i.e. in Sanskrit, *Nirākṛtaṁ Paraṁ Brāhma*, the Formless Supreme Brahma.—G. A. G.

example unto those who are endued with understanding"; while Palmer translates it, "Their stories were a lesson to those endowed with minds." In the most recent translation of the Quran, published at Surat in 1916, for which an Indian scholar named Mirza Abul Fazl is responsible, the same error persists, his version being, "Certainly in their stories is an example for those who have hearts."

It is clear that *قَصَصَ* is not a plural form, but a singular verbal form (infinitive) from the root *قَصَّ*, meaning a narrative or tale. The measure *فَعَلَ* is exceedingly rare as a broken plural form, *vide* para. 304 of vol. i of Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, except as the plural of the present participle, and there seem to be no instances of its occurrence as the plural of the form *فَعِلَةٌ*. The regular plural of this form is *فَعِلٌ*, and this is followed by *قِصَّة*, the plural of which *قِصَصَ* is of frequent occurrence.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

MEGHADUTA, v. 14

अद्रेः शृङ्गं हरति पवनः किं खिदित्यनुखीभि
 ईष्टोच्छ्रायश्चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनाभिः ।
 स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
 दिङ्गागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥

Many years ago it occurred to me in connexion with this famous verse that, in case Dignāga were author of a work entitled the *Hand*, it might have seemed to Kālidāsa to deserve the epithet *sthūla*, "coarse," "unsubtle," the standing epithet which Indian philosophers affix to

what they regard as merely *prima facie* views. And *pro tanto* we should have an argument in favour of Mallinātha's suggestion of a slighting allusion to that philosopher in the verse. I was aware of a work entitled *Hastavāla* existing in a Tibetan version (*Tanjur*, Mdo, vols. xvii, fols. 312b-315a, and xviii, fols. 21b-23a), and ascribed to Āryadeva, a predecessor of Dignāga; and my curiosity was aroused regarding a certain treatise in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, attributed to Jina (Dignāga), and called the "Śāstra on the explanation of the Fist".

Having now been enabled by the coöperation of Professor Ui to establish the identity of the two works, I may consider whether any new light is shed upon the old problem.

It is certainly a noticeable coincidence that Dignāga should be the reputed author of a work so entitled; and there is a further coincidence in the fact that the fifth of the six *kārikās* composing the text appeals to the subtle (*sūkṣma*)-minded, who are to forgo belief in coarse (*sthūla*) things. But, unfortunately, the Chinese tradition appears to fluctuate regarding the authorship, which is sometimes ascribed, in fact, to Āryadeva. I have advanced the suggestion that Āryadeva was author of the text, Dignāga, who often functions as a commentator, of the commentary. If so, the fact has certainly some significance. The *Hand* treatise, an extremely compendious demonstration of the *Vijñāna*, or else the *Śūnyatā*, doctrine (the latter term is not mentioned), may well have been a familiar controversial weapon, and so have provoked a slighting mention by Kālidāsa.

The general reluctance to approve of Mallinātha's suggestion is, no doubt, due in part only to the absence of confirmation by other commentators; in part, it may be traced to a well-founded feeling that a mere casual allusion of the kind propounded is not in keeping with the tenor of the poem, and hardly on the lines of the

Indian manner of playing upon words. In fact, the Sanskrit *śleṣa*, or second meaning, is no mere casual and imperfect punning. It is systematic, unhalting in form, and rationally connected in sense with the context. Accordingly, as will be seen, Mallinātha carries on the allusion throughout, or nearly throughout, the verse. Thus, he finds in *adreh śṛṅgaṃ harati* the sense of "seizes the superiority (*śṛṅga*)", which again calls to mind the contests of the *giri-agra-samājas*. But this is not enough; an allusion of this kind implies a certain controversial character in the whole poem, and further allusions, which I have sometimes suspected, but never been able to establish. I retain, however, a feeling that the poem has a touch of autobiography, and may be based upon some incident in Kālidāsa's own career, whereby he had incurred the displeasure of a royal patron. The poem would then be in one aspect an indirect conciliative. No one would say that this is not in harmony with Kālidāsa's literary cleverness, which is as markedly characteristic of him as his delicacy. In Shakespeare also we have such things, as in the passage of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act II, sc. i), "and certain stars shot madly from their spheres," which is known to allude to incidents at a Court function.

The credibility of such an interpretation of the poem depends in part upon the degree of independent naturalness in the dramatic situation. The Yakṣa's longing to communicate with his absent wife at the time of the rains may be taken as common form. The employment of a cloud as a messenger is not so; but upon the evidence of the Fourth Act in the *Vikramorvaśī* we may regard it as for Kālidāsa a datum. That the hero should be a Yakṣa rather than a man may be due, not only to the Indian penchant for semi-divine personæ (e.g. in the *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Kādambarī*, etc.), but also to the greater appropriateness of a superhuman personage in connexion

with such a messenger; and the idea of his banishment from his Lord's heaven in consequence of a fault is eminently Indian. Accordingly, it cannot be said that the general plan shows any flaw suggesting a further motivation. In v. 14, with which we are occupied, the mention of the Siddhas and the Dignāgas would fall into line.

On the other hand a general experience assures us that the germ (what Indian rhetoric denotes the seed, *bīja*) of literary works is supplied, either (1) by some occasion (as in the case of Shakespeare's historical plays, the Greek drama, the Vedic hymns), or (2) by the interest of some topic (e.g. the *Aeneid*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Faery Queen*, Gray's *Elegy*), or (3) by something in the character or experience of the author. Where the first two seem not to suffice (as in *Hamlet*, *The Tempest*), we suspect the third, even if it is not professed or otherwise patent. In Indian literature we have further to deal with a characteristic fondness for underlying meanings (*dhvani*), things which are *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσι*. In Kālidāsa's works we have a suspected instance in the *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, supposed to celebrate the birth of some prince, which would exemplify No. 2 (above) as insufficient without No. 1.

If now the *Meghadūta* does not imply No. 3, it is merely a consummate exercise upon a familiar topic, in which the geographical indications are no more than an ingenious, and in detail somewhat arbitrarily selected, embellishment. It would then be either a juvenile work or a *tour de force*. While not precluding this hypothesis, I do not feel that it is entirely satisfactory.

As regards the special points adduced by Mallinātha on v. 14, it is undeniable that his statement is definite, and particularized by (1) the reference to the Sārasvata school, which was an actuality, (2) the naming of the poet Nicula in the *Śabdārṇava* (no doubt the work of Śabdārṇava-Vācaspati), (3) the actual citation of the (half)-verse which

gave rise to the name. That the poet Nicula is otherwise unknown seems hardly an objection, since (1) many things are unknown to us, and (2) we are told that Nicula was only a nickname, due to the simile employed by the poet in the quoted verse. It is quite possible that Nicula's country would be in the region of the Rāmāgiri āśrama.

In case l. 4 refers to the Buddhists in the person of Dignāga, it is possible that in l. 2 we have a good-humoured reference to the Jainas (*siddha-aṅga*, "the *aṅgas* of the Siddhas"); but then I cannot furnish the indispensable explanation of the following syllables -*nābhīs*: as mentioned above, a halting pun is in Sanskrit inadmissible.

The above indications seem to me not entirely negligible, but I am very far from contending that they carry anything more than a suggestion.

F. W. THOMAS.

TARKHAN AND TARQUINIUS

Mr. Beveridge's suggestion (in the last number of this Journal, 1917, p. 834) of a connexion between these two words may attract less attention than it deserves on account of the remoteness in time and space of their occurrence. It is therefore worth while to mention any facts which may seem to furnish links in a chain.

It may be assumed that *Tarkhan*, ταρχάν, is an original Turkish word and not derived from the Chinese or any of the sources known to have supplied Turki official designations (see W. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1896, p. 59, n. 1; p. 185, n. 113).

The first point to be noted is that the bold suggestion of a connexion between Etruscan and Dravidian has already been ventured by Dr. Konow in the Journal (1904, pp. 45-51) and supported by certain similarities. On the other hand, an affinity between Dravidian and the Finno-Turkish group was seriously maintained by

Caldwell. Thirdly, the association of Etruscan with the Finno-Turkish is argued at length in the elaborate work of Martha (*La Lange Étrusque*, Paris, 1913), whether with the concurrence of the authorities on either side I am not in a position to judge. In any case some apparent base for Mr. Beveridge's equation is, it will be seen, in being.

That *Tarquinius* is an Etruscan term is, of course, undisputed. And, as may be seen, for instance, in M. Martha's work, it does not stand alone in that language, which supplies a number of rather similar proper names, e.g. *Tarcna*, *Tarχna*, *Tarcnei*, *Tarcsnei*, *Tarχu*, etc.

We shall, therefore, note with interest that, according to Herodotus (iv, 5), the European Scythians assigned to their primaeval king the name *Targitaos*, which might very well belong to the same group. The ethnology of the European Scythians is still regarded as problematic (see Minns, *The Scythians*, pp. 39 seqq.), and they may have been of mixed language and origin. But a Finno-Turkish origin would fit their physical characteristics as carefully described by Hippocrates (*περὶ ἀέρων*, etc.), and they would supply in that case an intermediacy in time and place which, with the name *Targitaos*, may lend some support to Mr. Beveridge's suggestion.

F. W. THOMAS.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

Communication

1. Le Conseil de la Fondation, n'ayant subi aucun changement depuis le mois de novembre, 1916, est composé comme suit: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. De Boer, K. Kuiper, et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Sont encore disponibles un certain nombre d'exemplaires des trois ouvrages publiés par la Fondation. La vente de ces ouvrages se fait chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill à Leyde, au profit de la Fondation : No. 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Hamâsah d'al-Buhturî (1909), au prix de 96 florins hollandais; No. 2, le Kitâb al-Fâkhir d'al-Mufaḍḍal, publié par C. A. Storey (1915), au prix de 6 florins; No. 3, Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), au prix de 4.50 florins.

3. La Fondation publiera comme 4me ouvrage une étude de M. C. Van Arendonk sur les origines de la dynastie Zaidite du Yemen; elle paraîtra probablement dans la première moitié de l'an 1918.

4. Le Conseil a consenti à accorder une subvention à la publication d'un index alphabétique de la tradition musulmane que prépare M. le Professeur A. J. Wensinck de l'université de Leyde, et sur laquelle une communication a parue dans le Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1916, pp. 840-1.

Novembre, 1917.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE TALAINGS. By R. HALLIDAY. Rangoon: Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma. 1917. Price not stated.

• This is a good book, less carelessly printed than works issued by Government Presses in India usually are, and the illustrations are well produced, though not very striking. Mr. Halliday has had the "fortune to be going in and out amongst the remnant of the exiles in Siam", an undoubted advantage, for, as he says, it is not always possible in Burma to say what has been inherited by the Talaings from their ancestors and what has been introduced from the Burmese. It is perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Halliday could not find a collaborator actually living in the Thatôn- or Amherst District besides the Burma Talaing whom he had with him all the time. But among us collaboration is not in favour, and we must be thankful for what we can get from solitary workers.

Six years ago the Talaings numbered 380,629, including 60,000 (estimated) in Siam, but half of those in Burma have dropped their ancestral speech. At one time the Talaings formed a nation or a politically dominant tribe which ruled all Lower Burma from Bassein in the west to Maulmein on the east and away south to Tenasserim. The unpolluted Talaings are now confined to the two districts of Burma mentioned above and to villages on the Menam and Meklawng Rivers in Siam, in which country they are still known as Mon, their oldest known racial name. Rāmañ (Rāmaññadesa) is a purely territorial name for Lower Burma, but in the *Gavampati* this name appears as Raḥ mañña desa, i.e. "the land of the Mon Ña", writes Mr. Halliday. But this appears a doubtful

identification (*rah* and *desa* both meaning "land"). However this may be, the Talaings have a tradition of the three Mons, the civilized Mon or Man Nā, found in Pegu, and the wilder Mon Dui and Mon Da, found in Martaban and Bassein respectively. *Rah Mon pi*, "the land of the three Mons," signifies, to a Talaing, the Talaing country, the old empire of Pegu. Mr. Halliday rightly rejects Father Schmidt's theory that *mon* = Pali *manto* (Sansk. *mantra*), so that the land is India, the land of the three Vedas. It is useless to speculate further on the origin of the term Mon or Man, but Talaing is probably explicable. Putting aside certain folk-etymologies, the term is doubtless to be derived from Telingana, whence Phayre says that the first colonists came. Colonel Gerini derives it from Trikalanga or Trilinga, but the ancient form of the word was Tanlaing.

Legend has it that Thatôn, whose foundation opens Talaing history, was ruled by one of two brothers, immigrants from Central India. Both were of course sons of a dragon (? Nāga) mother and of a father so mythical that he returned to the Hemavanta forest and left his sons to live the usual life as hermits which mythical heroes adopt. One became the first king of Thatôn, while the other was re-born as Gavampati, a famous disciple of the Buddha, and wrote the chronicle of that name. This is equivalent to saying that the Thatôn Church and State both claimed an Indian origin and expressed their close alliance by asserting that their ultimate founders were own brothers, though a chronological difficulty had to be got over by giving Gavampati a rebirth. The dragon mother is probably intended to conceal the fact that the Indian invaders took Mon or indigenous wives. It is questionable whether these invaders came from the north of India, directly, as Phayre and others held, but their inroads probably began some six centuries before the Christian era. A list of fifty-seven kings of Thatôn is

given, ending with Manuha, who was carried off by Anuruddha to Pagan when he destroyed Thatôn in 1057 A.D. He found that city a seat of Hindu learning and carried off its teachers, "whom he deemed to lead his own people to a purer faith and to guide them into the paths of Buddhistic and more ancient Indian lore." So, despite Gavampati, Thatôn had been Brahmanical as well as Buddhist, a fact hinted at in the chronicle's account of the visit of Uttara and Sona to Suvarna Bhumi, the "golden land".

After the fall of Thatôn Talaing culture was revived at Pegu, founded by two young princes from the parent city in 573 A.D. Regarding *their* dragon mother, and the hermit Loma who had brought her up, a folk-tale of the usual type is told, but it only indicates that the Pegu dynasty sought to give itself legitimacy by claiming descent from the kings of Thatôn. It ruled for a century and a half, its last king, Tissarāja, having been won back from iconoclastic reformers by a damsel who became his chief queen. Tissarāja thus reached "the state of impermanence", and so did his kingdom, for it fell under foreign domination until it was restored to its position as a royal city in 1369. His dynasty ended in a daughter who adopted as *uparāja* the monk Pitakadhara,¹ the Dhammaceti of Burmese history in the fifteenth century. Early in the seventeenth century the great Pegu empire was broken up, and Martaban became the centre and rallying-point of Talaing nationality. They look forward to the advent of a Smin Mon, a kind of Talaing Barbarossa, of whatever race, who will safeguard their interests. They are hardly to be distinguished from the Burmese or Siamese in type, but are often superior to them in height,

¹ For a parallel see "A peculiar case of a Yuvaraja", JRAS., 1917, p. 121. In that the appointment seems to have been an honorary one, but may it not have been the appointer's *intention* that it should carry with it the right of succession to the throne? In both cases the appointee was a Brahman.

while their women are fairer and preserve their good looks longer. Culturally they differ little from their neighbours, and their religion is a singularly pure Buddhism, though they retain a general belief in the unseen which is not to be traced to that creed. The history of the term *kalok* illustrates this. Apparently the *kalok* was originally a guardian spirit of the clan. Reading Mr. Halliday's accounts of the *kalok* dance (pp. 101-4 and Appendix) we gather that the *kalok* was not by any means a malevolent spirit, though he was dangerous if not propitiated. He was entitled to the first-fruits of harvest. And there are many kinds of *kalok*, as *kalok mi ma*, "the spirits of parents," and the like (pp. 107-8). But in time, apparently, the term got applied to evil spirits, and the Sanskr. *rākshasa* is translated by *kalok duk* (water demon) or *kalok* simply. May we take it that the word is a relic of an older religion than Buddhism or Hinduism? The spirit-beliefs of ancient races often preserve old dominant faiths. The Talaings have many other spirits which may be borrowed from Hinduism—such as the *devatau chu* or tree-spirit—and elsewhere. But the *kalok* is the indigenous spirit. Marriage is not permitted within it, i.e. a man must seek his wife from a family having another *kalok*. A *kalok* can be split up, but the offshoot will get a new shrine which is an exact copy of the old one. The *kalok* descends strictly in the male line, and Mr. Halliday gives us many interesting results of this rule.

This work has unfortunately a defective index. *Rahan* (on p. 6) lacks that reference. The references to *kalok* should be numerous, but only three are given, and two of them are incorrect. The work, however, is a valuable contribution to the ethnography of a little-known race.

H. A. R.

THE SANSKRIT POEMS OF MAYŪRA. Edited, with a translation and notes and an introduction, together with the Text and translation of Bāṇa's CAṆḌĪŚATAKA, by GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, A.M., Ph.D. Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. 9. New York : Columbia University Press. Price not stated.

The poet Mayūra, it is fairly certain, flourished in the first half of the seventh century, if he ever existed at all. He was a dealer in or maker of charms against snake-bite (*jāṅgulika*) by profession, so much so that *māyūrī* seems to have come to mean "a charm against poisons". Like many professional people of his time he appears to have condensed his medical lore in stanzas, some erotic like his *Mayūrāṣṭaka*, others devotional like the *Sūryaśataka*. The former reads like an accompaniment to a love-philtre. It contains a touch which is as old as the myth of Eve when it makes the girl come to her lover, carrying betel. Its licentiousness led to the invention of two legends about Mayūra. One was that he was afflicted with leprosy, and the tale of his miraculous recovery from that disease probably owes its origin to the sixth stanza of his *Sūryaśataka*, which is an invocation to the sun to cure it, while according to the other he insulted his own daughter, the wife of Bāṇa, his rival in poetry, in spite of their relationship. This latter legend has several variants, one of which makes Mayūra's wife sister to Bāṇa. This discrepancy makes it fairly certain that the leprosy tale was invented first, the disease being ascribed to Mayūra as the reputed author of the *Sūryaśataka*, the other legend being invented later to account for it. Moreover, the uncertainties as to the precise relationship of Mayūra and Bāṇa make it doubtful if they were more than merely members of a school of hereditary magicians, physicians, and poets, who combined those three functions. A school of hereditary poets still exists at Lahore. It is also, to say the least of it, uncertain whether Mayūra actually wrote

the "hymn to the sun", which Yajñeśvara attributes to Bāṇa seemingly. As a specialist in antidotes for snake-bite, Mayūra would be unlikely to write about cures for leprosy, though the Sun-god's rays were a kind of panacea, like many modern patent medicines. Yet, in the poem itself, his epithets have no special reference to his healing powers. The *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇa is very similar in this respect, as it seems to make no reference to the goddess as causer or curer of diseases. It is a panegyric of Devi as slayer of the buffalo-headed demon Mahiṣa. It is not probable but certain that buffaloes are sacrificed to Durga at the Durga-Puja in Āśvina, and this particular cult of Devi is wider spread than Dr. Quackenbos indicates. It is, for example, popular in the Himalayas, about Simla and in Nepal. The work throws a good deal of light on Sun-worship, and the cults of Devi which seem to have flourished side by side and even to have been amicably annexed by Jainism. The author suggests no identification for Mitravana, which Sāmba, son of Kṛishṇa, reached by "proceeding from the northern bank of the Sindhu (Indus) and crossing the great river the Chandrabhāga (the Chināb)" to the "celebrated grove of Mitra". This must surely have been at Multan, which was famous for its Sun-temple. Sāmba, too, owed his leprosy to a curse. But it is hardly necessary to derive the Sun-god's control over leprosy from the Persian Magi, though they may have imported the Sāmba legend into India. The healing power of the sun's rays must have been known to medicine in the Stone Age.

H. A. R.

INDIAN MORAL INSTRUCTION AND CASTE PROBLEMS. By
A. H. BENTON, I.C.S. (Retd.). London: Longmans,
Green & Co. 1917. Price 4s. 6d.

This book bears an unfortunate title. Its thesis is that the Government of India ought to abandon its attitude of neutrality in matters of religion as far as education is

concerned, and adopt a system of "mutual religious toleration" instead. But this is not a caste problem, It is one of religion, and the clearest possible thinking is necessary if, for a benevolent neutrality, which Mr. Benton would probably term indifference, were substituted a favourable and respectful attitude towards all religions, as Mr. Benton advocates. He would have the children of each religion at school taught in the morality inculcated by that religion, a suggestion excellent in theory but difficult to put in practice. Caste is not the obstacle here. It hardly affects education. A few high-castes, Eurasians, and Britishers brought up in India may not be sent to a school because low-castes or Indians are admitted to it, but similar prejudices exist at home. The stumbling-block is that the moralities inculcated in Indian religions are not always ethical but material. A sect may teach that ceremonial purity is as necessary to salvation as veracity or honesty. It is difficult to imagine the State teaching many hundreds, nay, thousands of moral codes of this character. If it undertook their teaching it would expose itself to a myriad suspicions of proselytizing. If it admitted sectarian teachers to its schools it would have to leave their election to the sects concerned, and any sciolist in Indian religion can realize the frictions that would result. Mr. Benton has collected much valuable information on some unique features of Indian life, the operations of the Education Department, and the relation of the State to religion, suitably defined. But when he deals with the mutual relations of religion, of morality, moral improvement and reformation, and suggests as remedial measures a kind of Boy Scout movement and the appointment of independent committees corresponding to the various existing communities to teach morals in accordance with the religions of the pupils, one feels that he is urging Government upon a path beset with pitfalls. Schism, sectarianism, and

separatism all exist in India, and would all have to be reckoned with. The State could do some little good by culling from religious writings a stock of texts or mottoes of a non-contentious type, such as the Sikh condemnation of debt; but these would be rather colourless, and the remedy will not be found until the various communities found, support, and endow schools and colleges in which they can teach their own morality without opposition or disagreement.

H. A. R.

UMMA SOUS LA DYNASTIE D'UR. Par le Dr. G. CONTENAU.
Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner. 1916.

Again we have to chronicle the issue of a work upon Umma (if that be the city's name), by the author of *Contributions à l'Histoire Économique d'Umma*, noticed last quarter. The present work is a small book of 110 pp.—*Avant-propos* and *Introduction*, 8 pp.; tablets upon cereals, 5 pp.; victuals in general, 3 pp.; live stock, 2 pp.; salaries, 2 pp.; water-transit, 3 pp.; basket-industry, 6 pp.; money, buying and selling, 4 pp.; the *patesi's* duties, 3 pp.; miscellaneous things, 4 pp.; seal-engraving, 11 pp.; lists of proper names, 4 pp.; copies of tablets (110), 34 pp.

The reigns represented are those of Dungi, Bûr-Sin, Šu-Sin, and Ibe-Sin, the greater part of the tablets being dated in the reign of the first-named, who had a long and prosperous rule. The average length of each document amounts to about 10 lines.

One of the points not emphasized by the author is the historical data. In this there is nothing really new, but it is worthy of notice that, of the 94 dated tablets, 73 seem to be dated in the reign of Dungi, 10 in that of Bûr-Sin, 8 in that of Šu-Sin, and 3 in the reign of Ibe-Sin. The earliest date represented is the 30th of Dungi,

according to Radau's indications, and the transactions then continue, with gaps, until his 43rd date, when we have several tablets for every year, ending with his 49th. For the remaining years the dates are scattered, and spread over the reigns of Dungi's three successors, stopping abruptly with Ibe-Sin's 2nd year. Collections from other sites show a similar inequality of distribution.

The first date in chronological order records the ravaging of Harši and Kimaš (103), names given on No. 90 as Ar-ar-ši (and) Kimaš, the former being apparently a mistake of the scribe for Ha-ar-ši, unless it is intentional, and a device to express a softer guttural than that in *ha*. It is noteworthy that one of the tablets of the Anherst Collection has *Arši* for *Harši*. Many of these colophon-dates are abbreviated, like that of No. 4, which is simply "Year of the king's daughter". This is apparently that given in the date-list and elsewhere as "Year the daughter of the king the viceroy of Anšan took", apparently in marriage. In this collection, as in the case of the tablets from Lagaš, there are two ravagings of Šašru—one about Dungi's 45th year, whilst the other is the date for the 7th year of Bûr-Sin. The two invasions of Urbillu^m—that of Dungi's 48th date and that of Bûr-Sin's 3rd or 4th, are apparently distinguished by the addition of the king's name in the latter case.

Among the cylinder-seals, of which sketches are given, is that of Sur-Ussi, viceroy of Umma, Dungi's vassal (*warad-zu* for *warad-su*, "his servant"). In another, however, it is Sur-Ussi who appears as the chief personage:—

Sur - a. Uš-si

pa-te-si Umma^{ki}

Sur - a. Šara

pišan dub - ba

dumu Lugal-nanga warad-

zu

Sur-Ussi,

viceroy of Umma,

Sur-Šara,

accountant,

son of Lugal-nanga, his

servant.

Altogether, it is an interesting little collection, interestingly edited. The publisher has given plenty of paper whereon to make notes.

T. G. PINCHES.

DRavidIAN ARCHITECTURE. By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL.

Edited with preface and notes by S. KRISHNASWAMI
AIYANGAR. pp. ii, 47. Madras: S.P.C.K. Press.
1917.

This is not, as its title might suggest, a treatise upon the monuments of Dravidian architecture in general, both as *buildings* and as *Dravidian* buildings; it deals with them only as *Dravidian* buildings, being a short sketch of the specific features of the Dravidian order of architecture as represented by the chief temples in the districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, and South Arcot. It thus resolves itself into an account of the Dravidian motives of structural ornamentation, which it analyses and traces in an unbroken sequence from the Pallava period down to modern times. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil is strongly convinced that Dravidian architecture is under no debt to foreign influence, and that all its specific characteristics are the result of natural evolution, and he draws an interesting parallel with the Gothic order, which really seems to owe nothing to either barbarian or Oriental influences, but to have arisen by spontaneous development in the Île de France out of the Romanesque. The author has done wisely in drawing upon a source of information too often neglected by modern writers, the native craftsman, and has produced a very useful and instructive little book. Mr. Amrita Rau's translation from the original French leaves something to be desired in respect of English idiom.

L. D. BARNETT.

COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS BELONGING TO THE SRI SANKARACHARYA OF THE KAMAKOTI-PITHA. Edited by T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. 8vo. Madras, 1917.

In this volume Mr. Gopinatha Rao gives the text and translation of ten grants engraved on copper-plates, which belong to the monastery at Kumbakonam, known as the Kāma-kōṭi-piṭha, one of the establishments claiming descent from the great Śaṅkarāchārya. The documents comprise grants of Vijaya-gaṇḍa-gōpāla (*circa* A.D. 1260), Vira Nārasimha-dēva (Śaka 1429), Kṛishṇa-dēva-rāya (Śaka 1444 and 1450), Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān of Puḍukōṭṭai (Śaka 1613), Vijayarāṅga Chokkanātha Nāyanayyavāru (Śaka 1630), and one of the Emperors of Delhi (Hijra 1088), together with a fragment of a grant issued by one of the Vijayanagara kings of the last dynasty and a document of Śaka 1608, which is interesting from its mention of Akkanna and Mādanna, the notorious favourites of the Kuṭb Shāhī Sultān Abu'l-Ḥasan of Golkonda. They are in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and even (in the case of the Delhi firman) Persian transliterated into the Telugu character. In our opinion the editor would have done well to transcribe each document in the script in which it is actually written, or else into Roman; instead of doing so, however, he has given alike the Sanskrit, the Telugu, and the Persian in Nagari character. In defence of this course he may plead the example of certain distinguished writers in the *Epigraphia Indica*; but two blacks do not make a white, and the transliteration of a complicated Southern alphabet like Telugu into such a disparate script as Nagari leads to most unhappy results. Apart from this minor point, the work is carefully and correctly done—perhaps a little too correctly, for the learned editor has given in his notes the correct forms for all vulgar and archaic spellings, which is hardly necessary in every case—and is

illustrated by good plates. The only real desideratum is an index.

L. D. BARNETT.

AL-MARZŪQĪ, KITĀB AL-AZMINA WAL AMKINA. 2 vols.
341 + 398 pp. Ḥaidarâbâd, 1332 A.H.

Amongst the latest publications of the Ḥaidarâbâd Press is this important work of the grammarian Abû 'Alî Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Marzûqî, who died according to Yâqût in 421 A.H.¹ The short biography of the author given by Yâqût mentions the work in question, together with his commentaries upon the Mufaḍḍaliyyât and the Ḥamâsa, the former preserved in an incomplete copy at Berlin, while of the latter there are several copies in the libraries at Constantinople.

The Kitâb al-Azmina deals in sixty-three chapters with the division of time, the names of stars, their risings, etc., the rains, winds, clouds, thunder and lightning. He quotes the usual authorities, al-Aṣma'î, Abû 'Ubaida, Ibn al-A'râbî, Abû 'Amr ash-Shaibânî, and especially Abû Ḥanîfa ad-Dinâwarî, probably from his large work on a similar subject, the Kitâb al-Anwâ'. The whole of the book on rain by Abû Zaid (published at Bairût) is included in vol. ii, pp. 86 ff., with some additions, showing the manner of composition of our author.

Al-Marzûqî refers to Abû 'Alî al-Fârisî as his master,² also to Abû Aḥmad al-'Askarî³ in various places. These references appear to confirm the correctness of the date of his death given by Yâqût, i.e., and repeated by Suyûtî (Bughyat, p. 159), but at the end of the work (vol. ii, p. 384) the author apparently states that he completed his work on Thursday, the 13th of Jumâda ii, 453 A.H., which can hardly be correct if he actually studied under

¹ Irshâd, ii, 103-4.

² e.g. i, 99, 9; 154, 13; 234, 4; 250, 10.

³ ii, 48, 64, etc.

Abû 'Alî, who died in 377 A.H., and al-'Askarî, who died in 382 A.H. It may therefore be the date inserted by a scribe when he had finished copying the work. In a short postscript the author tells us that he had three points in view in the composition of the work, first to expound the grace of God in the changes of the seasons, secondly to elucidate the language and customs of the Arabs, and thirdly to adduce citations from Arab poetry and prose relevant to the subject.

This is borne out by the general disposition of the work: the author gives useful information about the division of time among the pre-Islamic Arabs, as well as that of the Greeks and Persians, details which are not found so completely elsewhere, citing many verses of ancient Arab poets, the principal aim, however, being lexicographical.

Nevertheless there are embodied in the work passages which refer to subjects quite foreign to its general purpose, like the chapter on the judges of the pagan Arabs (vol. ii, pp. 273 ff.), on celebrated horses (vol. ii, pp. 336 ff.), and especially an interesting chapter on the large Arab fairs, the authority for which is principally Ibn al-Kalbî. We are told that this chapter was originally not in the book of Abû 'Ubaida, but was added by Abû Hâtim as-Sijistânî.¹ An interpolation on the authority of Ibn Kunâsa gives a few details about fairs in Syrian towns. The dates mentioned when these fairs were held are valuable, as to my knowledge they are not given in such detail elsewhere. Many of the references as to the mode of bartering are obscure, and probably neither al-Marzûqî nor his authorities had any definite knowledge about it themselves.

Unfortunately the printed edition has rather a large number of errors, due no doubt in great part to the editors not understanding the meaning of the words, especially in the verses cited. I do not desire to be too severe upon,

¹ The author does not say which book of Abû 'Ubaida is meant.

our Indian friends; the text is very difficult, and even the best dictionaries fail us at times, while in addition the great native lexica contain many words which never existed in the language, yet are explained with much apparent erudition. For lexicographical difficulties the *Qâmûs* appears to have been the only guide, when the *Lisân* or *Tâj* would have been much better.

Nevertheless we must be grateful to our Indian friends for making this work accessible to us in print. To enumerate the errors I have discovered would take too much space, as also the list of poets and grammarians cited, of which I have prepared an index.

Al-Marzûqî is rather prolix, as in his commentaries mentioned above, with frequent repetitions, and many obscure points could have been elucidated by cross-references.

It would be a great gain if the Haidarâbâd Press could arrange to vocalize future texts of a similar nature, or even reproduce them by lithography, as e.g. the *Jamhara* of Ibn Duraid, which I understand it is contemplated to print.

F. KRENKOW.

LE HÉROS DES MAQÂMÂT DE HARIRI, ABOU ZÉYD DE SAROUDJ. Par C. DUMAS. 8vo; 108 pp. Alger, 1917.

Instead of attempting to translate some of the *Maqâmât* or the whole work, Mr. Dumas in this excellent little study tries to give a clear outline of the character of the hero of the sessions. A translation of the work of *Harîrî*, however well done, would hardly convey an idea of the style of the author, and the exuberance of his speech would have been lost in a chaos of words which could never appeal to European readers.

Mr. Dumas in his introduction gives a short biography of *Harîrî*, upon the authority of Ibn Khallikân, but it is

a pity that he should not have consulted the ampler sketch of his life by Yâqût in his *Irshād*, vol. vi, pp. 167-84.¹ He then tries to establish from the rather confused reports the person of rank at whose wish the *Maqâmât* were composed, and to establish the identity of the prototype of the hero of the work. This introduction concludes with a short summary of the earliest editions of the *Maqâmât*, which have been succeeded by a great number of Oriental editions which show the appreciation of the work among Muḥammadan litterateurs. The work was considered almost from its first appearance the acme of learned literary style. Learned men had pointed out errors in diction and expressions, and I have before me a rare Constantinople print of the rectifications by Ibn al-Khashshâb, with the retorts of Ibn al-Barri,² but the few errors discovered by Ibn al-Khashshâb only prove that Arab savants generally had to admit the excellency of Harîrî's diction.

Mr. Dumas then gives an analysis of the character of Abu Zaid, a man learned in all sciences, being grammarian, lawyer, schoolmaster, preacher, dervish, pilgrim, etc., as the circumstances might demand, yet always having one fixed aim before him, namely, to get money out of the pockets of those who listened to his verbose discourses. These traits in the character of Abû Zaid are vividly brought to light in quotations from the sessions. It is remarkable, however, that though he can display penitence, generosity, and other virtues, the real character of Abû Zaid remains that of a barefaced impostor who merely dissembles in order to touch the hearts of his hearers who are animated by higher instincts.

The author of the study tries to fathom the origin of

¹ Abul Barakât al-Anbârî, *Nuzhat al-Alibbâ*, pp. 453-7, also gives a few interesting details.

² *Istidrâkât Ibn al-Khashshâb alâ Maqâmât al Harîrî wa ntîşâr Ibn Barri*, Constantinople, 1328 A. H.

this remarkable character, and shows that the influence of Badî' az-Zamân al-Hamaḍânî is very great indeed, but considers that Ḥarîrî, though imitating his renowned predecessor, shows nevertheless greater talent. Ḥarîrî does not imitate Hamaḍânî, but gives us the vivid picture of *real* men of the lower classes, such as could be found in Basra in his time. Even al-Ḥârith ben Hammâm is not altogether a fictitious person; we have in him a kind of representation of al-Ḥarîrî himself, while some of the accomplishments of Ḥarîrî are attributed to the vagabond-hero of the Maqâmât.

Mr. Dumas concludes his study by a comparison of the Maqâmât with the bourgeois literature of France during the later Middle Ages, and arrives at the result that the Maqâmât of Ḥarîrî, being a pendant to this literature, are really on a higher moral level than the French literature of the same type. We might argue against this that after all the work of Ḥarîrî depicting the lower shades of social life was intended for the benefit of the learned classes, which the so-called bourgeois literature of France did not pretend to be.

In conclusion, I must say that this admirable study is very delightful reading, which should encourage a study of Ḥarîrî, were it not for the great difficulty of mastering the Arabic text with ease, even for those who have made good progress in the knowledge of the language.

F. KRENKOW.

THE I-LI, OR BOOK OF ETIQUETTE AND CEREMONIAL.
Translated from the Chinese, with Introduction,
Notes, and Plans, by JOHN STEELE, M.A., D.Lit.
2 vols. Probsthain & Co.

In responding to Dr. Legge's challenge of a generation ago, Dr. Steele has produced for us an eminently sane work, a fitting corollary, moreover, to the Rev. W. E.

Soothill's *Three Religions of China* and Dr. J. J. M. De Groot's *Religion in China*, which appeared together about 1912. The *I-li* may be fairly styled the Chinese Leviticus, with the all-important exception that there never was a priestly caste or tribe in China, where, on the contrary, each paterfamilias stood in the position of officiating priest for the family; each vassal prince (besides being family priest) officiating for his principality, and the Supreme King or Emperor (besides being family priest) officiating for "all under heaven", i.e. the empire or world as the Chinese conceived it—the *orbis terrarum* of the Romans. Hence, as Dr. Steele points out, the dual function of *Shang Ti*, or "the Emperor Above", being the personal *anima* of impersonal Heaven, and at the same time the spiritual *animus* of the incarnate *Ti* or reigning Emperor below. Dr. Legge was convinced that *Shang Ti* was the oldest religious conception, and that the ancient Chinese conceived, or had "revealed" to them, anterior to the more or less "idolatrous" ancestor-worship, a single omniscient God, Creator of All Things. This view was ably challenged by "Inquirer" and others of the missionary body, who maintained that *T'ien* or Heaven was the true Elohim or Jehovah, the most ancient God, of the Chinese. These arguments might go on without definite result to the crack of doom, for we are all apt to forget that *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and that in any case it is futile to attribute a precision of thought not possessed by ourselves to primitive men incapable of even recording their crude opinions. Sir Oliver Lodge publicly declared a month or two ago that he had no idea whatever what life was, and this confession enables us to see clearly what a thoroughly sound substitute for imaginative philosophy the unsophisticated Chinese unanimously accepted 4,000 years before Eastern and Western sages had exhausted their powers in producing this supremely negative result. The primitive Chinaman

said: "It is plain that my parents were my immediate creators, and that I and my wife can either create or refrain: hence, whatever 'life' may be, I owe a debt to my parents for my *joie de vivre*, and my children owe exactly the same debt to me." Death is simply the complement or negative aspect of life; but features, tone of voice, peculiarities of gait, and so on, continue in the family circle, even after, as Cicero says, the "soul has escaped from the chains of the body". This is the core of Chinese religion, or that which man is *religens* about—the convinced feeling that each male forms an everlasting indissoluble link with his male ancestor and his male descendant; this is why Chinese abroad (those at least who may not have taken fresh spiritual root in a safe country) are *religens*, or anxious at all costs to have their remains carried home. The calling back of the departing spirit, the periodical refreshment of the wandering ghost, the respectful summoning of the spirit-tablet at fixed seasons, the impersonation or doctrine of the "real presence", and so on, are all part and parcel of the one central insistent idea, that the living links have a perpetual duty to the dead links in the chain of eternity, and that the dead can control the living by invisible appreciation or the reverse of this perpetual duty fulfilled or neglected. The "Animism" of Dr. De Groot and the "Spiritism" of Dr. Steele are thus rather an extension than a basis of the true core—continuity, or endless chain of life—above described. Heaven and God (*Shang Ti*) are scarcely so much as mentioned in the *I-li*; the Emperor (posthumously called *Ti*, or *Divus*) was "Son of Heaven" in the same vague way that the Turkish or Scythian Khans of 2,000 years ago were the *Tengri Kudu*, or the Pharaohs were the "Sons of Ra"—as, in fact, the deceased Emperors were the *Divi Imperatores* of Rome.

Like the Analects of Confucius, the supposed earliest parts of the *I-li* are terse and sententious in style,

or, as Dr. Steele puts it, "of the gnomic order"; the writer of these lines went conscientiously through the whole original text forty years ago, and therefore feels that he has some slight title to say off-hand that Dr. Steele's translation is on the face of it as safe and scrupulous as any man's could be: it is, however, to be observed that the author uniformly styles the *Shang* or *Yin* dynasty the *Yün*: true, this is merely a point in etymology, or "small learning" as the Chinese call it, but the barbarous *ü*ng of the outlandish Foochow dialect seems the only possible justification for such a surprise, and in any case Dr. Steele in all other respects conforms to Wade's spelling, or the "mandarin"; in one place only (p. 265) he equally unaccountably writes *Hsiang* for the same dynasty: these remarks, however, perhaps savour of a specialist's "fad". Students of comparative religion will find Dr. Steele's book of inexhaustible interest; but too much of it administered at once has naturally a tendency to pall; for, in remote times, when there were no newspapers, no artificial lights, no consecutive, detailed, or explanatory writings, primitive man, when the day's work was done, inevitably had to fall back upon trivial personal and sumptuary detail in order to assert his personal dignity and to kill or to fill up superfluous time: indeed, Dr. Steele himself is lost in amazement at "the extraordinary elaboration of ceremonial detail. It leaves one wondering whether any period earlier than the hey-day of the *Chou* dynasty [say B.C. 1100] would have allowed of such meticulous regulation of its ceremonial". Indeed, he is right, there are no earlier traces of this Byzantine fulsomeness on record, and Confucius himself expressed his regret that any such possible records had utterly disappeared even in his time. It was only after the revolution of B.C. 841-827, when a more adequate and expressive form of writing was arranged, when trade and manufactures had grown active,

when inter-state communications and separatist ambitions had become dominant, that a great administrative philosopher named Kwan-tsz (seventh century B.C.) arose who developed practical administrative knowledge at the expense of mere court form. Both Lao-tsz (c. 590-530) and Confucius (551-479) seem to have studied Kwan-tsz's writings, which are still with us (manifestly collected in "gnomic" form and "put to literature" well after Confucius' time): Confucius often spoke with respect, yet with reserve, of Kwan-tsz, and frankly confessed that at any rate, with all his faults, Kwan-tsz undoubtedly saved China from "becoming Tartar". Lao-tsz, with whose name the political philosophy of Taoism is chiefly associated, manifestly borrowed most of his cosmological *Tao* (i.e. Universism; or the Way of Nature) from Kwan-tsz, who at the same time developed the old continuity religion in so far as it could subserve his practical aim at saving China from greed and anarchy; but the democratic Lao-tsz utterly despised the meticulous futility of the *I-li*, and his contempt was even carried against the person of Confucius, its chief prophet. Confucius, however, was an ardent supporter of forms and observances, class distinctions, the divine right of kings, and such matters. Thus, after centuries (B.C. 750-250) of contentious philosophy, China finally plumped for Confucius (B.C. 100) as the best stay of dynastic interests, and despite the rivalry of Taoism and the various foreign religions Confucianism has held its own to this day: in the heat of republican enthusiasm it was practically abolished in 1912, but in the end the law-reformers (1906-13) came to the conclusion that ancestral "worship" (that is, family and state duty) and *not* foreign religion was the true moral basis on which modern law should be reformed, and President Yüan Shi-k'ai subsequently went in solemn state to worship at the Temple of Heaven, or, as Dr. Steele's *I-li* has it, at

the *kiao*, or suburb, of the royal imperial capital. The modern popular Taoism has no more to do intellectually with the old philosophy than the Mormons and the bean-feasters of America give expression to the Jewish Canon. Taoism—the popular form—also was abolished in 1912, but, at the instance of the filibuster Chang Hün, the sixty-second “Pope” was restored to his temporal rights by President Yüan. All religions are now free in China, but throughout all Buddhistic, Mazdēan, Manichean, Moslem, and Christian influences, the Chinese race has remained as a whole faithful to its continuity idea, as quaintly illustrated by the *I-li*, which, though obsolescent, is not more so than the principles of the Old Testament are to the average Christian.

E. H. PARKER.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA SINICA. By SAMUEL COULING, M.A. (Edin.), D.Litt., etc. Shanghai and London: Kelly & Walsh.

Dr. Couling has been engaged for some years upon this extremely useful work, the first of the two volumes having reached England about the middle of October. As the learned editor informs us in his preface, the present issue is but a cadre, the units of which can be extended indefinitely by his successors, much as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, from modest beginnings, has, generation by generation, attained to its present full dimensions. Dr. Couling's effort may be described as a magnified index to things Chinese, the index being filled out under each head so far as present knowledge allows, designed to meet the immediate requirements of all classes, missionary, commercial, or other, interested in whatever phase of China, Japan, or Far Eastern work. The only approach to anything of the sort hitherto available is Mr. E. T. C. Werner's vast sociological digest published

a few years ago in connection with the late Herbert Spencer's scheme of organized intelligence; but one of the great philosopher's conditions of co-operation seems to have been that there should be no index! Hence the waste of time inevitable when a specialist wishes to "turn up" all that has been said on any given subject has often had the effect of consigning Mr. Werner's *magnum opus*—for such it really is—to a shelf, whence its sheer size and weight discourage removal, and this apart from the fatal lack of index: it would be a godsend to an interned prisoner to have the task of composing such an index at enforced leisure, instead of brooding upon the hardships of his cabined and confined lot. The silver price of the two Couling volumes was not high, though present rates of silver exchange unfortunately bring it nearer £4 than the original £2; but in any case every merchant's or banker's office interested in the Far East should be provided with a copy, and no doubt the various missionary bodies will see to it that their *respublica* takes no injury.

E. H. PARKER.

PREHISTORIC CHINA. Part I: Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin. By JAMES MELLON MENZIES, B.A.Sc. (Toronto). Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1917.

This volume neither demands nor admits a lengthy review. It consists of some nine pages of Preface and 247 pages of lithographic "reproductions of inscriptions on 2,369 selected fragments of tortoise-shell and animal bones. This selection was carefully made from a total collection of nearly fifty thousand, and is the first comprehensive publication of facsimiles of these inscriptions". Mr. Menzies must mean the first publication other than Chinese, for he has been preceded by Lo Chên-yü's great work in four volumes, the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, or *Records of the Tumulus of Yin*.

As regards the plates, Mr. Menzies' lithographs are of the fragments with the inscriptions on them copied by hand, very well copied; but the hand does not exist that can reproduce such characters with the accuracy of a photographed rubbing, such as fill the plates in Lo's book.

So much for the main and very meritorious part of the volume, which, however, must of necessity have an extreme caviare flavour for the general reader.

Not so the Preface. In this Mr. Menzies, lately a member of the Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission, stationed in Honan Province, now an Officer of a Chinese Labour Battalion in France, recounts what he knows by personal visits to the "Waste of Yin", as he renders the Chinese words *Yin Hsü*, the scene of the find of the Honan Bones, which he first saw in the spring of 1914. The circumstances of these visits seem to have inspired the ardent spirit of the author with the desire to carry out "an extended work on the dawn of history and the development of civilization in China", under the title of *Prehistoric China*. The second volume is to contain a dictionary of the characters appearing in the plates of the first (I noted this with a gasp of surprise), and "the life-history of each character through the five most distinct forms of it will be shown, with excerpts from actual inscriptions in each case". These forms are to be (1) the tortoise-shell form (those, namely, of the Honan Bones), (2) bronze forms of Chou dynasty date, to include the *Ku wen* or "ancient forms", the Greater Seal and certain Lesser Seal characters, (3) the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal, (4) Early Brush forms or *Li Wên*, and (5) the present form as given in Kanghsi's Dictionary. "The third and following volumes will contain a dissertation on the early religion of the Chinese race," and "a dissertation on the earliest culture period in China with corroborative evidence from stone, bone and pottery objects, both of the chase and of the hearth, will follow".

Such are the author's ambitions. They are projected on generous, not to say grandiose, lines. So, too, was Gibbon's first dream of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, when at Rome in October, 1764, he "sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter". Let us wish Mr. Menzies a like fulfilment of his dream.

L. C. HOPKINS.

ECONOMICS OF BRITISH INDIA. By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., Professor, Patna College. Fourth edition, enlarged, re-written, and brought up to date. Calcutta: N. E. Sarkar & Sons. 1917. Price 5s.

This is a good little book on a big topic. The principal feature of the new edition is a chapter on the economic effects of the War on India. It contains much to astonish. In September, 1914, jute went a-begging, as it did not pay to cut it. Jute and cotton both declined in the following years in extent of cultivation, and the loss fell entirely on the Indian producers, as the European jute mill-owners had bought up cheap in 1914. In 1915 the demand for bags raised prices, but the profit went entirely to the brokers, one Narwari middleman being reputed to have cleared five *crores* in one year.

Possibly there is another side to this picture. Mr. Sarkar writes rather from the Calcutta standpoint. In Northern India the cultivator benefited largely by the War, though he lost in some ways. Wheat brought him excellent prices, though he had to pay more for labour, but it is possible that his economic master, the middleman, levied a heavy toll on his profits. The Government of India did not buy direct from the cultivator. If it had done so it might have solved to some extent the problem of landed indebtedness, which Mr. Sarkar hardly discusses, though he is excellent on the effects of Indian

laws of inheritance, status, and custom on the economic life of the country. But his work deals of necessity with somewhat controversial topics foreign to the purposes of a learned Society, and it must suffice to commend this edition of his work to those interested in them.

H. A. R.

JEWISH FAIRY TALES. Selected and translated by
GERALD FRIEDLANDER. Illustrated by BEATRICE
HIRSCHFELD. 12mo; pp. 88. London: R. Scott.
1917.

In this slender little book Mr. Friedlander gives a number of interesting stories compiled by him from various Jewish sources (chiefly Hebrew works of the Midrashic order) and told in his own words. The stories are: "King Solomon and the Worm" (from Talmud Babli), "Falsehood and Wickedness" (Yalkuṭ, Psalms, § 638), "The Wicked King and his Bride" (Ma'aseh Book, § 143), "The Two Jewels" (Shebet-Yehudah), a variant of the famous tale on which Lessing built up his "Nathan der Weise", "The Beggar at the Wedding" (Midrash Tanḥumah, Ha'azinu, § 8), "The Clever Wife" (Yalkuṭ, Genesis, § 16), "The Coins of Elijah" (Yalkuṭ, Ruth, §§ 601, 607), and "The Fox and the Raven" (Berekhyah's Fox Fables, xiii). Most of the stories are good specimens of the Jewish *ma'aseh*, but not all: the tale of the Wicked King is composed of foreign themes, such as that of the magic water, which is familiar all over the world (for example, in the omnipresent Glaucus-Al-Khidr-Elijah-Alexander cycle and in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara); and the last story has no claim to a place among Jewish tales, for it is merely a version of Phædrus, I, xiii.

L. D. B.

GAZETTEER OF PEGU DISTRICT. By A. J. PAGE, I.C.S.

This book, one of the series of District Gazetteers published by the Government of Burma, is a compilation. The history of Pegu (Chap. II) is by Mr. J. A. Stewart, an Indian Civilian specially qualified for such a subject by his knowledge of both Talaing and Burmese, and is of considerable interest. It is no mere summary of previous histories written in English, but includes information obtained direct from native sources. The city of Pegu is referred to in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as Ussa Pègu, and the identification of Ussa with Orissa has been placed beyond doubt by Mr. Duroiselle, the Government Epigraphist. The long-debated question of the origin of the name Talaing may also be looked upon as settled. According to Mr. Stewart the Mon inhabitants of the country were confounded by the Burmese with Indians from Kalinga (Talaing) and Orissa (Ussa). The Kalingans probably colonized Thaton and the Orissans Pegu. He might have added that the interchange of *k* and *t* is a phenomenon well known to philologists, that the word now pronounced Talaing is written with Burmese characters which are allied in form to the Sanskrit letters transliterated, according to the system followed by this Society, Taluīn; that the people of the Upper Chindwin have retained a pronunciation, probably archaic, which is nearer Taling than Talaing; that Forrest, in his description of Celebes (*Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago*, 1792, p. 82), says the people there called "Indostan" the country of Telinga; and that Kling is the term commonly applied to Indians throughout the Malay Peninsula. A parallel may be found in the word Mug (Magh), supposed to be connected with Magadha, but applied in Chittagong to the natives of Arakan, where settlers from Magadha may have once held a position similar to that of the Kalinga settlers at Thaton.

It is to be regretted that such inferior type has been used for this and other volumes of the series. The present volume also abounds in misprints. Native words are frequently used instead of their English equivalents ("Kales" on p. 50 is apparently meant for "kalas"—Indians), and in some cases will be unintelligible even to many readers living in the country. What sort of animal is a "Zamayi"? Sometimes (as in this instance on p. 18) a capital is used instead of italics; more often the vernacular word is written as if it were good English. The omission of inverted commas at the beginning of each paragraph of a quotation deludes the reader into thinking that "for such a vice manner all Karens much annoyed upon these dacoits" is a sample of the author's style in Chap. IX. Commas are usually omitted or misplaced: a habit which makes the book irritating to read, and only rarely amusing as in the phrase (on p. 66) "birds, especially parrots and elephants".

R. G. B.

THE BIJAK OF KABIR

THE BIJAK OF KABIR. Edited by the Rev. AHMAD SHAH. Cawnpore, 1911.

THE BIJAK OF KABIR. Translated into English by the Rev. AHMAD SHAH, according to his edited Hindi text published in 1911. Hamirpur, 1917.

For many decades Europe knew about Kabir only from the notice in Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*. In course of time this work became not only a classic, but a well from which all writers on the religions of India drew their inspiration. Wilson himself had, in the case of Kabir, a predecessor in Monsignore Münter, mentioned by him in a footnote on p. 77, but the former's careful and complete account superseded the work of the learned Danish Bishop, and held its ground

as the only real authority until the publication in 1907 of Bishop G. H. Westcott's *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*.¹ While Wilson's memoir was based on the authoritative scriptures of the sect, the later work was mainly founded on actual personal communication with its members. Although in essential agreement, the two works thus differ considerably in their methods of presentation, and each materially supplements the other.

But all this time we have been waiting for a complete translation of the texts themselves. Wilson's translations are fragmentary and little more than specimens. Kabir's language is often obscure, and is nearly always difficult even to his fellow-countrymen. Couched as it is in a local dialect of Hindi² of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, Indians of the present day do not pretend to understand the literal meaning of many passages, and content themselves with dwelling on the general scope. Commentators, of whom there are several, give little help. Busying themselves with the theological aspect of Kabir's teaching, they have little concern for philology.

Of the eighty odd works attributed to Kabir and to his immediate followers, the most important, and the most authentic, is the *Bījak*, or Chart of Secret Treasure.³ According to the most likely tradition, it was presented to the then Rājā of Riwā in Bundēlkhāṇḍ by Kabir himself, and a manuscript still in possession of the royal

¹ Reviewed in JRAS. for 1908, pp. 245 ff.

² Mr. Ahmad Shah states (Intro., p. 29) that Kabir wrote in the language spoken in the neighbourhood of Benares, Mirzāpur, and Gōrākhpur, but I am sure that this is a mistake. The language of Benares, Gōrākhpur, and East Mirzāpur is one form or another of the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihārī, and there is not a single form typical of this language in the Bījak. Really it is in old Awadhī, the language spoken in West Mirzāpur, Allahabad, and Audh. He himself says (*Sākhī* 194), "My speech is of the East (*Pūrb*); no one can understand me." But any dialect spoken east of Braj Bhākhā is called, "Eastern" in Northern India. The language of Tulasī Dāsa, which is pure Awadhī, is styled "Old Pūrbī" by Kellogg.

³ See Ahmad Shah, Trans., Intro., p. 29.

family of that state is said to have been written by Kabir's disciple Dharma Dāsa in the year 1464 A.D. Like the writings of the other eleven apostles of Rāmānanda, it is composed, not in Sanskrit, but in the vernacular of the writer. In those days the opposition of the Brāhmaṇas to the composition of religious works in a language other than Sanskrit was strong. The writers had to justify their action. Kabir's argument was "Sanskrit is like the water of a well, while the *Bhāṣā* is like the flowing waters of a river",¹ and so, a century or more later, Tulasī Dāsa silenced his critics by urging that in the storms of this Kali age the best protection was a rough woollen blanket, not a silken vest.²

The *Bījāk* is a collection of verses in various metres, viz. :—

Ramainīs. These are short doctrinal poems.

Śabdas. Of a similar character, but in different metre.³

A *Caūtīsā*, or the thirty-four consonants⁴ (including *ḷṣa*) of the Nāgarī alphabet, with their religious significations.

The *Vipramatīsī* (= *Vipramatatīsī*). An attack on the orthodox religious system of the Brāhmaṇas, in thirty verses.

Kahurās,⁵ *Vasantas*, *Bēlīs*, *Cācarīs*, *Birhūlīs*, and *Hinḍōlās*. These are all religious songs, in the various metres so named.

Sākhīs, 405 in number. These are short apophthegms,

¹ Ahmad Shah, Intro., p. 31.

² *Kāma jo ōvai kāmari, kā lai karai kumāca. Dōhāvalī*, 572.

³ A *Ramainī* consists of an indefinite number of *caupāis* followed by a *dōhā*, called the *Sākhī*. Most of the *Śabdas* are in *lālita* metre without any *Sākhī*.

⁴ Apart from its doctrinal contents, this is interesting as showing the nomenclature of the letters in Kabir's time. It closely resembles that used for the Gurmukhī alphabet at the present day. *Kā* is named *kakā*, *kha* is named *khakhā*, and so on.

⁵ Not *Kahāras*, as stated by Wilson.

each consisting of a single *dōhā*, like the *sākhīs* of the *Ramainīs*.

The *Sāyar Bījak kō pad*, the summing up of the whole matter, ending with the verse :—

*kahahi Kabīr Kartā mē saba hai, Kartā sakala samānā.
bhēda binā saba bharmā parē kou, bājha santa sujānā.*

Quoth Kabīr, all is in the Creator, and He is in all.

Without this mystery all are sunk in error ; only the holy man, the wise, understandeth.

Several editions of the *Bījak* have been published, the best known being that of Mr. Prēm Chand (1890), followed by his translation in 1911. Mr. Ahmad Shah's edition of 1911 was an attempt to give a critical text, approaching Kabīr's own words as nearly as possible, and free from errors of comprehension and from editorial modifications. He has now added to our debt by bringing out a new translation. The difficulties of such a task cannot be overestimated, and he would, I am sure, be the last to contend that he has conquered them all. But these difficulties only enhance the value of a work which gives European students of religion a further opportunity for studying at first hand the doctrines of the Kabīr-panth (that extraordinary mixture of Hinduism, Sufism, and Christianity) in the most authoritative scripture of the sect.

What a wonderful man Kabīr must have been ! A lowly Muslim weaver, who by a stratagem gained admission to a Vaiṣṇava community—universally despised and hated by both Musalmān and Hindū, maltreated by a Muslim emperor and persecuted by the Brahminhood of Benares—with unparalleled audacity he dared to set himself face to face against both Islām and Hinduism, the two great religions of fifteenth century India, and won through. Each he attacked in its tenderest point—its shibboleths and its ritual—and over both he rode triumphant, teaching and converting thousands who became

his devoted followers. Not only did he found an eclectic monotheism that survives in India to the present day, but he became the spiritual father of the Nānak who founded Sikhism. As is the way in India, numerous sects branched off from the Kabīr-panth. The most important of these was that of the Satnāmis, founded by Jaga-jīvana Dāsa late in the seventeenth century. A convert to it was Ghāsi Rāma, the Chamār, whose teaching has radically changed the political condition of that humble caste in Chattisgarh. Amongst other sects may be mentioned the Dādū-panthis, including the 20,000 Nāgā warriors of Jaipur, and the Malūk-Dāsīs, whose founder was author of one of the most beautiful and most popular couplets current in Northern India:—

<i>ajagara karai na cākarī</i>	<i>pañchī karai na kāma,</i>
<i>Dāsa Malūka kahī gaē</i>	<i>saba-kā dātā Rāma.</i>

No service hath the python to perform, nor hath the bird
of the air to earn his means of life. Quoth Malūk
Dāsa, for all doth God provide their daily bread.

This almost verbal quotation from St. Matthew (vi, 26) has come straight from Kabīr's teaching.

Other sects, though not directly descended from the Kabīr-panth, yet owe their inception to the atmosphere created by the inspired weaver. Such, as Mr. Ahmad Shah points out, were the Prāṇanāthis, the Nirmalas, and the Udāsīs. In modern times, also, the Rādhāswāmīs are a result of the teaching of the author of the *Bijak*.

It is unnecessary to give here a detailed account of Kabīr's doctrine. It is sufficient to point out that, while hostile to all the six systems of Hindū philosophy, it is ultimately founded on Indian ideas. There is the same belief in transmigration and in *karma*, and this naturally colours the whole. The cosmogony, too, with its conception of Māyā, the deceiver (not the *māyā* of Śaṅkarā-cārya, but the personal Māyā of the Vaiṣṇavas), is

essentially Hindū. So far we may call Kabir a Hindū, but he assailed "the whole system of idolatrous worship and ridiculed the learning of the Paṇḍits and the doctrines of the *sāstras*",¹ and maintained that the one necessity was *bhakti*, or loving faith in the Supreme, Whom he called Rāma, but Who might also be named Allāh, Karīm, Kēśava, Hari, or Ḥaṣrat (*Sākhī*, 30). The name was immaterial, the important thing was the recognition of one personal God.

The Muslims, too, could with justice claim Kabir as a member of their community, yet his taunts at their professed faith were as grievous as those levelled by him against that of the Hindūs. Tradition says that, while yet a child, he refused to submit to circumcision, and when he grew up he scandalized the orthodox Musalmāns by asserting that there were not two Gods, one for them and another for Hindūs; that Allāh and Rāma, *namāz* and *pūjā*, were each the same; that Mahadēva and Muḥammad, Brahmā and Adam, Hindū and Turk, lived upon the same earth; that Vēda and *khutba*, Maulvī and Paṇḍit, though called by separate names, were pots of one clay. He ridiculed the pretensions and dress of the Darwēshes, and asked them to tell him what was the style of the garments worn by God. He condemned the slaughter of animals in sacrifice—"here is murder, there devotion"—and roundly proclaimed that by the practice and teaching of the Maulvis the works of the Friend of God and of His Prophet had become unlawful.

To all this he added much derived from Sufism, and also turns of thought and even modes of ritual derived from Christian worship.² Especially Christian is the use

¹ Wilson, p. 68.

² On the traces of Christian influence in Kabir's teaching, see Paṇḍit Wālji Bēcar's *Kabir-caritra*, Surat, 1881. The Paṇḍit has gone too far in maintaining that the Kabir-panth was actually instituted by Jesuits, but most of the borrowings from Christianity cited by him admit of little doubt.

by Kabir of the expression *Śabda*, or Word, the Logos of St. John. This *Śabda* is altogether different from the Vedic *Vāc*, and, as pointed out by Mr. Ahmad Shah (p. 184), should not be confounded with it. The doctrine, of the *Śabda* became widely spread in Northern India, and the word itself, in this mystic use, is frequently met with in the hymns of varying sects.

Readers of Wilson will be familiar with the striking coincidences in phraseology between Kabir's Sākhis and the New Testament. We can now compare Wilson's translations with the original text. For instance, Wilson's No. 95—"When the blind leads [or, better, urges] the blind, both will fall into the well"—corresponds to Sākhi 155:—

andhē andhā thēliyē dōū kūpa parāya.

A still more striking resemblance in teaching—not mentioned by Wilson—is given by Mr. Ahmad Shah on p. 22 of his Introduction. A pious, but somewhat pharisaical, Muslim teacher visited Kabir, and was disgusted to see a pig tied near his door. Kabir, knowing of his intended visit, had purposely arranged this. His explanation was, "I have kept the unlawful thing outside my house, but you within your heart. Had it not been within your heart, your eyes would not have seen it. Whatever you keep within your heart is made manifest. . . . God has created nothing that we should call unlawful or unclean." It is impossible to avoid comparing this with our Lord's teaching in Matt. xv, 17, i.e. in the same chapter as that which contains the text about the blind leading the blind. We may also compare Peter's vision in Acts x, 14 ff.

In the fourteenth century there lived in Kashmīr a wise old woman known as Lal Dēd, whose apophthegms in short verses are still freely quoted in the Happy Valley. Unlike Kabir she was no iconoclast, but was

a devout Hindū. Nevertheless, allowing for differences of environment, many of her lines suggest much the same ideas as those later inculcated by him. This adorer of Śiva, and of Śiva only, could say :—

*Shiv, wā Kēshēv, wā Zin, wā
Kamalaza-nāth nām dōrin yuh,
mē abali kōs'tan bhawa-ruz
suh, wā suh, wā suh, wā suh.*

Let Him bear the name of Śiva, or of Kēśava, or of the Jina (i.e. the Buddha), or of Brahmā, the Lotus-born Lord. Whatever name he bear, may he take from me, sick woman that I am, the disease of the world, whether He be he, or he, or he, or he.

Compare this with Kabīr's line about Allāh, Rāma, Kēśava, Hari, and Hazrat already quoted. There are many other touches common to the two. Kabīr, the weaver, over and over again uses the technical terms of his craft in his teaching. "Kabīr spread the warp," "the thread became loose upon the loom," "I weave my thread continually, but a Brāhmaṇa's thread is only round his neck," "weave, weave the name of Hari, who stretched the warp and took the shuttle," and so on in hundreds of places. Similarly, Lal Dēd uses the same similes in some of her best-known verses.

I have drawn attention to the resemblances between Lal Dēd's teaching and that of Kabīr—I have quoted only two out of many—as an excuse for drawing attention to one difficult line of the latter, on which I think that a verse of the former throws some light.

In Śabda 2, Kabīr tells how the course of nature, mystically interpreted, is altogether reversed to the true believer. Two of these reversals are :—

ulaṭi gaṅgā samudra hī sōkhai, śaśī au sūra grāsai,
which Mr. Ahmad Shah translates, "in contrary wise Gaṅgā sucks up the ocean, and the moon swallows up the

sun." Here the second clause, as translated, is inappropriate, for there is no reversal of function, as there is in the first clause. In ordinary life, the ocean does suck up the Ganges, but the sun does not swallow the moon. Moreover, Mr. Ahmad Shah has left the word *au*, and, untranslated. In the order in which they stand, the words mean literally "moon and sun swallow up". What do they swallow? I think that there can be no doubt that the word to be supplied is "Rāhu", the demon of eclipse. Ordinarily, Rāhu swallows the sun and the moon, but now they swallow him. The word *grāsai*, swallow up, is specially used in regard to an eclipse, so that the omission of Rāhu's name need cause no difficulty. This interpretation is borne out by a verse of Lal Dēd's, which describes exactly the same experience as occurring to the released soul. In one line she says: *ṭandārī Rāh grōsū māwāsē*, the moon, on the new-moon day, has swallowed Rāhu (instead of Rāhu swallowing the sun). Here the words are almost the same as Kabir's, and the meaning is perfectly clear.

Mr. Ahmad Shah refers to the well-known legend of the visit paid by the famous Gōrakhnāth, during which Kabir vanquished him in disputation. If the account contained in the *Gōrakhnāth-kī gōṣṭhī* were true, it would be an important element in fixing the date of the Śaiva prophet. The story is an old one, for it is alluded to in a poem attributed to Kabir's disciple, Dharma-dāsa, but unfortunately it is contradicted by the fact that Kabir himself always refers to Gōrakhnāth as a dead and gone worthy. Thus, in Śabda 12 he associates him with Dattātrēya, Vaśiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Nārada, and Śuka; and in the Sākhī of Ramainī 54 he exclaims, "Matsyēndranātha (Gōrakhnāth's teacher) escaped not, nor Gōrakhnāth, nor Dattātrēya, nor Vyāsa. All were caught in the noose of death."

Kabir fought against superstition to the end. In the

Basti District there is a town called Maghar, and the popular belief is that everyone who may chance to die there will be born again as an ass. On the other hand, he who dies in Benares at once attains to ultimate salvation. When Kabir felt his end approaching, he deliberately left his home in Benares and went to die at Maghar. Of his followers, some were professed Muslims and some were professed Hindūs, and they quarrelled over the disposal of his body. Here legend sums up the tale of his lifework with a master-touch of poetry. When they uncovered his corpse to gaze upon it, they found that it had disappeared and in its place was a heap of flowers. The flowers have long since faded. Some were buried, and some were burnt, but their fragrance endures to this day. The words of two men of the past can still be heard in every village of Hindōstān. These are Tulasi Dāsa, the abandoned child of a beggar Brāhmaṇ tribe, and Kabir, the despised weaver of Benares.

I hope that I have succeeded in showing the importance of the *Bijak* and of its exposition by Mr. Ahmad Shah. His translation is excellent, and his Introduction, giving an account of Kabir and his teaching, full of valuable matter. I trust that the work will soon reach a second edition, and for that I would suggest two improvements. One is that the transliteration of Indian words should be fuller, with the usual diacritical marks. At present, without a reference to the text, it is sometimes impossible to identify the word quoted.¹ The other is that the useful explanation of the proper names quoted by Kabir, given on pp. 230 ff., should be supplemented by an index indicating the passages in which they occur.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

¹ An extreme instance is *agayan* on p. 185. Here the text gives no help, and I am unable to identify the word.

CATALOGUE OF THE PRINTED BOOKS AND OF THE SEMITIC
AND JEWISH MSS. IN THE MARY FRERE HEBREW
LIBRARY AT GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. By
HERBERT LOEWE, M.A. pp. xii, 37.

Girton College has been enriched by the bequest of a collection of Samaritan Manuscripts and Hebrew and Semitic Books left by the late Miss Mary Frere, the author of *Old Deccan Days*, which had endeared her to the students of Indian Folklore. She had in later years turned with enthusiasm to the study of the Bible, and this led her to the Holy Land and to Nablus; although stricken down here by a very severe illness, her interest in the Samaritans and their literature remained keen, and she was able, especially with the help of Dr. Kahle, to collect no less than forty-one manuscripts, which now form the chief part of that collection.

They are minutely and carefully described by Mr. H. Loewe, and although the description is brief it is quite sufficient for those who are interested in Samaritan literature. He has, moreover, done the work in a systematic manner by adding Tables of Contents and numerous indexes of authors, scribes, etc., which make this little volume almost a model for similar small collections. With perhaps two or three exceptions, all the other manuscripts are quite modern. Some were bought from the High Priest and his son Ab Hisda, some from Isaac and his sons, and some from Nagi, copies made mostly in the first years of this century and bought in the year 1908.

In the preface, where Miss Georgina Frere gives a loving description of her sister, she mentions the fact that some of the manuscripts have the seal of the High Priest put on them as a mark of their genuineness. It is scarcely necessary: for every Samaritan manuscript is genuine, and my experience of the Samaritan manuscripts copied in modern times or in olden times has satisfied me that

they deserve absolute reliance. The Samaritans have for centuries ceased to be authors, but they have remained faithful and careful scribes, not free, of course, from human weakness, and their copies, therefore, are also not free from those blemishes which every copy made by human hand bears—omissions, misreadings, etc.

Small though the collection is, it still contains some doublets, and yet in spite of doublets, and in spite of being modern, this collection of Samaritan manuscripts will prove of great value; in fact, everything Samaritan will, I am sure, within a short time, gain in value and importance, for who knows what has become of the Samaritans in the present turmoil of the War, and how much or how little has been left of the dwindling stock living and writing at Nablus?

Now, there is one peculiarity which one ought to mention and which gives even to modern copies and to doublets a great value. Faithful as these scribes are, they are, however, not always copying the whole text before them. The various manuscripts of the same liturgy, e.g. for any special festival day, will vary very considerably according to the leisure of the scribe, or according to his intention of preparing the copy for sale to others. In the latter case he will not mind omitting whole sections, poems, etc., and be satisfied by a mere reference to those pieces in the rubric. Sometimes such a manuscript has been prepared even for personal use, and a reference in the rubric is quite sufficient to the Samaritan who is fully conversant with his liturgy and requires only a brief indication; but these indications are extremely puzzling, as can be seen in the texts printed by Cowley in his Samaritan Liturgy, to which, unfortunately, he gives no explanation, and that is the reason why a large supplementary volume could be added to the just mentioned Samaritan Liturgy, bulky though the latter publication is.

It can also be seen here (e.g. in the manuscripts of the Day of Atonement), for without seeing it personally, I am sure that No. 26 cannot be the complete and full text of the whole of the service. A volume in my possession of the same Day of Atonement is at least double the size.

There is one more important instance which I can adduce from the small collection. As far as the various chronicles are concerned, especially those numbered 16 and 41, these are the very chronicles in which I found embedded the Book of Joshua and which had remained unnoticed and unrecognized for that very reason. It is not the Arabic Book of Joshua with which it had been confused by would-be critics, but it is part of the chronicle which starts from Joshua and is continued to our present day. I possess also a copy which in all likelihood is identical with No. 41. I shall only be able to verify this statement when collating the manuscripts, but what is interesting to mention here is that, with the exception of that portion of the Book of Joshua, the rest is more or less identical with the *Chronique Samaritaine* published by Seligson and Adler.

There are slight variations between my manuscript and that edition. Some portions are omitted, others are added, but on the whole it is precisely the same book, but my copy contains the full Book of Joshua, which is entirely omitted in the published edition. Herein lies the additional value of copies of Samaritan texts, however recently they may have been copied. They enable us to reconstitute the Samaritan literature in its fullness.

In this collection we find now whole copies of the Pentateuch, and portions of the Pentateuch written by various hands. 'הצב mentioned in No. 9, with a query in the Catalogue, is the Hebrew Samaritan equivalent for the Aramaic Tabia, which occurs in the same colophon. It is an interesting name, of which the feminine form is so well known as the Tabitha of the New Testament.

A few corrections and additions to this Catalogue may now be made.

No. 10 ought to read "the servant the poor", *not* "the servant of the poor". It is the same form of humility in Syriac colophons, and also in Arabic.

The name of the scribe given by Mr. Loewe as "Ab Sakwata" seems to be "Ab Sakua". I have never yet found this name of Sakwata in any manuscript, but "Ab Sakua", sometimes represented by the Arabic "Murjan", is a common name among Samaritan scribes, especially of the Danafi family.

"Meribo" is merely a vulgar spelling of the scribe for the real form "Marhib"; as the *h* is not pronounced it is often omitted by the scribes.

No. 15 is not the original of my copy. It is entirely in Arabic, and the copy which I obtained from the Samaritans is written in Samaritan characters, and in two columns, Arabic and Samaritan, of which more on another occasion.

No. 18, Arabic Chronicle, seems to be the same as that of which I have a copy, and another had been bought by Peterman for the Berlin Library. According to Nagi's statement to me, the author of this modern compilation was his late father Pinehas, a statement difficult to verify. It is unquestionably the largest historical book of the Samaritans known. It contains the whole of Abul Fath, with various additions in the beginning and the end, such as portions of the Arabic Book of Joshua, and in one copy a poem of Maḡah, and then continues from the time of Abul Fath to the present day. The remark made about the differences of contents between various manuscripts of the Liturgy and of the Hebrew Samaritan Chronicle applies also to this set of literature.

It is interesting to note there are two copies of the Tabah, a book which hitherto had been very rare.

The name "Cook" seems to mean, not a book of laws of slaying animals, and the differences between Jews and

Samaritans, but a collection of various laws and regulations which are not systematically arranged. I understand that this book will be published by Professor Cowley, who no doubt will consult these two manuscripts. An old copy of the same book is in my possession.

No. 25 is evidently a poem ascribed to Maḩah. It is well known that the Samaritan liturgy contains a large number of his poems, which are called "Bate" (Beit).

The rest of the collection consists of grammars and dictionaries, and other works helpful to the student of Hebrew and Arabic. All will contribute to perpetuate the memory of the kind donor, who places Girton College in an enviable position with regard to Samaritan literature.

M. GASTER.

THE MEMOIRS OF BABUR. By ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

Fasciculus III: Luzac & Co. [1917, but not dated.]

Mrs. Beveridge deserves hearty congratulations on the completion of her revised version of Bābur's fascinating autobiography. The fourth fasciculus, which remains to be issued, will contain the Preface, maps, Index, and other subsidiary matter.

At this stage of an undertaking long drawn out it is needless to comment on the patience and scholarship of the translator. For many years she has been engaged on her labour of love, in which her husband has been able to give valuable assistance by reason of his extensive knowledge of Persian. The new version probably will not supersede the older and more literary translation by Leyden and Erskine, which appeals largely to a different class of readers. In fact, the Oxford University Press has ready for printing a new edition of the earlier translation prepared by a learned professor, which is delayed in appearance only by the War. There is room for both

books. Mrs. Beveridge's work is addressed specially to scholars with some special learning. Leyden and Erskine may be read with pleasure by anybody.

The newly issued Fasciculus III is of more general interest than its predecessors, because it deals with Hindūstān or Northern India, ground much more familiar to most people than the Khanates of Central Asia or even than Kābul. Bābur took a keen interest in a great variety of subjects and was an excellent observer, so that he has much worth saying about the peculiarities of his Indian dominions. His descendant Jahāngīr showed similar capacity for minute, sympathetic observation when he recorded his description of Kashmīr. All the Timūrid sovereigns of India, from Bābur to Aurangzēb, six monarchs in direct succession from father to son, were men of mark, each in his own way, Humāyūn being the feeblest, probably owing to his addiction to opium. Bābur is personally the most attractive of the six, and evidently is very much of a hero in the eyes of Mrs. Beveridge.

It is well known that he did not much like India, and that he found many things to dislike in both the country and its people. His dislike did not prevent him from taking careful note of the animals, plants, and other productions. He and his successors did India a good service by laying out innumerable gardens and introducing many new flowers and fruits.

Mrs. Beveridge, following her Turkī original, presents familiar names in strange guises—for instance, the Uzbegs appear as Aūzbegs, and Jaunpur looks queer when spelt Jūnpūr. She notes that the Haidarābād MS. points the name of the well-known river as "Sutluj". Raverty preferred Sutlaj, with Sutlāj and Shuttlaj as alternatives.

Where did the learned translator find the alleged Sanskrit word *ūlvash* (p. 488, n.)? She has taken much pains with the identification of the various animals and

plants named by Bābur, a task by no means easy. The results are necessarily doubtful in some cases.

The story of the attempt to poison Bābur made at the instigation of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi's mother (p. 542) is interesting. The Pādshāh calmly notes: "That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown under an elephant, the other shot with a matchlock."

Bābur was only 47 years of age when he died in December, 1530. A passage referring to A.D. 1525-6 (p. 449) throws light on the early decease of a man apparently so strong. "A few days later," he writes, "in Bigrām [Peshawar], when I had fever and discharge, followed by cough, and I began to spit blood each time I coughed, I knew whence my reproof came; I knew what act of mine had brought this affliction on me." The symptoms described indicate the existence of pulmonary consumption or phthisis.

Bābur's tomb at Kābul (pp. 710 and lxxix) is described in the *Narrative of the War in Affghanistan* (London, 1840, vol. ii, p. 14) by [Sir] Henry Havelock, who gives in Appendix 24 a copy and version of the inscription on the pediment of the adjoining mosque. Masson has a small engraving of the tomb.

An interesting question concerns the use of artillery by Bābur at the battle of Pānīpat in 1526. He made a laager or defence by lashing together 700 *arābas*. What does *arāba* mean? Lane-Poole (*Bābar*, Rulers of India, p. 161) decides that it means gun-carriages. Mrs. Beveridge, following de Courteille, translates "carts".

I have looked up the dictionaries. The word is Turkish, not Arabic, although adopted into both the Arabic and Persian languages. Redhouse and Wells in

their *Turkish Dictionary* (1880) give عربہ, 'araba, s.

[substantive] *t.* ["of purely Turkish origin"], meaning "a cart or carriage of any kind". So عرب جي, 'arabajī, means "driver". In Salmoné's *Arabic Dictionary*, 1890, we find عرب, 'arab, meaning "vehicle, conveyance, carriage, cart". The word is marked 4^t, which may indicate its Turkī origin. Salmoné gives عربجي, 'arabajjī, T. [Turkish], as meaning "driver, coachman".

Those references prove clearly that the word is Turkish, with an initial 'ain and short *a* in second syllable. Wollaston (*English-Persian Dictionary*, 1904) has "Cart, عرابه, and also عراده, 'arābah or 'arrādah", with second syllable long, meaning "carriage or vehicle". Forbes (*Hindustani Dictionary*, 1859) gives *arāba* (with *alif*, not 'ain) as meaning "a wheeled carriage, gun-carriage, etc., a cart"; and marks the word as *p.* (Persian). He gives an alternative form 'arāba (with 'ain), "a kind of cart" (v. *arāba*) (in Dakh. a magazine for military stores).

Clearly, therefore, the word, however spelt, was of Turkish origin with the general meaning of "carriage" or "vehicle". The precise signification in any given passage must depend on the context. It would take too long to discuss the early use of artillery in India, but I may say that I am disposed to agree with Lane-Poole and to understand that Bābur meant 700 "gun-carriages". Whether or not he had as many guns is another matter.

V. A. S.

CHINA: HER HISTORY, DIPLOMACY, AND COMMERCE,
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.
By E. H. PARKER. London: John Murray. 1917.

This book makes an opportune reappearance at a time when the rest of the world is beginning to realize that the Far East will play a prominent part in shaping its destinies. The edition of sixteen years ago has been revised and supplemented with three new chapters, one of which, dealing with the rise of the Chinese Republic, "endeavours to give a succinct account of how political reform arose from humiliating foreign defeat, and how the hitherto suppressed and stunted spirit of democracy asserted itself."

Among the multitudinous publications on China prepared for the general reader this is one of the few that count. It has the merit, so often lacking, of being written by an author possessing extensive first-hand knowledge of the country combined with distinguished scholarship, sympathetic understanding, and genius for generalization. These qualifications have enabled him to survey so vast a field in true perspective within the compass of some 400 pages of satisfactorily large print.

Some of the best chapters are those that give an account of the geography, history, and trade routes, most valuably elucidated with plentiful maps. Two admirable essays on "Personal Characteristics" and "Religion and Rebellion" cannot fail to foster a better understanding of Chinese civilization by correcting many of our popular misconceptions. Professor Parker holds no brief for the Chinese, but the sketch he draws in vivid outline of the racial type presents a curiously attractive figure of whom the virtues outnumber the vices. One point especially that he makes will be endorsed by most of those familiar with the country. He writes: "I cannot recall a case where any Chinese friend has left me in the lurch or played me a dirty trick; and few of us can say the same

of our own colleagues and countrymen." On the other hand, he declares that harshness towards children and cruelty are national traits. He instances prison horrors, certain methods of executing criminals, callousness towards beggars, drowning men, and the sufferings of animals. That the average Chinese is a monster of fiendish cruelty is a prevalent belief among us; indeed, many will tell you that all they know about the race is that cruelty is its outstanding characteristic. With the events of recent years fresh in our memory we Europeans can scarcely afford to be critical on this score, and it may safely be asserted that no form of official torture or execution practised in the Middle Kingdom has surpassed in barbarity the *peine forte et dure* inflicted in England as late as the middle of the eighteenth century.

With "Religion and Rebellion" the author deals in a manner remarkably free from prejudice and cant. If only this chapter could be reprinted in pamphlet form for distribution among the six thousand or more missionaries in China and its lessons learnt by the recipients, much benefit might result to their cause. That religious intolerance has ever been the policy of the Government is here denied, and one's suspicion is strengthened that Professor De Groot has given a distorted view of the matter in his well-known book on persecution. History shows that official persecution directed against Christian and other sectaries has always been provoked by political interference or propaganda treasonable to the State. With regard to the attitude of the people in this connexion, the author says:—

"It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Chinese masses entertain any hostile sentiments towards religious feeling as such: they respect it, in whatever form; and the gentle doctrines of true, simple Buddhism, which possess so much that is (externally at least) similar to those of true, simple Christianity, have, as already stated, on the whole, exercised a lasting effect

for good on the Chinese mind : so do medical missionaries and really charitable school teachers exercise a decidedly good effect upon the Celestial mind of to-day : but by reasoning kindness, not by dogma. What causes trouble is the clashing of militant doctrine with the village customs and social habits naturally dear to the rustic mind."

And again :—

"They are religious-minded, tolerant, and non-militant ; but neither the educated nor the ignorant classes will have what they honestly believe to be humbug thrust down their throats, and such religious animosity as exists—which has never been exercised in one single instance against the Russian Orthodox Church—has often ~~had~~ to thank the mistaken zeal of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries for its own birth and growth ; or, as in the 'Boxer' case, is indirectly owing to the 'blood of the martyrs' having been used (as was done by Prussia) for political gain."

For the rest, there are excellent chapters on Revenue, Salt Gabelle, Likin, Army, Law, and Language and Literature ; and the book closes with a somewhat unconvincing account of the rise of the Republic. It is a difficult, perhaps an impossible, task for the foreigner to form a true estimate of the last six years ; and probably the full tale of party politics and sordid intrigue will never be known.

The author passes over in silence the æsthetic aspect of the Revolution, and says nothing about the adoption of bowler hats and black tailed-coats as the official garb, though it might be fancied that the bastard heraldic device displayed upon the cover of the book as the badge of the Republic had been placed there to symbolize indiscriminate assimilation of Western culture.

W. P. Y.

OBITUARY NOTICE

HENDRIK KERN

[The following appreciation of Kern's character and work, kindly furnished by Professor Vogel, comes with the authority of a fellow-countryman, an ex-pupil, a sharer in the experience of an Indian career, and a successor in the chair of Sanskrit at Leiden. In the pages of this Journal, however, we may be permitted to record the observation that the regard for the master's achievements as a philologist, an exponent of the science of language, and a linguist, as well as for his personal qualities, was felt no less deeply among English-speaking Orientalists than in his own country and in the world at large. His election as an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society was an early testimony thereto. Mr. Blagden has been so good as to append a statement concerning Kern's achievements in the field of Malayo-Polynesian studies. His work in the special Indian sphere is of that ripe character which is a guarantee of permanency and which rewards each fresh perusal; and this is true, not only of his editions and translations of texts and of his masterly *History of Buddhism in India* and his *Manual of Buddhism*, but also of his investigations in constantly progressive studies, such as the interpretation of the inscriptions of Asoka, where even now we may turn to him for suggestion or confirmation. Kern's personal friendship was treasured by not a few English scholars of more than one generation, including also the undersigned, in whose case it dates from the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in the year 1899.

We may call attention to the Obituary Notice by our Honorary Member Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje

published in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, vol. lxxiii, pt. ii, 1917.

F. W. THOMAS.]

THE death of Professor Johann Kaspar Hendrik Kern, which occurred at Utrecht on July 4, 1917, deprives the world of one of its greatest Orientalists and the Royal Asiatic Society of the oldest of its Honorary Members.

If we should call Kern one of the world's foremost Sanskritists, this title, however exalted, would imply but a very partial recognition of his marvellous scholarly attainments. Familiarity with every branch of the ancient literature of India, founded on a complete mastery of Vedic, Sanskrit, and Pali alike, is in itself in these days of specialization a rare and enviable accomplishment. But, although Kern was in the first place a linguist, a master of languages, he penetrated through the words into their deepest sense, and through the form into the profoundest thoughts to which they gave expression. It was the history of Indian religions—more particularly Buddhism—to which his principal works were devoted. Next the study of Indian astronomy is to be specially mentioned. Whilst, on the one hand, he extended his linguistic researches over almost every branch of the Indo-Germanic languages (not to mention the many tongues belonging to totally different groups with which he was more or less acquainted), he followed, on the other hand, the Indo-Aryan civilization across the Eastern Ocean to the shores of Further India and to the Islands of the Archipelago. In the field of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, as well as in the epigraphy of Java and Cambodia, his leadership was acknowledged as generally as among Sanskritists.

Hendrik Kern was born at Poerworedjo in the Isle of Java on April 6, 1833, his father being an officer in the Netherlands-India Army. In his 7th year his

parents left the East and took him to Holland, where he received his education. In the year 1850 he commenced his university studies at Utrecht, to continue them in the following year at Leiden. Here he had the advantage of finding an instructor in the as yet little trodden field of Sanskrit study, towards which he found himself mightily drawn. In those days Sanskrit did not yet belong to the officially recognized subjects taught at the Leiden University; but the Hebrew professor Rutgers, who had taken it up of his own accord, lectured on it and became Kern's *guru*. Kern, moreover, devoted his energies to ancient Germanic and in a lesser measure to Slavonic languages.

The subject, however, on which Kern took his doctor's degree on October 12, 1855, belonged to the domain of Iranian studies. The title of his thesis was: *Specimen historicum exhibens scriptores græcos de rebus persicis Achæmenidarum monumentis collatos*. It will be remembered that the estampages of the great rock inscription of Bisutūn (Behistun) prepared by Sir Henry Rawlinson had been edited a few years previously (1847 and 1851) in the pages of this Journal.

Only a fortnight after his promotion the young doctor betook himself to Berlin, in order to continue his Sanskrit studies under the guidance of Albrecht Weber. It was at the latter's suggestion that he undertook an edition of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, a task requiring both an intimate knowledge of the Sanskrit language and a familiarity with astronomy. It was not until 1865 that Kern's edition of that remarkable astrological work appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, to be followed by an English translation, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for the year 1870. At Weber's request Kern became also a contributor to the great St. Petersburg dictionary.

On New Year's Day, 1857, Kern returned to Holland;

but in his own country he did not at once find that official and practical recognition which his extraordinary scholarly talents called for. It is true that in the summer of the following year he was appointed professor of Greek at the Royal Athenæum of Maastricht; but this position left him but scanty scope for his favourite studies. In those days he composed a Dutch translation of Kālidāsa's famous play *Śakuntalā*, and this version contributed in no small degree to the establishment of that great and well-merited reputation which Kern has ever since enjoyed among his countrymen. The more serious task of editing and interpreting Varāhamihira had to be accomplished abroad. In connexion with this work Kern went to spend the summer vacation of 1861 in London; and in the following year he resigned his educational appointment at Maastricht, in order to be able to devote himself entirely to his great task of collating the manuscripts of Varāhamihira and the commentary by Bhaṭṭotpala in the Library of the India Office. Here he made the acquaintance of Goldstücker, Max Müller, and Bühler.

It appears from Kern's private letters that in the course of his stay at London he conceived a great admiration for the British character and for British institutions.¹ It is also evident from his letters that, when he went over to England, it was in the secret hope that a stay in that country might become a stepping-stone to acquiring a position in the land of his dreams and of his favourite studies. This hope was fulfilled in the spring of 1863 by the offer of a post of Anglo-Sanskrit professor at Queen's College, Benares. With

¹ This admiration, indeed, was severely shaken by the events in South Africa of 1899 and following years, as was only natural in a man who combined a generous sense of cosmopolitanism with a strong patriotic feeling, extending also to the scions of the Dutch race in other parts of the world.

his characteristic energy he immediately made ready for his voyage, reaching Benares by the end of June.

Any one who has lived in Hindūstan knows that the end of June, when the heat of summer is fiercest, rendering life almost unbearable, is not the moment aptest to impart a favourable impression of India and Indian life. The circumstance of this untimely date of Kern's arrival may have been a factor in creating that feeling of disappointment to which he gave vent in his home letters written from Benares. Anglo-Indian Society, moreover, and its amusements had but slight attractions for one so wholly absorbed in scientific research. But the chief source of his disappointment apparently was his failing to find in the Indians of to-day that lofty character which the highly idealized picture of the ancient literature had led him to expect. This, however, did not affect that warm sympathy for the indigenous population of India which ever characterized him.

There is ample proof, too, that Bhaṭṭa-Karṇa, as they used to call him, enjoyed the affectionate esteem of his Brahman students. One of them gave expression to his feelings of admiration in the following lines of high-flown Sanskrit poetry :—

*jayati jagati Karṇaḥ kaumudīśubhravarṇaḥ |
khalabhujagasuparṇaḥ sāstradattakakarṇaḥ ||
jagadukhilasavidyāsindhunaukarṇadhāraḥ |
kṛtanijagunaśaṃkhyākarnakīrttiprahāraḥ ||
samājñākūpāre plavanakṛtalīpsāḥ kavigiro
nimajjanti kṣipraṃ tava karuṇayā paśyasi yadā |
nimagno 'raṃ pāraṃ vrajati vicikitsārṇavajalād
ataḥ sevyo 'si tvaṃ kavibhir athavā saṃśayagataih ||*

When the Government at The Hague had at last decided to create a professorship for Sanskrit at the Leiden University and Kern had been elected as the only man to occupy the newly founded chair, he did not

hesitate to accept a post which promised to give him full scope for the display of his extraordinary talents.

On October 18, 1865, Kern assumed his professorship, which he retained until the year 1903, when he had reached the age limit of 70 years fixed by the law. During the thirty-eight years of his teaching activity he formed a numerous school, consisting, on the one hand, of Sanskritists like Speyer, Caland, Uhlenbeck, and Warren, and, on the other hand, of scholars like Brandes, Adriani, Hazeu, Jonker, Juynboll, and Van Ronkel, who chose the study of Old-Javanese and of the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

The books and articles which he produced within the period of sixty-two years intervening between his promotion in 1855 and his death in 1917 are so numerous, and belong to so different fields of research, that in the present notice I must restrict myself to mentioning only the most important; and in doing so I choose preferably from amongst those publications which pertain to the field of Indian and Indonesian studies.

In the first place I mention his standard work *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië* (1882-4), which was translated into French and German. It was followed by his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1896), of which lately a Japanese version has appeared. Kern gave an English translation of the *Saddharmapundarika* in vol. xxi of the *Sacred Books of the East* (1884) and a new edition of the same work in coöperation with the Japanese scholar Bunyiu Nanjio (*Bibl. Buddh.*, x, 1912). Another important Sanskrit work pertaining to the Buddhist religion which was edited by Kern is the *Jātakamālā* (Harvard Oriental Series, i, 1890), of which Speyer gave subsequently an English translation (1895).

One of the last works contributed by Kern to our knowledge of Indian Buddhism is his *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers*, which appeared in the year

1916 in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Amsterdam. To many scholars abroad it will be a matter of regret that this supplement to Childers' well-known Pali-English Dictionary (London, 1875) is in Dutch.

It is a remarkable fact that Kern's principal works in the domain of Indian studies deal with the history and literature of the Buddhists, whereas it is evident that the Brahmanical ideals of social and religious life were much more sympathetic to him than the monastic ideals of Buddhism.

How great are Kern's merits in regard to the study of the archæology, history, and languages of the Archipelago has been well expressed by Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who wrote shortly after his death: "Kern would rank among Holland's greatest scholars, even if we possessed nothing from his hand but his researches in the field of Indonesian studies."

It was in 1868, at the suggestion of Dr. Van der Tuuk, that Kern commenced studying the Kawi or Old-Javanese language; and two years later he published his first article relating to this little-explored field of research. Of special importance are his studies relating to the Old-Javanese adaptations of the two great epics of India, the stories of which have retained immense popularity among the Javanese down to the present day owing to their being enacted in the shadow-show or *wayang*.

Among Kern's publications in this department of studies we may mention first of all his edition of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* in 1900, followed by a Dutch translation of the same work, which has as yet only partly appeared in the *Bijdragen* of the Royal Institute of Netherlands-India. Another work of great importance, completed in 1914, was Kern's version of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, a Javanese chronicle of the fourteenth century, which had been discovered and edited by Dr. Brandes, one of the master's most gifted pupils.

Of special importance was his epoch-making study *De Fidji taal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië* (1889), by which Kern became the founder of a new department of research, that of the comparative philology of Indonesian languages.

That the Indian religions introduced into the Archipelago attracted Kern's special attention is evident from his interesting article *Over de vermenging van Çivaïsme en Buddhisme op Java, naar aanleiding van het Oud-Javaansch gedicht Sutasoma*.

The record of his wonderful activity as an Indonesian scholar would be incomplete without mentioning how much the archæology and epigraphy of the Archipelago owes to Kern. A considerable number of inscriptions, both in Sanskrit and Old-Javaese, have been edited by him in various Dutch periodicals.

In the interpretation of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Further India (Campā and Kambodia in particular) Kern has taken a leading part, as is generously acknowledged by the French scholars who have distinguished themselves in this domain. Let me only quote the eloquent words of M. Louis Finot, the distinguished head of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

"En mai et juin, 1879," that scholar wrote, "les *Annales de l'Extrême-Orient* publiaient un récit de la belle exploration du Dr. Harmand au Cambodge, avec des planches reproduisant quelques fragments d'inscriptions estampées par le voyageur. 'Pourra-t-on jamais déchiffrer ces inscriptions?' demandait M. Harmand. L'année ne s'était pas écoulée que les *Bijdragen* de l'Institut royal de La Haye donnaient à cette question une victorieuse réponse : M. Kern avait lu les inscriptions, l'épigraphie cambodgienne et avec elle l'histoire documentaire des Etats hindous de la péninsule était du coup fondée ; l'attention du monde savant était attirée sur ces témoins authentiques du passé ; le sceau du livre mystérieux

était brisé, et Bergaigne, Barth, Aymonier allaient bientôt en déchiffrer les pages."

It only remains to register the outstanding events in the concluding portion of the master's life. In the year 1903 Kern was to reach the age of 70 years, fixed by the law in vogue in the Netherlands as the age limit for University professors. This rule, however excellent in its main principles, has the disadvantage of sometimes withdrawing persons fully able in body and mind from their teaching activity. Such was the case with Kern. In a letter written in the beginning of October of the previous year he expressed himself in the following typical manner: "Ik ben nu mijn laatsten cursus ingegaan, ben dien begounen met meer leerlingen dan gewoonlijk en wil dien vooral niet minder. ijverig voortzetten dan vroeger; tot nog toe ben ik, God zij dank, nog niet versleten." ["I have now entered upon my last course; I have begun with more pupils than usual, and shall certainly carry it on not less zealously than formerly; up to now, I am, thank God, not yet worn out."]

On the occasion of Kern's 70th birthday his friends and pupils honoured him with a commemorative album, containing contributions covering the many departments of research in which they acknowledged him as their leader. In this imposing volume of more than 400 pages, comprising scientific papers by eighty-six scholars of different nationality, the universal veneration and homage of the learned world took, as it were, visible shape.

The bibliography of Kern's writings from 1855 to 1903, which is found at the end of this album—the titles covering twelve folio pages each of two columns—is well calculated to impart a vivid impression of the master's power of production.

This production by no means ceased with Kern's resignation as a University professor. It is true that a few months afterwards, when he had left Leiden for

Utrecht—the place where he had commenced his academic studies in 1850—he met with an accident which, though not very serious in itself, owing to his advanced age made him an invalid for the rest of his life. However awkward this must have been to a man of his active habits, it by no means affected his mental powers.

Kern's 80th birthday on April 6, 1913, became again the occasion of a cordial celebration, in which Professor Speyer, who had succeeded him at Leiden and on whom he looked as his most distinguished pupil, took the leading part. This time the homage of his admirers assumed a twofold form: a marble bust of the revered master by the sculptor Charles van Wijk (it is now placed in the rooms of the Royal Institute at The Hague), and a complete edition of Kern's minor writings (*Verspreide Geschriften*), divided into fifteen sections in accordance with the various fields of research to which they refer. Of this work six volumes so far have appeared.

The concluding years of his life were devoted to his favourite studies, of which the fruits continued to appear in learned journals. He remained in the full possession of his intellectual capacities until November, 1916, when death deprived him of his wife, with whom he had been united for more than fifty years. This loss brought about a sudden break-down both in body and in mind. On July 4 he followed her into the grave.

Of the manifold honours which were heaped upon Kern by governments and scientific bodies in the course of his scholarly career, and which he himself accepted with great modesty, it will be unnecessary to give a detailed enumeration. But we do not wish to conclude this account of his life and work without referring to his great simplicity of mind and kindness of heart, which won him the affection of all who knew him, whatever their nationality might be, nor without mentioning his ever ready willingness to assist and advise, to which his

pupils and friends will bear a unanimous and grateful testimony.

J. PH. VOGEL.

By way of supplement to what has been said above I venture to add a few words from the point of view of a student of Indonesian linguistics. In that field Kern was a pioneer; in fact, he was, together with H. N. van der Tuuk, the founder of it. Shortly after the latter had established (in his *Outlines of a Grammar of the Malagasy Language*: JRAS., n.s., vol. i, pp. 419-46, 1865), as against Crawford, that the Indonesian languages constituted a real family and were not a mere congeries of separate and independent tongues held together only by the slender thread of a number of common loan-words, Kern proceeded to fortify that position and set it on a firmer and broader basis. This he did by the careful study of their comparative grammar, with the help of the evidence of the Old Javanese texts, seconded by a very wide and accurate acquaintance with many of the other languages of the family. In certain cases, where there had been some doubt as to the true affiliation of a language (e.g. the dialects of the Philippine Negritos and the Mafoor language near New Guinea), he definitely proved their relationship, though a similar attempt to include the dialects of Northern Halmahera has not met with the same general acceptance. Passing beyond the boundaries of the Indonesian division, he showed by the evidence of Fijian, Samoan, Maori, and the languages of Eromanga and Aneityum, that Melanesia and Polynesia could not be severed from their genealogical relationship with Indonesia. From linguistic data derived from these different divisions of the great Malayo-Polynesian (or Austronesian) family, he drew the inference that the homeland of its original mother tongue must have been situated somewhere in the western portion of

its geographical area, and probably on the east coast of Indo-China, where relics and traces of Indonesian languages are to be found to this day.

These are only a few outstanding points in Kern's Indonesian studies; but they are conclusions of fundamental importance, and the subsequent researches of other scholars have only served to confirm them. In all his work, and particularly in this department of it, bristling with details as it does, Kern displayed a complete mastery over his materials, combined with an encyclopædic grasp of them. His work was not that of a mere collector and tabulator of facts: he illuminated them by the light of his original mentality and sound judgment; and hence it is that nearly all his conclusions have stood the test of further inquiry. Considering that his work extended over half a century and that so large a proportion of it was the work of a pioneer in a new field, the achievement is remarkable.

Of Kern's character much might be said, particularly of his kindness to other scholars and his unfailing readiness to help them in their work. His juniors who attempted to follow after him in any of the various fields of research in which he excelled can testify to his generous and stimulating willingness to aid them in their studies. That was one of his leading characteristics, the outcome of a broad mind and a noble heart, two possessions that are more to be esteemed than even the highest purely intellectual faculties.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1917)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

October 3, 1917.—Professor Margoliouth in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. J. F. Baddeley.
Mr. Phani Bhusan Chakravarti.
Babu Surendra Nath Roy Chowdhury.
Babu Sarat Chandra Ray Choudhury.
Babu Sachindrabhusan Ghosh.
Babu Kedarnath Mazumdar.
Shrimant Narasingrao Kanakrao Nadgowda.
Lieut.-Col. A. Osburn, D.S.O.
Sardar Gurdial Singh Salariya.
Sahibzada Professor Sher Singh.
Professor Deva Datta Tripathy.

Thirteen nominations were also approved for election at the next meeting.

Mr. M. Longworth Dames read a paper on “ Portuguese and Turks in the Sixteenth Century ”, and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Mr. Vincent Smith, Sir Charles Lyall, and Professor Hagopian took part.

November 13, 1917.—The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, Director, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. Abulfazl, Ph.D., LL.D.
Captain S. P. Devlin.
Babu Benod Behari Das Gupta, B.A.
Lala Ikhtiar Lal Dhawan, B.A.
Dr. Stephen Langdon.
Babu Nalini Kanta Moitra.
Babu Kali Kinkar Mutsuddy.

Mr. W. Frederick Fitzroy Prins, F.R.G.S.

Mr. H. P. Krishna Rao, B.A.

Mr. Parama Siva Sabbarayan.

Rai Sahib Daya Ram Sahni.

Pandit Kedar Natha Sharma.

Babu Anirudha Prasad Sinha.

Four nominations were also approved for election at the next meeting.

A list of presents to the Society was read, including a framed photograph of the late Honorary Secretary, Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E. Dr. F. W. Thomas announced the terms of the Entente between the Society and the Société Asiatique of Paris.

A paper entitled "Jang Nafuskh and the Red Thread of Honour" was read by Colonel A. C. Yate, and Mr. Longworth Dames took part in the discussion which followed.

II. AN AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE OF PARIS.

The following Report of a Committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to consider the question of co-operation between the Society and the Société Asiatique of Paris, was approved by the Council at a Special Meeting on October 16, 1917, and its substance was announced at a meeting of the Society on November 13. It is now printed for the information of the members. Prefixed is a letter addressed by M. Senart, President of the Société Asiatique, to Lord Reay, on December 19, 1916, which was the starting-point of the negotiations.

(Translation.)

18 Rue François Ier.

December 19, 1916.

MY DEAR LORD REAY,

It is already a long time since I wrote to acquaint you with my desire for concerted action on the part of the Royal

Asiatic Society and of our Société Asiatique in regard to certain measures of advantage to the studies represented by our two bodies. Time has only strengthened my views on this subject; and certain communications which have reached me from Great Britain encourage me to think that the inspiration which I follow has now some chance of finding an echo among our British colleagues and friends. Accordingly, I deem it well to reopen the matter with you. Of course, I very well understand that certain things could not be felt in exactly the same way by all the world. So I would restrict myself to proposals modest and flexible enough to assure general assent.

Our studies are specifically such as, by reason of the limited number of those who pursue them, could not with impunity be confined strictly within national lines. On the other hand, it appears to me evident that undefined international rapprochements, as embodied in the International Congresses of Orientalists, have become, at least for a very long time, impossible. I may add that in my view they have never seriously and continuously answered the purposes which they should have served. I conceive that we have not so much to replace them as to take a different and a better course. We should contemplate reunions less comprehensive but more constant, smaller in respect of numbers but more active, less of a social but more of an expert character. They would be susceptible of gradual extension: but I do not believe that I am yielding to a sentiment which is out of place in thinking it natural that they should first be contracted between representatives of countries thoroughly united in heart and soul, as ours are, by a common struggle for existence and an imperative obligation to prepare a common future.

Here we are measuring what in Orientalist matters will be the cost of the losses and sacrifices, immense in every sphere, imposed upon us by these tragic times. Great Britain itself will not escape experiencing the unhappy after-effects. Would it not be wise, reasonable, no less than friendly, if from now our Societies, representing Oriental studies on either side of the Channel respectively, should bethink themselves to contrive for those studies, as best they can, a less sombre future, relieved in any case, as far as is possible, by a spiritual, and on occasion

also a material, entente, which we, for our part, feel to be conformable to our aspirations as well as to our need for close co-operation ?

Such being our thought, what we can submit to you is, of course, not a definite plan, fixed in form and detail. There can result only reciprocal suggestions, which will gradually acquire precision. The first thing is to know what are on either part the dispositions upon which we may base. What I should contemplate for the present would be, for example, a joint resolution of our two Societies, expressing the desire that, as soon as circumstances shall seem to allow, our officials should arrange for a gathering, whether in London or in Paris, of authorized representatives of the two bodies, with a view not only to considering the position of studies relating to the East and recording their most recent developments, but also, very specifically, to taking such initiatives as shall seem calculated to further those studies, combining the common endeavours of the two Societies or evoking and supporting in common such enterprises as may be judged advantageous.

The general idea once accepted, we should have, I believe, not only an effectual declaration of solidarity, but also a starting-point for various practical applications of the principle laid down.

I should be very grateful, my dear Lord Reay, if, with your experience in high affairs and your friendly sympathy, you would give thought to these matters, would survey the situation, and let me know your view.

Believe me, my dear Lord Reay, very cordially and faithfully yours,

(Signed) É. SENART.

REPORT

The Committee appointed by the Council on March 13, 1917, to confer with representatives of the Société Asiatique concerning co-operation between the two Societies, begs to report as follows:—

The Committee, which consists of the President, Sir George Grierson, Mr. Dames, Sir Charles Lyall, Mr. Blagden, and Mr. Thomas (Secretary), together with the Honorary Officers, of whom Sir George Grierson has since become one, held a preliminary meeting immediately after its constitution, when it resolved to report itself to the French Society as in being and to invite proposals.

On April 3 the Committee met to consider a communication from a Committee nominated by the French Society, which had addressed Sir Charles Lyall in the following terms :—

MEMORANDUM

(Translation.)

The Société Asiatique, at its meeting on March 9, 1917, decided, on the motion of its President, to appoint a Committee for the purpose of studying the means of rendering the long-standing relations between it and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland more intimate and more active.

The following gentlemen were appointed members of the Committee: M. É. Senart, President of the Society, MM. Ed. Chavannes and Clément Huart, Vice-Presidents, MM. H. Cordier and S. Lévi, Honorary Members of the R.A.S., and M. A. Foucher, Secretary.

The Committee thus constituted has, at a meeting on March 17 under the chairmanship of M. Senart, taken cognizance of the letter by which the President of the R.A.S. announces the appointment of a Committee instructed to confer with it and requests from it an initiative in formulating proposals. Deferring to this request, it hastens to submit to that Committee the outlines of a scheme which, it is hoped, will in its main features meet with approval.

In the first place, the Committee has pleasure in remarking that this scheme is only a particular instance of a general disposition in all minds, tending to extend the salutary action of the Entente more and more to the very mainsprings of the political, economic, and intellectual life of our nations. From

this last point of view attempts at co-operation have already been initiated in various quarters between academies and universities; it is meet that the two oldest Asiatic Societies of Europe should take the initiative towards an analogous rapprochement.

It is self-evident that this rapprochement would imply nothing of an exclusive and restricted nature; henceforth our thoughts go out towards all our friends and allies. But we consider that we cannot prepare more effectively for a wider federation than by constituting, in the first place, a very solid nucleus which, formed by the oldest, may serve to similar Societies as an example and *point d'appui*.

Lastly, the Committee thinks proper to point out that, in organizing the collaboration of our two Societies, we are confining ourselves to making use, without aiming at anyone, of a right which no one could dispute. Respecting honourable scruples, it is conscious of thus performing a work of peace and not an act of war.

Under cover of these observations we will proceed without more ado to set forth the means which seem to us most appropriate for strengthening the spirit of scientific brotherhood which animates our two Societies and for developing a fruitful solidarity between them.

In order to lay down the programme of our negotiations, it seems expedient to divide these measures under two categories:—

1. Those for which our two Committees may and should find the formula between them, subject to submitting it thereupon for ratification by our respective Councils.

2. Those of which it will be proper to relegate the application to the future working of the scheme now agreed upon.

I.

We consider that, as a commencement, it will be well to decide upon definite proposals concerning—

- (1) The privileges which it would be possible to grant to each other mutually, as between members of the two Societies.

- (2) The organization of joint scientific activities.

(1) On the first point we should have to lay down the clauses of an agreement providing, for instance, for :—

Throwing open our libraries and our meetings to our travelling confrères ;

The reciprocal assurance of specially advantageous terms for the purchase of the respective publications ;

And generally all that could render personal contact between the members of our two Societies more frequent and more intimate.

•It is on the foundation of this “entente cordiale” that, in fact, the whole economy of our scheme of collaboration is based.

(2) This would consist essentially in the following :—

Each year, and in turn, room would be reserved, at a meeting, or, in case of need, at a specially selected group of meetings, of one of the Societies, for a certain number of delegates of the other Society, whom their confrères could join in a personal capacity. These delegates would regularly be instructed either to make communications or to submit reports on the state of Oriental studies, or of such and such branch thereof, in their respective countries; more especially, they would have a mandate to study and to solve, in consultation with the officials of the Society receiving their visit, questions of general interest, and to put into execution decisions previously adopted.

Thus would be created, without impairing autonomy in any quarter, a central organ, both efficacious and flexible, capable, by the association of our material and intellectual resources, of rendering service to our common object, that is, the progress of Orientalism.

Our Committee considers that this new method might with advantage be substituted for that hitherto in use, viz. International Congresses. It is well known to what extent this latter institution has in the end deviated in practice from its aim. The plan which we suggest, of periodical conferences between the officials and delegated representatives of our Societies, would assuredly yield a better scientific result. This consideration alone would suffice to justify our preferences, even if present circumstances did not compel us to abandon, at least for a long time to come, a sphere already encumbered with old disputes and undermined by suspicions of ulterior designs.

II

As regards the questions which would subsequently form the subject of joint deliberations, it is sufficient, for the moment, to point out that they appear to divide themselves into two groups, according as they concern publications or researches.

1. Thus, it would be well to regulate our interchanges and to undertake works in collaboration and at joint expense, whether editions of texts, of the type of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, or series of translations, analogous to those which have been undertaken by the Royal Asiatic Society, or works of a more complex character—among which one might for instance contemplate a Buddhist Encyclopædia, an annotated collection of the Chinese Pilgrims in India, etc.

2. It would be very desirable that our Societies, the natural representatives of the interests of Orientalism, should assume as far as possible the charge of securing and utilizing, in the best interests of scientific progress, the funds available for research and the staff of investigators. In any case, these Societies would owe it to themselves to serve, if required, as a connecting link between the Governments, to place at the service of the central and colonial administrations the means of information which they have at their disposal, to extend mutually, on every occasion, an enlightened protection to scientists charged with missions, to professors called, directly or by way of exchange, to chairs in universities and Oriental schools.

Such are the principal questions to which the Committee desires now to draw the attention of your Committee. It will be obliged if you will be so good as to indicate such points as may appear to your Committee to have been overlooked, as well as such explanations or corrections as this first sketch may call for and necessitate. Our Committee, on its part, will hold itself ready, as soon as it knows that the scheme is accepted in principle, to supply such explanation in detail as our British confrères may desire concerning its working and modalities.

(Signed) É. SENART,

President of the Société Asiatique.

This communication was carefully considered at a full meeting, which decided upon the points of the reply. The reply itself, formally approved at a special meeting on May 8, was as follows:—

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

22 ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

May 8, 1917.

DEAR M. SENART,

The Committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to consider, in correspondence with the representatives of the Société Asiatique, proposals for co-operation on the part of the two Societies, has deliberated upon the Memorandum kindly furnished by the French Committee, and begs to respond as follows:—

In the first place it records its appreciation of the courteous readiness with which the French Committee has met the request for an initiative in the framing of a scheme, and, as regards the Memorandum itself, declares its unreserved concurrence in the views, so felicitously expounded, which establish the necessity and opportuneness of common action.

Secondly, the Committee, recognizing the distinction between measures of organization, which are primary, and programmes of work, which will best be considered in joint consultations, prefers, while cordially approving the objects instanced under the latter head, to confine its present reply to the former.

The proposal for an annual réunion, including both delegate and any other members of the visiting Society, is fundamental in respect of the desired relations and of their literary fruitfulness. The réunions will provide an opportunity both for review and for contemplation of new lines of progress. They will also, as a demonstration of common activity, tend to influence the scholars and to enhance the prestige of Oriental studies in all countries. But, taking place only at annual intervals, they need to be fortified, if possible, by more continuous interchanges; accordingly there is occasion for the other measures set forth in the Memorandum.

The arrangements for visiting membership and common use of libraries require no recommendation; they formulate privileges which happily are by courtesy, as occasion offers,

already accorded and enjoyed. It is to be hoped that their legitimation will lead to a more extended and frequent use.

The publications of the Royal Asiatic Society are issued to members upon special terms, particularized in the annexed list. The Committee is prepared to advise that the same terms be accorded, upon condition of reciprocity, to the members of the Société Asiatique. In this connection it is suggested that the two Societies might render mutual assistance in advertizing their several publications. Lists might be printed from time to time in the two Journals or otherwise circulated in the respective Societies and countries.

With a view to regular intercommunications, it is suggested that the two Committees now in being should, in accordance with the rules of their respective Societies, be made permanent, with authority to discuss and report from time to time to the respective Councils upon any matter falling within their scope.

It is to be hoped that these arrangements, which do not seem to infringe the autonomy of either Society, may stimulate the operations of both. When definitely completed and agreed, they will naturally be drawn up in form for ratification and reciprocal assurance. Being susceptible, as intimated in the Memorandum, of application to similar Societies in other countries, they promise in course of time to serve as a means of consolidating the dispersed Associations of Orientalists, and thereby increase their common efficiency.

In celebration of the new intimacy contemplated in these arrangements, the Committee ventures to inquire informally whether it would be agreeable to the Council of the Société Asiatique to receive from the Royal Asiatic Society an invitation to visit London and accept the hospitality of a banquet on some date following as closely as convenient upon the termination of the present War. Whether such a visit should be made also the occasion of a first annual réunion of the kind now under consideration might be left for a later decision.

(Signed on behalf of the Committee)

C. J. LYALL.

To this letter an answer, enclosing a protocol of terms of agreement between the two Societies, was addressed

by M. Senart to Sir Charles Lyall on June 21. The letter and the terms are as follows :—

PARIS, *June 21, 1917.*

18 Rue François Ier.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN,

As I have already had the honour of apprising you, the Committee appointed by the Société Asiatique has with unqualified satisfaction taken note of the answer addressed to it on May 8 by the Committee of which you are the Chairman.

Agreement having been reached upon all points susceptible of immediate decision, we think it well to submit to you a first draft of a scheme formulating in somewhat precise terms the measures which have seemed to both parties such as to assure the co-operation of our Societies in matters of science for the general good.

You will find the draft annexed to this present letter; we submit it to your favourable examination. We do not doubt that it will be easy to arrive at a prompt accord upon any corrections that you may judge desirable.

You have raised the question of the permanence of our two Committees; we have the satisfaction of announcing to you that your suggestion has been immediately sanctioned by the Société Asiatique, and that we have received instructions to remain in continuous relation with you and are empowered to treat of new matters which may arise within our reference.

One of the most interesting of these is certainly, as you very well point out, the extension of our agreements to similar Societies among our Allies. We await in regard to this an expression of your ideas and views. Perhaps it will seem to you preferable not to proceed until we are completely in accord as to the terms of the proposed convention between our two Societies.

Finally, you have been so good as to sound us beforehand as to whether the Société Asiatique would be disposed to accept the hospitality of London and to hold there the first of the contemplated gatherings. One of the objects of our rapprochement is precisely that of replacing by a better scientific organization the old Orientalist Congresses. That one which was in prospect before the present War was to be held in England. In virtue of

this fact the Royal Asiatic Society possesses a right of priority before which we bow with friendly cordiality. We thank you for your hospitable thought, and we believe we may assure you that eventually your invitation will be cordially accepted.

Believe me, dear Mr. Chairman,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) É. SENART.

TERMS OF AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE OF PARIS AND THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1. Every duly inscribed member of either of the two Societies shall, when in the neighbouring country, enjoy, as regards admission to ordinary meetings and use of library, the same privileges as the proper members of the local Society.

In order to receive an invitation to the meetings and a card of admission to the Library, it will suffice that the visitor make known his presence to the Secretary of the Society or one of the officials.

2. Every duly inscribed member of either of the two Societies shall be accorded by the other the same reductions in the prices of publications issued by it or under its patronage as are assured to its own members.

With a view to facilitating the reciprocal enjoyment of this privilege, lists of the publications of the two Societies shall be published periodically in the respective Journals, with an at least approximate indication of the reduction granted.

3. Each year, at a date fixed by accord, there shall be held alternately in London and in Paris a joint meeting of the two Societies, the non-resident Society being represented thereat by one or more delegates, with whom other members of the same Society may at their pleasure join in taking part personally in the general meetings.

The delegates shall be instructed—

(1) To make communications or present reports concerning the condition of Oriental studies, or of a particular branch of the same, in their country ;

(2) To study in conjunction with the officers and the authorized representatives of the visited Society questions of a scientific order presenting a common interest, such as

the undertaking of publications or researches in collaboration and at joint expense, etc. ;

(3) To supervise, in conjunction with the same persons, the execution of resolutions previously adopted, and generally to direct their united efforts to anything which shall appear to them of a nature to subserve the progress of Oriental science.

At a meeting held on July 2 it was resolved to recommend the protocol of terms of agreement for acceptance by the Council, and a reply (recorded on the minutes) was sent to M. Senart accordingly.

As the outcome of these consultations, the Committee begs to propose to the Council the following resolutions :—

(1) That the protocol of terms, as laid down in the French document, be ratified in the name of the Society ;

(2) That for the better effecting of the objects specified there be established a standing committee, to be called the Entente Committee, which shall be empowered to correspond with the French Committee upon all matters falling within the scope of the agreement and to make recommendations to the Council concerning measures required for carrying it into practice ; also concerning any proposed extension of it to kindred Societies ;

(3) That an invitation to a banquet in London, to take place as soon as convenient after the conclusion of peace, be addressed to the French Society in the name of the Council ;

(4) That a list of the publications of the French Society, as contemplated in the agreement, be printed in an early number of the Journal.

III. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

JOURNAL STRAITS BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC
SOCIETY. Nos. LXXIV, LXXVI.

Pepys (W. E.). A Kelantan Glossary.

Winstedt (R. O.). The Folk Tales of Indonesia and Indo-China.

Dursck (O. T.), editor. Speech at the Ceremonial Hair-cutting of a young child.

- RIVISTA DEGLI STUDI ORIENTALI. Vol. VII, Fasc. iii.
 Tessitori (L. P.). Indiyaparājayasayayam. Describes
 a Jain anthology of Prakrit verses inculcating control
 of the senses (*indriya*).
 Griffini (E.). Lista dei manoscritti arabi nuovo fondo
 della Bib. Ambrosiana di Milano.
 Arnone (A.). Il diritto di guerra nell'India antica.
 A useful discussion of ancient Indian laws of war.
 Buonaiuti (E.). La prima coppia umana nel sistema
 manicheo.
 Furlani (G.). Il trattato di Yešōjabh d'Ārzōn sul
Τρισάγιον.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. Tome LXXIV,
 Nos. ii, iii; LXXV, i.

- Dautremet (J.). Le Bouddhisme au Japon.
 Rougier (L.). Le sens des termes *Οὐσία*, *Ἱπóστασις*, et
Πρόσωπον.
 Saintyves (P.). La culte de la croix dans le bouddhisme.
 Bel (A.). Coup d'œil sur l'Islam en Berbérie.

JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY. Vol. VII,
 Pt. ii, August, 1917.

Contains contributions entirely by Burmans, the most
 important being "Buddhist Prayer" and "The Buddhist
 Philosophy of the Real" (ii), by Shwe Zan Aung; "Some
 Mon Place-names," by U May Oung; with some articles
 on the Burmese Novel, the Tawla, a Nature Poem, and
 various Notes and Reviews.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, October, 1914.

This contains the conclusion of "Inscriptions from
 Yewur", by L. D. Barnett; and "Arivilimangalam Plates
 of Srirangaraya: Saka Samvat, 1499", by T. A. Gopinatha
 Rao and T. S. Kuppasvami Sastri—the former being
 a grant to a local branch of the Lākuliśa-Pāśupata or
 Kālāmukha sect of Śaivism, which apparently affected

names in -rāśi. The latter is an exhaustive article on a grant to a Mādhva śāhārya, who affected a name in -tīrtha, by Śevappa Nāyaka, the first prince of the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore. Both articles are of interest to students of religious history. The number also contains the index to vol. xi.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLVI, Pt. DLXXX, March, 1917.

Contains "The Antiquities of Mahabalipur", by M. R. Ry. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Avl., and "The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura", by V. Rangchari, Madras. Also "Banabhatta's Guru" by D. C. Bhattacharya, and a "Note from Old Factory Records", by the Editor; with an instalment of "The Folklore of Gujarat". The first-named article contains much of interest regarding the sea-powers of India in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The second deals with the fall of the Naik dynasty of Tanjore in the seventeenth.

JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. VIII, No. ii, October, 1917.

Contains "Early Karaite Critics of the Mishnah", by Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld. This contains useful information regarding the doctrine of *qiyās* or speculative method, and the use of the Arabic script for writing Hebrew. A number of books on Jewish education are also reviewed.

BULLETIN DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.

Tome XVI, No. v; Tome XVII, No. i.

The former contains a Bibliographie, Chronique and Documents Administratifs, the latter M. H. Parmentier's "Anciens tombeaux au Tonkin", with plates. The writer points out that the tombs dealt with are cenotaphs, and perhaps the very dwellings of the dead, but not the place for the deposit of their remains. The School also publishes a useful Liste des Publications et Tables du Bulletin (1901-15), since its foundation.

JOURNAL OF THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. IV, No. ii; Vol. V, Nos. i, ii; Vol. VI, Nos. i, ii.

Vol. IV, ii, commences the valuable series of histories of the Punjab Hill States with the Histories of Basohli and Bhadrawāh by Drs. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, and their History of Nurpur appears in VI, ii. Other valuable contributions on the Himalayan Punjab are Mr. G. M. Young's "Malāna and the Akbar-Jamlu Legend" (IV, ii), which seems to show that Akbar's fusionist policy penetrated to that remote valley on the Tibetan frontier and influenced Jamlu (or Jamdaggan) *rishi's* votaries; "Some Notes on Ancient Kulu Politics," by Mr. G. C. L. Howell; and "Influence of the Indian King upon the Growth of Caste", by Mr. H. J. Maynard (VI, ii)—both of special interest. The Kulu kingdom developed an embryonic parliament in the Dum or assembly, which limited the power of the monarch's subordinates in a drastic way. Minor papers are: "An Inscription of Ghiās-ud-Din Balban" (IV, ii), by Mr. R. B. Whitehead; "An Unpublished Diary of Sikh Times," by Sh. Abdul Qādir; "Note on the Routes from the Punjab to Turkestan and China recorded by William Finch" (1911), by Sir Aurel Stein; and "General Ventura", by P. Sheo Narain (VI, ii). Vol. VI, i, is devoted to a "Ballad on Nādir Shāh's Invasion of India", a quasi-historical poem, translated by P. Hari Kishen Kaul; and the two numbers of Vol. V to Mughal Farmans, etc., in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries, Jesuit Missions in Lahore, and The Mughal Seals, by the Rev. Father Felix, O.C. This Society is accumulating valuable material for a history of the Punjab people.

THE NEW EAST. Vol. I, Nos. i-v.

Is a topical monthly edited by Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott, well printed and readable. It contains some scientific contributions, e.g., "Zen, the Spiritual Heritage

of the East" (I, i), "Illogical Zen" (I, ii), and "Is Zen Negation?" (I, iv), by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. The Zen sect is described as "a practical application of the San-lun philosophy, otherwise known as the Madhyamika school". The philosophy of this school is sometimes designated as the Prajna doctrine which appears in Jainism as the *pariśaha* of repression.¹ Students of religion may find Dr. Anesaki's "The Present Spiritual Unrest in Japan" (v) of interest.

JOURNAL OF THE INDO-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. XLVIII, 1917.

Contains a number of valuable articles on "The Nestorian Share in Buddhist Translation" and "The Vows of Amida", by the Rev. J. W. Inglis; "Introduction to the Buddhist Library of Huen Chwang", "Magical Practice in China," by Dr. Herbert Chatley; "The Dragon," by the Rev. Lewis Hodous; "The Country and some Customs of the Szechwan Mantze" and "Stone Implements of the Upper Yangtse and Min Rivers", by the Rev. J. H. Edgar; "Recent Discoveries in Ancient Chinese Sculpture," by Victor Segalen; and "Four Examples of Chinese Bronze Statuary", by Dr. J. C. Ferguson. "The Religious Element in the Tso Chuan," by the Rev. H. K. Wright, and a study of the sacred mountain T'ai Shan, by F. Ayscough, will be of special interest to students of Chinese religions.

¹ Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 151. It would be tempting to equate Zain to Jaina, but Mr. Kato Naoshi in "Eastern Ideas and the Japanese Spirit" (Trans. and Proc. of the Japan Society, xiii, p. 121) equates the Zen sect with the Dhyāna school with its three powerful sub-sects, the Sōtō, Rinzai, and Ōbaku. He observes that its tenets closely represent the original form of Gautama's own teaching, as it practises *zazen* or mental concentration on the Absolute. Kaiten Nukariya also says that Zen is the Sinico-Japanese abbreviation of the Sanskrit *dhyāna* or meditation: *The Religion of the Sumurai*, 1913, p. xix. *Zazen* is "sitting in meditation", p. xxi and p. 188.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF
H.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR 1915-16 (1917)

This contains an excellent account of the excavations at Maula Ali, where cairns and cromlechs exist. Opinion on certain marks found on pots discovered in a cairn may be reserved. The report is illustrated from photographs of Deccan architecture.

HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES. No. ii.

The Daulatabad Plates of Jagadēkamalla, A.D. 1017, reproduces four copperplates with a transcription, but no translation. The inscription refers itself to the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha II Jagadēkamalla, and is the usual grant to a Brahman.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Vol. XXXVII, Pts. i, ii.

Contains "Ancient Babylonian Expressions of the Religious Spirit", by George A. Barton; "India and Indian Religious Parallels," by E. Washburn Hopkins; "The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia," by Friedrich Hirth; and "Arabs and Turks", by J. F. Scheltēma—an excellent summary of an "unpleasantness" which is of much older growth than is usually believed.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Sér. XI, Tome IX.

Contains an important article by M. A. Foucher, "Interprétation de quelques bas-reliefs du Gandhâra." The themes discussed are "The Suckling of a Dead Mother" and "The Monk, the Jeweller, and the Bird". The *Mélanges* include a note on the earliest mention of Sumatra and one on some Assyrian ideograms.

BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE.

Tome XIII, Fasc. ii.

Is of interest to Egyptologists, containing two papers by F. W. Read; "La nécropole de Thèbes et son personnel,"

by H. Gauthier; "Un cas d'abréviation graphique en copte," by Ch. Kuentz; and "Indicateur topographique du Livre des Perles enfouies et du mystère précieux", by G. Daressy.

MINOR PERIODICALS

The Korea Magazine for October, 1917, contains two articles, on "Ancient Burial in Korea" and "Village Government in Old Korea", of some value.

The Journal of the Royal United Service Institution for November, 1917, contains an article by Colonel R. G. Burton, I.A., entitled "A Hundred Years Ago: the Mahratta and Pindari War", with a sketch of the battle-field of Mehidpur, 1817.

The Revue de Turquie (No. vi) deals with "Questions économiques", including the so far very incomplete unification of weights and measures.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY¹

GUIDE TO THE BUDDHIST RUINS OF SARNATH. By
DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., R.S., Superintendent,
Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, N.C.

This is one of a series of Guide Books which the Archæological Survey of India is gradually publishing. It is practical, scholarly, and supplemented by a Plan of Excavations.

NATIONALISM. By Sir RABINDRANATH TAGORE. Macmillan.

The author discusses nationalism in the West, in Japan, and in India. His style is excellent, and his topic raises many questions of importance and difficulty.

THE SEVENTEENTH FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ANNUAL OF JAPAN. Published by the Department of Finance, Tokyô. A valuable year-book.

LOGIC AS THE SCIENCE OF THE PURE CONCEPT. By
BENEDETTO CROCE. Translated by DOUGLAS AINSLIE.
Macmillan.

This work contains nothing of special application to India, but Croce writes of Indian logic that it remained immune from the formalist errors, being notably anti-verbalist, though very inferior to that of Greece and of Europe in wealth and depth of concepts. "Indian logic studies the naturalistic syllogism in *itself*, as internal thought, distinguishing it from the syllogism *for others*, i.e. from the more or less usual but always extrinsic and accidental forms of communication and dispute. It has not even a suspicion of the extravagant idea (which still

¹ Notice in this Part does not necessarily preclude a more formal review in Part II.

vitiates our treatises) of a truth which is merely syllogistic and formalist and which may be false in fact."

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY AND TEACHING OF LANGUAGES.

By HAROLD E. PALMER, Assistant in the Phonetics Department, University College, London. London: G. G. Harrap & Co.

This is a somewhat over-elaborated "review of the factors and problems connected with the learning and teaching of modern languages". The author does not discuss any Oriental language, but his methods, chiefly illustrated from French, would doubtless apply to the teaching of any spoken language. The book is one for the teacher, not for the taught, and it would not aid even the self-taught, who could spend time more profitably in studying a language than in the study of methods of learning it.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD SHAMAN. By BERTHOLD LAUFER. Reprinted from the *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. xix, No. iii, 1917.

Mr. Laufer rejects the theory of an Indian origin for this term.

MITTHEILUNGEN AUS DER MEDIZINISCHEN FAKULTÄT DER KAISERLICHEN UNIVERSITÄT ZU TOKYO, Band XVII, Heft ii.

SCIENCE REPORTS OF THE TÔHOKU IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY. First Series (Mathematics, etc.), Vol. VI, No. iii. Sendai, Japan.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON WALRUS AND NARWHAL IVORY. By BERTHOLD LAUFER. Extrait du *T'oung Pao*, sér. II, vol. xvii, No. iii, 1916. Leide: E. J. Brill.

AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO THE CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA: PART I, AUTHOR INDEX; PART II, SUBJECT INDEX.

Ahmad Shah, Rev. The Bijak of Kabir. Translated into English according to his edited Hindi text published in 1911. 8vo. *Hamirpur*, 1911. *From the Author.*

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami. The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long-forgotten Empire, Krishnadeva Raja of Vijayanagar, A.D. 1509-1581. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1917. *From the Author.*

Ambedkar, Bhimrav R. Castes in India. Pamphlet. Fol. *Bombay*, 1917. *From the Author.*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Annual Report, 1918-14. Edited by Sir JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1917. *From the Government of India.*

Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, Ph.D.—Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Sams al-'Ulūm gesammelt, alphabetisch geordnet u. herausgegeben von—. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, No. xxiv. 8vo. *Leyden*, 1916. *From the Trustees.*

Beveridge, A. S. The Memoirs of Bābur. Fasc. iii. 8vo. *London*, 1917. *From the Translator.*

Brown, J. Coggin. Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum. Edited by Sir J. MARSHALL. Roy. 8vo. *Simla*, 1917. *From the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.*

Chakravarti Saralakavisuri, Pandit K. R. Śauvalinī. 16mo. *Mysore*, 1917. *From the Author.*

Coomaraswamy, Ananda. Rajput Painting, being an account of the Hindu Paintings of Rajasthan and the Panjab Himalayas from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century, described in their relation to contemporary thought. With texts and translations. 2 vols. Imp. 4to. H. Milford; Oxford University Press. 1916. *From the Author.*

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1918

IV

FOUR POEMS BY TA'ABBATA SHARRA, THE BRIGAND-POET

BY SIR CHARLES LYALL

(Read January 8, 1918.)

SOME time ago I endeavoured to explain to an audience in this room the predominantly pictorial character of the ancient poetry of the Arabs,¹ and gave as illustrations some passages from the poets, chiefly describing the fauna of the wilderness and the landscape in which their life was set, and showing the minute observation and vivid sympathy which the artist brought to bear upon his subject. I wish, now, to continue the same theme by setting before you a poet's picture of himself, of his life and its ideals, of the things which he admired and strove to attain.

The country in which he lived was the region round about Mecca, the Tihāmah and Hijāz. Those who know the Bombay side of India will have no difficulty in forming an idea of the general character of the eastern shore of the Red Sea, which displays a remarkable analogy in its structure to the western coast of India. There you have first a low-lying coralline sandy formation, succeeded by

¹ See JRAS. 1912, p. 133.

a mass of rugged hills, of no great elevation, together called the Tihāmah, answering to the Konkan of Bombay. Then behind these rises the great barrier wall of the Hijāz, a mighty mountain mass, which to the east of Mecca attains the highest elevation which it reaches in the whole of its course from south to north. This corresponds to the Western Ghāts of India, and like them is in a very large part topped by great outflows of lava. In Arabia these lava fields are called *Harrahs*, and a chain of them extends along the Hijāz northwards into Syria. From this lofty wall the plateau of Arabia, called Najd, slopes north-eastwards down to the Persian Gulf, its levels broken by various chains of mountains, but preserving a general and gradual inclination towards the eastern sea-coast. The Tihāmah, like the Konkan, has a hot climate and a heavy atmosphere, uncongenial to the dweller in the dry and airy uplands of Najd. Its rainfall is much less than that of its Indian analogue, and the *Haram*, or sacred territory round Mecca itself, is actually barren of cultivation, though not absolutely destitute of trees and shrubs; but beyond the boundaries of the *Haram* springs in the valleys provide the means of raising crops and growing fruit-trees; and at no great distance from Mecca are some of the most fertile and pleasant spots in the Arabian peninsula.

We know from the accounts of many travellers the character of the country between Jiddah, on the sea-coast, and Mecca, some 45 miles inland to the east. This is the route taken by the pilgrims, and has often been described both by European and Asiatic authors who have made the journey. Of the country beyond Mecca to at-Ta'if we have an excellent account in the travels of Mr. Doughty, who left Arabia by this road in August, 1878, and in the paper entitled "A Journey in the Hijāz", published in the posthumous volume by the late Professor Robertson Smith, entitled *Lectures and Essays*.

Professor Smith travelled from Jiddah to at-Tā'if in the cold weather of 1880. He describes the sandy plain inland from Jiddah as capable of bearing crops in a season of good rain. From it you rise, through a region of broken hills, to a great torrent-bed called the Wādī (or Baṭn) Marr, which carries the waters of rainstorms from the Hijāz down to the sea, and is itself the main channel of communication with Najd. Half-way to Mecca, at a place called Haddā, the road to the Holy City leaves the Wādī to the right. If you continue up the valley you come upon numerous water-springs by which cultivation of palm-trees, gardens, and even fields of wheat and barley, is supported. Further on, to the left or north, the Wādī Fāṭimah opens out, which carries the road from Mecca to Medina. Here, if you leave the Wādī Marr and turn to the right, you ascend a rocky desert valley called the Wādī Jirānah, well known in the history of the Prophet, who distributed there the booty taken after the victory which he had gained over the Hawāzin at Hunain in the 8th year of the Hijrah. Descending from this you rejoin the main valley, which opens out to a plain, well-watered and fertile, shut in to the east by mountains forming the edge of the *Harrah*. Further on you come to Wādī Nakhlah, where are the villages of Sūlah and Zaimah, with gardens and fruit-trees. Then follows a plain now called al-Buhaitah, with granite mountains shutting it in to east and west; another pass, and then you enter upon the celebrated plateau of 'Ukādh, the scene in pre-Islamic days of the great annual fair in the sacred month before the Pilgrimage. Towards Mecca, here on your right, you look down on a complicated system of hills and valleys, with many fountains and orchards. Higher still is the lofty plateau called the Ḥazm, the highest point of Najd, with Mount Barad (anciently called Ghazwān) on your right, a mountain which sometimes carries snow even in summer. So you

proceed onwards, through gardens and cornfields, to at-Ṭā'if, now the summer residence of the Sharīf of Mecca, who in the course of the present War has become the King of the Ḥijāz. From at-Ṭā'if southwards the mountain range, with its elevated plains sloping eastwards, continues, called no longer the Ḥijāz, but the Sarāt. The most famous of these plateaux is Bishah, a rich and wide region with numerous cultivated villages, and beyond it lie the mountains forming the country now called 'Asīr.

The country between Jiddah and at-Ṭā'if, to the north and north-east of the *Haram* of Mecca, is well known; but that to the south of the sacred territory, lying off the regular route of the pilgrims, has never been described by Europeans. It may, however, be conjectured that it resembles, in its general features, that through which the northern road passes. In all the region of which I have spoken we find the same tribes still living, and bearing the same names, as in the time of the Prophet. In the Wādī Marr and Wādī Fāṭimah are the Hudhail, to which large group belongs the section called Liḥyān¹; in the mountains and plains south of the *Haram*, the Fahm, who, Professor Robertson Smith says, are credited with speaking the best Arabic of any tribe in the Ḥijāz; in the country about Mecca the Quraish, no longer a dominant race, and making a livelihood as carpenters and wood-cutters; and at at-Ṭā'if the Thaḳif, as in the days of Muḥammad. We miss in this enumeration the Kinānah and the Khuzā'ah, two important stocks of the Prophet's time; but perhaps further investigation might show that they too still survive.

South of the Mecca region, in the northern portion of the mountain chain called the Sarāt, and including the Tihāmah below it to the sea, is the tract now called 'Asīr, a modern name not known to the ancient geographers.

¹ Doughty's *Laheyān*, ii, 535; for the Quraish see id. 526, 534. Robertson Smith says they are carpenters.

It was inhabited, in our poet's time, by a population of Yamanite stock, the most numerous being divisions of the great group called the Azd; others were called Bajilah, Khath'am, and Murād. Between these and the tribes immediately around Mecca a permanent condition of blood-feud seems, before and about the time of the Prophet, to have prevailed.

The poet Thābit, son of Jābir, nicknamed Ta'abbata Sharrā, whose verses I am to set before you, belonged to the tribe of Fahm. He must have been living when the Prophet Muḥammad was a townsman of Mecca, but we cannot fix his dates with any precision. If the legend which relates that Abū Kabīr, of Hudhail, was his step-father, is to be accepted, and if it is true, as asserted in the *Iṣābah* of Ibn Ḥajar,¹ that Abū Kabīr in his old age knew the Prophet and adhered to Islam, then Ta'abbata must have been a contemporary of Muḥammad. In the *Aghānī* (xviii, 214) is a poem attributed to him in which he mentions, as men of his time, 'Āmir Abū Barā and 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufail, both of the house of Ja'far b. Kilāb (tribe 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'ah), Mālik b. Tha'labah of the Khazraj of Yathrib, and a number of other persons (among them Abū Kabīr of Hudhail, under the name of Ibn Ḥulais), and praises them as celebrated for their generosity and hospitality. These names also point to his life having fallen within the time of the Prophet's residence at Mecca. He seems to have lost his father Jābir early in his life. According to a tradition cited in the *Commentary to the Ḥamāsah*, p. 33, and in *Agh.* xviii, 209, he had four brothers, all with strange nicknames. How he himself came to be called *Ta'abbata Sharrā*, which means "He carried a mischief under his arm", is variously related. One story says that his enemies came to his mother's tent seeking to slay him; not finding him, they asked his mother where he had gone. She answered:

¹ Vol. iv, p. 310.

"I know not; he went out carrying a mischief under his arm," meaning his long knife (*sikkīn*), which he had taken to slay his enemies withal. Another tale is that he had an encounter in the desert with a *Ghāl* in the shape of a ram, and having wounded it, was bringing it home held under his arm; as he drew near to the tents the burden became heavier and heavier, till at last it was too much for his strength, and he cast it down, when it took the proper form of a *Ghāl* and vanished. Yet another story is that when sent by his mother to gather wild honey for her as his brothers had done, he filled the honey-skin with adders and brought them so tied up to his mother, carrying the bag under his arm. All these are idle tales, and show that the real origin of the name was unknown; very likely, as in a number of other cases, it was taken from some picturesque phrase in a verse of some poem by him, now no longer extant.

As already mentioned, Abū Kabīr of Hudhail is said to have married Thābit's mother after Jābir's death; and in the *Hamāsah* there is a remarkable poem (pp. 37-40) ascribed to the former poet in which he is said to be giving a picture of Ta'abbata. The tale attached to the verses is very obviously inspired by a phrase in v. 6:—

When thou castest towards him a pebble (as he sleeps), thou
seest him spring up at the sound of its falling as the
green woodpecker springs up into the air.

It does not in any way fit the poem, which, as well as the story, according to Ibn Qutaibah (*Shi'r*, 422), is attributed by some traditionists to Ta'abbata himself; nor is it consistent with the praise of Abū Kabīr contained in the poem to which I have already referred, showing that the two were on good terms.

Thābit's raids were directed principally against the Yamanite tribes to the south, Bajilah, Azd, Murād, and Khath'am; but he was also in conflict with at least some sections of Hudhail to the north. In the *Diwān* of the

Poets of Hudhail, collected by as-Sukkari (212-270 or 275 H.), are some pieces by authors of that tribe attacking him, and rejoinders by Ta'abbata, showing ill-will between them; and he is said eventually to have met his death at a place called Rakhmān, which is in the territory of Hudhail. He was a contemporary and friend of the great poet ash-Shanfarā, who belonged to a section of the Azd, but had been outlawed by his tribe on account of his violent deeds, and attached himself to Thābit's tribe of Fahm. The two made forays together, as will appear from the tale of one of the poems I am going to give you in translation; and the adventure mentioned is referred to, under the name of the "Day of al-'Aikatān", in a poem by Ta'abbata (*Agh.* xxi, 136-7) bewailing ash-Shanfarā after his death. Ash-Shanfarā's poem included in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* tells of a raid made by himself and others, with Ta'abbata in their company; in this the latter bears the nickname of "Mother of the Household", because he carried the bag of provisions and controlled their issue; and this raid also appears to be mentioned in Ta'abbata's elegy aforesaid, under the name of the "Day of al-Jabā".

All these raids were carried out on foot. Professor Robertson Smith, in his account of his journey in the Ḥijāz, mentions that the Beduins of the Tihāmah and the mountains of the Ḥijāz never engage, like those of Najd, on horseback, but are always foot-fighters, using a short spear no longer than a man's height, a heavy sword or knife, now called a *jambīyah*, and of course, in ancient times, a bow and arrows. They do not breed horses, though camels, of a smaller build than those of Najd, are kept, and also flocks of sheep and goats. They retain to this day their predatory habits, as the pilgrims to Mecca know well; and, as in the case of the population of Mecca itself, their chief source of income in modern times is derived from the Pilgrimage, the tribesmen receiving

blackmail paid for abstaining from pillaging the pilgrims on their journey to the Holy City, and the hire of camels for conveying them thither. Ta'abbata is often called a brigand, *luss*,¹ but, so far as appears from his poems and the stories relating to him, he adhered strictly to the Beduin code of honour; his deeds of blood were in discharge of the duty of revenge for blood shed, and his forays were directed against tribes with which his own had hostile relations. He was not, as is implied in the word, at war with society at large, and, as the poems show, he practised the Arab's cardinal virtue of lavish generosity.

The first piece I will read is in the *Ḥamāsah*, pp. 244-7, and *Aghānī*, xviii, 217. Ta'abbata wooed a certain woman, according to the *Aghānī* of Hudhail, of the family of Sahm, according to the *Ḥamāsah* (less probably) of 'Abs, of the house of Qārib. She was disposed to accept his suit; but her friends advised her not to link herself with a man of blood and rapine, who carried his life in his hand.

They said to her: "Wed him not! for nought is his life at all;
it may be the first chance spear he meets with shall stretch
him dead."

And she gave no whit of heed to wisdom, nor dared to be
the widow of one whom Night wraps round on his fearless
quest;

Yea, little he recks of sleep: the whole of his mind is bent
to win blood, the price of blood, to face a full-weaponed foe.
There grapples with him each one his folk count their bravest
man,

but not to gain praise of valour smites he the heads in twain.
And little his store of food—it is but to cheat his need:
his ribs stand for all to see: his belly is shrunken flat.
He lodges in wildings' lairs—they know him a fellow true,
and never at dawn scares he his friends from their feeding-
grounds;

¹ Believed to be derived from the Greek *λυστης*.

No wiles to ensnare furred things, no traps do they dread
from him,

for men are his prey, not they : long years has he challenged
Death.

Yea, masters of calving herds grow lean as they track him
down,

and follow his trail alone or leading a company.

And well do I know, though life be stretched to its utmost
bound,

at last of all Death's spear-point shall glitter before mine
eyes.¹

In the second piece (*Ham.* 41-3) the poet praises his
cousin Shams (or Shums), son of Mālik, who had made
him a present of some she-camels fed upon the shrub or
small tree called *arāk* (this shrub is common in the drier
regions of Western India, where it is called *pīlū* : its
botanical name is *Salvadora Persica*).

Lo now ! I take my way with the boon of my praise in hand
straight to Shams, Mālik's son, my cousin the stout and true ;
I will gladden therewith his heart in the ring where his
kinsmen sit,

as he gladdened mine with gift of goodly *arāk*-feeders.

Little he heeds the pain of labour that lights on him :

many his heart-stirrings, divers his ends and ways.

Day-long in a Waste he goes : another he seeks at eve

unholpen : he rides bare-backed the steed of alarm and
Death.

He outstrips the sweep of the Wind as it drives in its course
along :

it blows but in gusts, while he still journeys unresting on.

When the needle of sleep sews up his eyen, there wanteth not
a warder to watch, the heart of a wary man and bold.

When the first of the footmen rise to sight in their headlong
chase,

he waits but to draw from sheath his glittering keen-edged
blade.

¹ Two verses, which are doublets of vv. 9 and 7, and repeat the same
ideas in a weaker form, have been omitted.

When he shakes it in the breast-bone of a foeman, there flash
abroad

the hindmost teeth in the open mouths of the laughing
Dooms.

He deems the Wild the sweetest of friends, and travels on
where travels above him the Mother of all the clustered
stars.

Some of you may remember that Miss Gertrude Bell chose that last verse as the text and motto of her book called *The Desert and the Sown*, one of the most delightful books of travel in Arabic-speaking lands ever written.

In the third piece (*Ham.* 33-6; *Agh.* xviii, 215), Ta'abbata tells of an adventure he had with the tribe of Lihyān, a branch of Hudhail, with whom he was at feud. One day he went forth to gather wild honey in a cave situated near the top of a steep precipice, into which he was let down by a rope from the edge of the cliff, while his companions kept watch above. But Lihyān had had news of their coming, and laid an ambush for them, which rose against them and put them to flight. Then the men of Lihyān came to the edge of the cliff and shook the rope, and called upon Ta'abbata to yield himself a prisoner. He began to parley with them, and as he did so, poured forth the honey upon the rock from the mouth of the cave; then he bound upon his breast the skin which had contained the honey, and spread himself out upon the slide thus prepared. And he did not cease to slide down thus, kept from slipping by the tenacity of the honey, until he reached the level safe. And he returned unharmed to Fahm, and made this poem setting forth his deed :—

A man must be crafty and wise when peril is round his road,
or else is his labour vain, he follows a luck that flees.

Yea, his is the wary soul, on whom lights a thing to do,
and finds him alert, intent, his end straight before his eyes.

Against him the wild Days dash—he meets them with cunning
mind :

is one of his nostrils stopt? he breathes through the other
free!

To Lihyān I said—(they deemed they had me beyond escape,
my day trapped in narrow room, no issue but through their
throng)—

“Ye give me my choice of two—to yield me and beg for life,
or die: and a free man's choice of these twain were surely
death.

“But yet is a third way left: I ponder it deep within;
and there lies a road, methinks, where craft may befriend,
and skill.”

I spread forth my breast thereto: there slid down the rock-
face smooth

a man stout and square of chest, and slender of flank and
lean;

And safe did he reach the ground below down the dizzy cliff
with never a scratch, while Death looked on at his deed
ashamed.

So gained I again my tribe—and well-nigh returned no more.
Yea, many the like case lies behind me, and here am I!

(It has been suggested that the detail of the use of
honey to prevent slipping when descending the cliff may
have arisen from a misunderstanding of the words in
v. 4, *wa-qad ṣafirat lahum Wiṭābī*, literally, “to them
(it appeared that) my milk-skin was already empty,”
i.e., “they thought that I was entirely at their mercy”
[see Lane, p. 2950a]. However this may be, the narrative
in other respects agrees fairly with the poem.)

The fourth piece also relates to an adventure which
Ta'abbata had, this time with the Bajilah, to the south of
Fahm, against which tribe he had made a raid in the
company of ash-Shanfarā and 'Amr, son of Barrāq. This
is the story:—

They found that Bajilah, having had warning of their coming,
had planted an ambush for them near the water where they

would have to drink on their way home. And when they approached it in the darkness of the night, Ta'abbata said to his companions: "There is an ambush by the water: I can hear the beating of the men's hearts." They answered: "We cannot hear anything: it must be the beating of thine own heart that thou hearest." Ta'abbata laid his hand on his heart and said: "By God! it is not beating, and it is not wont to beat." They said: "Well, we must get to the water, whatever happens." Then ash-Shanfarà went down the first: but when the men of the ambush saw him, they recognized him, and let him drink without molesting him. So he drank, and returned to his companions and said: "There is no one at the water: I have drunk my fill at the cistern." Then said Ta'abbata, "Aye, but they do not want to take thee: it is me they desire to catch." Then went the son of Barrāq, and drank and returned unmolested; he, too, said: "There is no one at the spring." Ta'abbata answered: "It is me they want, not thee." Then he said to ash-Shanfarà: "When I bend down to drink at the cistern, the men will surely spring upon me and bind me a prisoner: then do thou run as though thou wert fleeing: but double back and station thyself at the foot of that hill yonder: and when thou hearest me cry: 'Catch him! Catch him!' then run up to me and release me from my bonds." Then he said to the son of Barrāq: "I shall bid thee to yield thyself a prisoner to the Bajilah: do not go far away from them, but do not put it in their power to catch thee." Then Ta'abbata went forward and down to the water; and when he bent down to drink, the men in ambush sprang upon him and took him prisoner, and tied his arms behind him with a bow-string. Then ash-Shanfarà darted away to the place where Ta'abbata had bidden him go, and the son of Barrāq withdrew just so far that they could see him. Then said Ta'abbata: "O men of Bajilah, would ye like to gain some advantage? Will ye be easy with me in respect of the ransom if I persuade the son of Barrāq to yield himself a prisoner?" "Yes," said they. Then he shouted: "Woe to thee, son of Barrāq! now ash-Shanfarà has fled away, and is warming himself at the fire of the sons of Such-a-one: and thou knowest what a tie there is between us and thy people. Wilt thou not yield thyself, and they will be easy with us in respect

of the ransom?" 'Amr answered: "By God! not until I have tried my pace in a run or two." Then he began to run briskly in the direction of the mountain, and to return again in his tracks; until, when the men of Bajīlah thought that he was getting tired and that they could take him, they set out to run after him. And Ta'abbata called out, "Catch him! Catch him!" and they went off, running after him as hard as they could. Then he began to allure them by pretending to slacken, and then to get still further off. Meanwhile ash-Shanfarā had come up from behind to Ta'abbata, and cut his bonds. And when the son of Barrāq saw that his bonds had been cut, he made for him, and the two, 'Amr and ash-Shanfarā, joined Ta'abbata where he was standing. Then said Ta'abbata to the men: "Did ye admire the running of the son of Barrāq, O kin of Bajīlah? Now, by God! I will run you a race that shall make you forget it quite!" Then he and ash-Shanfarā set out running, and all three outstripped their pursuers and reached home in safety.

The poem I am going to read differs from the other three in being a complete *qaṣīdah* or ode, while they are fragments or extracts from longer poems. It is the first in the great collection of odes called the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, of which an edition will, I hope, shortly be published. As a *qaṣīdah*, it is subject to the conventions applicable to that form of verse. It must mention in the beginning the poet's mistress and his longing for her. Then, as you will see, he introduces his real subject, his race at al-'Aikatān, by linking it with the sentiment, often expressed by Arab lovers, that when a mistress grows cold or a friend's love wanes, you should leave her or him without more ado. Having said what he had to say of the adventure, he returns to the theme of the Friend, and draws for us such a one as he would really regret losing, such a man as he would choose for a helper and comrade in any difficult strait. It can hardly be doubted that he has in mind here his companion ash-Shanfarā, whom he calls by the nicknames of "Shepherd of two small

flocks", *Dhū thallataini*, and "Man of lambs and tie-ropes", *Dhū bahmin wa-arbāqī*, in a verse which I have omitted.¹ There may be after this some gap in the poem. The poet goes on to boast of his exploit in climbing a mountain as a scout for his companions. Then, with another sudden change, he challenges a personage who constantly appears in Arabian odes, the railer, whether male or female, who reviles the poet for his excessive generosity.

How again there comes upon thee longing and wakefulness,
and the passing of a phantom darkling, spite of terrors by
the way!

Barefooted by night it comes, making nought of fatigue and
snakes—

my soul be thy sacrifice—what a traveller by night afoot!
Nay, but I, when a mistress grudges to grant me the boon

I seek,
and holds to me but by a bond already weak and frayed,
I fly from her straight, as I fled from Bajilah, when I put
forth

my utmost speed, on the night of the soft plain of ar-Raḥṭ—
The night that they shouted and stirred up their swiftest to
run me down,

in al-'Aikatāni, there where raced the son of Barrāq.
'Twas as though they were hounding an ostrich, scanty of
fore-wing plumes,
or a mother gazelle in the mountains where *shathth* and
tubbāq grow,

Nothing is swifter than I—not the horse with bushy mane,
nor the eagle that flaps its wings aloft by the mountain peak.
So was I quit of them, and they stripped of me no spoil:

I ran as one possessed, light of limb, full of resource.
Nay, I say not, when a Friend cuts short the bond and departs,
"Alas, my soul!" out of longing and soft self-pitying tears.

¹ It is omitted by Abū 'Ikrimah, whose recension goes back, through Ibn al-A'rābi, direct to al-Mufaḍḍal; but I have left it out in reading the poem only because of its want of harmony (in English).

No ! weeping, were I one to weep for him that has gone his way,
 should be for one keen of praise, a striver outstripping all—
 Outstripping in all his tribe the racers for glory's goal,
 his voice resounds, strong and deep, mid his fellows bound
 on the raid :

Bare of flesh on the shins, his arms backed with sinews strong,
 he plunges into the blackest of night under torrents of rain ;
 The bearer of banners he, the chosen for council he,
 a sayer of words strong and sound, a pusher to furthest
 bounds.

For such a one do I care—to such goes my call for help
 when help is needed—shock-headed, hoarse as a raven's cry !

* * * * *

And many the mountain-peak, like a spear-point standing forth
 in the sun's full blaze through the months of summer
 burning with heat,

Have I scaled to its top, outstripping my fellows—no laggards
 they !

and there stood I on its summit, just as the sun shone out.
 No shelter there on its peak except the wreck of a hut,
 some sticks still standing, and some strewn broken about
 the place.

With sandals tattered I clomb, my toes scarce saved from the
 rocks,
 though I patched them with double soles, and bound them
 round with thongs.

* * * * *

Who will help me against the railer, contentious and full of
 words,
 who burns with his scathing gibes my skin as with tongues
 of fire ?

He screams—"Thou'st wasted thy wealth—would thou hadst
 held it tight—
 raiment of price, fair weapons, and goodly things to be
 prized !"

O censurer ! some kinds of blame are harshness that brings
 no gain :

if I were to spare my goods, would Time spare them to me ?

Take this for truth—if ye cease not to carp and wound with
 reproof,
 the tribe shall ask of my doings the furthest of folk from us :
 Yea, ask those men that may know which way it was that
 I went,
 and none shall tell them of Thābit who met him on his road.
 Yea, then shalt thou gnash thy teeth and rue the day I was lost,
 whenas thou callest to mind some thought of the man I was.
 Use then the wealth thou hast gained to stop breaches round
 thy stead,
 till come the Day when thou meetest what all mankind
 must face !

I think you will agree with me that there is a striking similarity of style and treatment of the subject in all these poems. The language, even when translated into my inadequate English, is extraordinarily compact and pregnant, full of vividness and grasp, expressing much in the fewest words. The pieces abound with phrases of the strangest compelling power : such, for instance, as *dhāka qarī'u-d-Dahri*, "Against him the wild Days dash" ; or that tremendous *tahallalat Nawājidhu afwāhi-l-Manāya-d-dawāhikī*, "There flash abroad The hindmost teeth in the open mouths of the laughing Dooms" ; or the lovely *Ummu-n-nujūmi-sh-shawābikī*, "the Mother of all the clustered stars," for the turning heaven. The whole of his mind, we see, is set upon fight and foray : for gentler themes, such as meet us in the work of his contemporary and friend ash-Shanfarā, he has little taste. Notice how, in the fourth piece, the *qaṣīdah*, he dismisses the introductory mention of love in a couple of verses, and passes on at once to his exploit against the Bajilah. Contrast this with the great poem by ash-Shanfarā in the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt* (No. xx), where the *nasīb* or amatory introduction extends over fourteen couplets, and gives us the most beautiful picture of womanhood which Pagan Arabia has left for us. Strangely enough, four verses by

Ta'abbata (49-52) have crept into the text of the best-known poem in Arabic, the *Mu'allagah* of Imra'-al-Qais. There can scarcely be anyone who, on reading them, is not at once conscious of the incompatibility of their "wild hardness"¹ with the self-indulgent and luxurious temper of that poet-prince, and they are a standing example of the want of critical faculty on the part of those who, in the first and second century of Islam, led the way in committing to writing the text of the ancient literature of Arabia. Ta'abbata's outlook on life is always the same: a man has to bear himself bravely, to seek adventure, to take labour upon him, to help his kin and to be generous with his goods, to carry through the feuds inherited by his tribe, and to spoil and plunder as far as possible his enemies. Such is his ideal; in his person he lived it, in others he praised it, and he has given it an expression in verse which appears to me to reach very near perfection in the poetic art.

¹ A phrase of Rückert's—*rauhe Wildheit*—adopted by Mr. Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 106.

THE NORTH PANCALA DYNASTY

By F. E. PARGITER

THE dynasty of North Pañcāla, which sprang from one of the sons of Ajamīdha, who reigned at Hastināpura, a successor of Bharata, king of the Paurava line,¹ is of great importance, because not a few of its kings play an important part in the hymns of the Rigveda. Its genealogy is given by eight Puranas, the Vāyu, Matsya, Harivaṁśa, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Agni, Garuḍa, and Bhāgavata. The first four are based on a common original, but now form two versions. The Vāyu and Matsya² generally agree, though with variations, the former having the older text. The Harivaṁśa and Brahma³ largely agree, the former having the better text, while the latter is generally incomplete. These four give the oldest account of the genealogy. The other four have recast the account and are later, the Viṣṇu's version being in prose.⁴ It is necessary, therefore, to set out only the texts of the first four, and their collated texts stand thus, immaterial variations being omitted :—

Vāyu and Matsya
 Ajamīdhasya Nilinyām
 Nilah samabhavan nṛpah
 Nilasya tapasôgreṇa
 Susāntir udapadyata
 Purujānuh Susāntes tu
 Rikṣas⁵ tu Purujānu-jah

Harivaṁśa and Brahma
 Ajamīdhāt tu Nilinyām

 Susāntir udapadyata
 Purujātilh Susāntes ca

¹ JRAS. 1914, pp. 283-4.

² Vāyu 99, 194-211; Matsya 50, 1-16. The Brahmāṇḍa has lost it in a large lacuna.

³ Hariv. 32, 1777-94; Brahma 13, 93-101, most copies omitting lines 17-20 in this collated account.

⁴ Viṣṇu iv, 19, 15-18; Agni 277, 18-25; Garuḍa i, 140, 17-24; Bhāgav. ix, 21, 30-22, 3.

⁵ Matsya calls him *Prthu*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Bhadrāsvo¹ Rikṣa²-dāyādo
 Bhadrāsva⁴ - tanayās tv
 ime⁵</p> | <p>Bāhyāsvaḥ³ Purujātitaḥ
 Bāhyāsva-tanayāḥ pañca
 babhūvur amarōpamāḥ⁶</p> |
|--|---|
- 5 Mudgalāḥ Srñjayaś⁷ caiva rājā Brhadiṣus tathā
 Yavīnaraś ca⁸ vikrāntaḥ Kāmpilyaś caiva⁹ pañcamāḥ
 pañcānām rakṣaṇārthāya | pañcaite rakṣaṇāyālaṁ
 pitaitān abhyabhāṣata¹⁰ | deśānām iti naḥ śrutam
 pañcānām viddhi pañcāitān¹¹ | pañcānām viddhi Pañcālān¹²
 sphītā janapadā yutāḥ¹³ | sphītā janapadā vṛtāḥ¹⁴
 alaṁ saṁrakṣaṇe teṣāṁ Pañcālā iti viśrutāḥ
 Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ | Mudgalasya tu dāyādo
 0 Maudgalyaḥ sumahāyaśāḥ
 sarva ete mahātmānaḥ
 kṣātrōpetā dvijātayaḥ | kṣātrōpetā dvijātayaḥ¹⁶
 ete hy Āngirasaḥ pakṣaṁ saṁśritāḥ Kāṇva¹⁷-Mudgalāḥ¹⁸
 Mudgalasya¹⁸ suto jyeṣṭho¹⁹ brahmīṣṭhaḥ²⁰ sumahāyaśāḥ¹⁶
 Indrasenā yato garbhīnaḥ Vadhryaśvam²¹ pratyapadyata
 5 Vadhryaśvān mithunaṁ jajñe Menakāyām iti²² śrutih²³
 Divodāsaś ca rājarsir Ahalyā ca yaśasvinī.²³

¹ Vāyu *tatas tu*.² Matsya calls him *Prthu*.³ The correct form of *Bhadrāsra* and *Bāhyāsra* is *Bhṛmyāsra* (see p. 233 *infra*).⁴ Vāyu *Bhedāc ca*.⁵ Matsya *tanayān chrnu*.⁶ Most Brahma MSS. *sphīta janapadā vṛtāḥ*.⁷ Vāyu *Srñjayas*: Matsya *ca Jayas*.⁸ Matsya *Javīnaraś ca*. Vāyu *yavīyāś ca pi*.⁹ Matsya *Kapilāś caiva*. Hariv., Brahma *Kṛmīlāś ca*.¹⁰ Matsya omits this line.¹¹ Matsya *caiva Pañcālān*.¹² Brahma *te tu Pañcālāḥ*.¹³ Matsya *etān janapadān viduḥ*.¹⁴ Hariv. *sphītair janapadair vṛtān*.¹⁵ Matsya reads instead—

Pañcāla-rakṣiṇo hy ete deśānām iti naḥ śrutam.

¹⁶ Brahma omits this line.¹⁷ Vāyu *Kaṇṭha-*.¹⁸ Hariv. *Maudgalyasya*.¹⁹ Matsya *jajñe*.²⁰ Hariv. *brahmarṣiḥ*.²¹ So 2 Vāyu MSS. Vāyu generally calls him *Budhyaśra*; Hariv. *Vadhryaśva*; Brahma *Vadhrya*. Matsya reads this line wrongly, thus—Indrasenaḥ sutas tasya Vindhyaśvas (or Van^o) tasya cātmajaḥ.²² Vāyu *Menakā iti naḥ*.²³ Brahma omits this line.

The account then diverges into the lineage (abbreviated) of Ahalyā and her husband Śaradvant, the Śāradvatas, in eight or nine lines. It then returns to the main royal line thus—

ata ūrdhvam ¹ pravakṣyāmi Divodāsasya santatim .	
Divodāsasya dāyādo brahmiṣṭho ² Mitrāyur nṛpaḥ	
Maitreyas tu ³ tataḥ Somo ⁴ Maitreyās tu tataḥ smṛtāḥ ⁵	
ete 'pi ⁶ saṁśritāḥ pakṣam kṣatrôpetās tu Bhārgavāḥ	20
rājāpi Cyavano vidvāms	āsīt Pañcajanah putrah
tato 'pratiratho 'bhavat ⁷	Śrñjayasya mahātmanah
atha vai Cyavanād dhīnān ⁸	sutah Pañcajanasyāpi
Sudāsah samapadyata ⁹	Somadatto mahīpatih
Saudāsah Sahadevaś ca	Somadattasya dāyādah
	Sahadevo mahāyāśah
	Sahadeva-sutaś cāpi
Somakas tasya cātmajaḥ	Somako nāma pārthivaḥ
Ajamīdhaḥ punar ¹⁰ jātaḥ kṣiṇe vaṁśe tu Somakaḥ	25

¹ Most copies of the Brahma omit this and the next three lines.

² Hariv. and Brahma *brahmīṣṭh*. Matsya *dharmīṣṭho*.

³ So Vāyu. Brahma equivalently *Mitrāyos tu*. Hariv. turns *tu* into *am* and reads wrongly *Maitrāyaṇo*. Matsya further corrupts *tataḥ* and reads *Maitrāyaṇāvaraḥ*.

⁴ So Hariv. and Brahma. Matsya *so 'tha*. Vāyu *jajñe*.

⁵ Matsya reads singulars. The Vāyu text here, *smṛtā ete 'pi saṁśritāḥ*, is a clerical blunder, omitting the first three words of this pāda and adding the first three of the next line.

⁶ Hariv. *vai*: with which reading the Matsya has corrupted this pāda to *ete vaṁśyā yateḥ pakṣāḥ*.

⁷ Matsya reads instead—

rājā Caidyavaro (or Vaidy⁹) nāma Maitreyasya sutah smṛtaḥ which may be right except in the name *Vaidyavara* and its corruption *Caidyavara*. *Rājā Vaidyavaro* is no doubt a misreading of *rājā vai Cyavano*, so agreeing with the Vāyu. The Vāyu text might be read *rājā Picyavano*, which at once suggests *rājā Pijavano*. See p. 236 *infra*.

⁸ Similarly Matsya corrupts this to *Cuidyavarād vidvān*. See p. 232.

⁹ The Matsya by a copyist's blunder has run this line and the next into one, by omitting from *samapadyata* to *Somakas*, but it had the full text, because it agrees with the Vāyu in the following lines about *Somaka*.

¹⁰ Hariv. *Ajamīdhāt punar*. Brahma *Ajamīdha-suto*.

<p>Somakasya suto Jantur hate tasmiñ chatam babhau putrāṇām Ajamidhasya Somakatve¹ mahātmanah</p>	<p>Somakasya suto Jantur yasya putra - śatam babhau</p>
<p>teṣāṁ yaviyān Pr̥sato Drupadasya pitābhavat² Dhr̥ṣṭadyumnaḥ sutas tasya Dhr̥ṣṭaketuś ca tat-sutaḥ³</p>	<p>Ājamidhāḥ smṛtā hy ete mahātmānas tu Somakāḥ.</p>

30

There may, perhaps, be a small lacuna between lines 20 and 21, where a line stating Cyavana's paternity or Śrñjaya's paternity is wanted in the Vāyu and Harivaṁśa and Brahma. The Matsya makes Caidyavara or rather Vaidyavara, that is Cyavana (line 21, note), son of Maitreya; and on this view Śrñjaya would be the same as Maitreya Soma (assuming that Cyavana = Pañcājana, as will appear), which is possible, for several of these kings had double names, as will be noticed; but more probably Śrñjaya was Maitreya's son. This Śrñjaya cannot be Mudgala's brother Śrñjaya (line 5), because he was a descendant of Divodāsa, as line 17 expressly shōws, and because, if he were Mudgala's brother, then Pañcājana as his son would have been a cousin of Vadhryaśva's father, and could not have reigned two or three generations after Divodāsa, as, in fact, he did according to the genealogy.

It is unnecessary to set out the versions in the Viṣṇu, Agni, Garuḍa, and Bhāgavata. The Agni follows the Harivaṁśa in a general way, and the three others generally follow the Vāyu. It will be sufficient to give their lists of the kings in a table alongside those of the first four Puranas. They contain some errors. Thus, they insert a king Śānti before Suśānti, and the Garuḍa

¹ Matsya *Somakās te* and *Somakasya*.

² Matsya omits this line.

³ Matsya and Brahma omit this line.

makes Saudāsa-Sahadeva two kings. They all leave out Mudgala's son who is styled *brahmiṣṭha* and *brahmarsi*, and no doubt with reason, because apparently he did not become king. Putting aside those mistakes and the Matsya's error about Indrasena (line 14), and omitting Mudgala's son, the lists of these kings in the eight Puranas down to king Drupada and his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna, who are well known from the Mahābhārata, stand as in the annexed table (p. 234).

Certain names have been corrupted in these lists. The correct name of No. 6 is Bhṛmyaśva, which the Bhāgavata has preserved best,¹ while all the others are badly astray; and that of No. 8 is Vadhryaśva (line 14, note). The best form of No. 5's name seems to be Rkṣa, of which the variants Cakṣu and Arka (for Arkṣa) are easy corruptions. Caidyavara, the corruption of No. 13's name, has been noticed already, and Pañcadhanuṣa is plainly a mistake for Pañcajana, No. 13. It is obvious that Sudāsa and Somadatta are one and the same, and there can be no doubt that Cyavana and Pañcajana are also one. Double names occurred in this dynasty, for, as will be seen, Divodāsa had the name Atithigva and also apparently Kaśoju²; and Sahadeva the name Suplan.³ Line 25 says Sonaka was Ajamīdha reborn, and it seems probable that he had the name Ajamīdha also, and that this statement is a gloss to explain the double name.

The dynasty then stands thus:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Nila. | 6. Mudgala. |
| 2. Susānti. | 7. Vadhryaśva. |
| 3. Purujānu (or Purujāti). | 8. Divodāsa. |
| 4. Rkṣa. | 9. Mitrayu. |
| 5. Bhṛmyaśva. | 10. Maitreya Soma. |

¹ It closes this dynasty with saying these Pañcālas were Bhārmyas (ix, 22, 3).

² Macdonell & Keith, Vedic Index i, 15, 144.

³ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii, 4, 4, 4. Vedic Index ii, 456.

VĀYU.	MATSYA.	HARIVANSA.	BRAHMA.	AGNI.	VIṢṆU.	GARUDA.	BHĀGAVATA.
1. Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.	Ajamiḍha.
2. Nīla.	Nīla.	Susānti.	Susānti.	Susānti.	Nīla.	Nīla.	Nīla.
3. Susānti.	Susānti.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Susānti.	Susānti.	Susānti.
4. Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Purujaṇu.	Puru(rjāta).	Puruja.
5. Rikṣa.	Prthu.	Bāhyaśva.	Bāhyaśva.	Bāhyaśva.	Cakṣu.	Arka.	Arka.
6. (heir).	Bhadraśva.	Mudgala.	Mudgala.	Mukula.	Haryaśva.	Haryaśva.	Bharmyaśva.
7. Mudgala.	Mudgala.	Vadhrya.	Mudgala.	Mukula.	Mudgala.	Mukula.	Mudgala.
8. Badhyaśva.	Vindhyaśva.	(Divodāsa.)	Vadhrya.	Cañcāśva.	Vrdhasva.		
9. Divodāsa.	Divodāsa.	Mitrayu.	(Divodāsa.)	Divodāsa.	Divodāsa.	Divodāsa.	Divodāsa.
10. Mitrayu.	Mitrayu.	Maitrayana-	(Mitrayu.)	Divodāsa.	Mitrayu.	Mitrayu.	Mitreyu.
11. Maitreya.	Maitrayanā- vara.	Soma.	(Soma.)	Maitreya- Somapa.			
12.		Srñjaya.	Srñjaya.	Srñjaya.			
13. Cyavana.	Caidyavara.	Pañcajana.	Pañcajana.	Pañcadhanuṣa.	Cyavana.	Cyavana.	Cyavana.
14. Sudāsa.	Sudāsa.	Somadatta.	Somadatta.	Somadatta.	Sudāsa.	Sudāsa.	Sudāsa.
15. Sahadeva.	Sahadeva.	Somaka.	Sahadeva.	Sahadeva.	Sahadeva.	Sahadeva.	Sahadeva.
16. Somaka.	Somaka.	Jantu.	Somaka.	Somaka.	Somaka.	Somaka.	Somaka.
17. Jantu.	Jantu.	Piṣata.	Jantu.	Jantu.	Jantu.	Jantu.	Jantu.
18. Pṛṣata.	Pṛṣata.	Drupada.	Pṛṣata.	Pṛṣata.	Pṛṣata.	Pṛṣata.	Pṛṣata.
19. Drupada.	Drupada.	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Drupada.	Drupada.	Drupada.	Drupada.	Drupada.
20. Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	dyumna.	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Dhr̥ṣṭa-	Dhr̥ṣṭa-
				dyumna.	dyumna.	dyumna.	dyumna.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| 11. Sṛñjaya. | 15. Somaka. |
| 12. Cyavana Pañcajana. | 16. Jantu. |
| 13. Sudāsa Somadatta. | 17. Pṛṣata. |
| 14. Sahadeva. | 18. Drupada. |

In this dynasty we have clearly the kings who play such a large part in the Rigveda.

Mudgala is mentioned in hymn x, 102, 5. 9. The Sarvānukramaṇi says he was Mudgala Bhārmyaśva, "son of Bhṛmyaśva"; and so also the Nirukta (ix, 23, 24). Their statements thus agree completely with this genealogy. His daughter-in-law, here named Indrasenā, is mentioned in verse 2 of that hymn, and her son Vadhryaśva may be hinted at by the words *vadhṛina yujā* in verse 12.²

Vadhryaśva is mentioned in hymns vi, 61, 1, and x, 69, 1 ff. This genealogy makes Divodāsa his son, and so does hymn vi, 61, 1. Divodāsa is often mentioned in the hymns. He had also the name Atithigva and apparently Kaśoju also, as mentioned above.

Sṛñjaya is introduced here among the descendants of Divodāsa, though his paternity is not defined. He is mentioned in hymn iv, 15, 4, which speaks of Sahadeva and Somaka, so that the hymn presumably makes him belong to the same dynasty. He has the patronymic Daivavāta there and in vi, 27, 7. His father, Devavāta, is omitted from the genealogy, possibly because he did not come to the throne, or possibly there is some lacuna in the genealogy at this point, because his paternity is not defined.

As mentioned above, Cyavana and Pañcajana in the genealogy appear to be one and the same person, and it makes Cyavana father of Sudāsa, who was the Vedic Sudās, as will be shown. Pañcajana, then, may be a

¹ There is a large gap between Jantu and Pṛṣata; see JRAS. 1910, pp. 28, 51.

² I have considered the hymn and pointed out these particulars, JRAS. 1910, p. 1328. Mudgala and Indrasenā were ordinary names.

mistake for Pijavana, who was the father of Sudās, for Sudās has the patronymic Pajavana in hymn vii, 18, 22, 23. Pijavana is a name without any obvious meaning, and it would be a copyist's natural error or guess to read Pañcājana instead. In fact, the Vāyu text almost suggests the readings *Pijavano* in line 21 and *Paijavano dhīmān* in line 22 (see notes thereto). But Cyavana appears to have been his name also, because it is supported by the Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, and Bhāgavata, and double names were not uncommon in this dynasty as mentioned above.

This Cyavana must be distinguished from the well-known primeval Bhārgava rishi, who is called Cyavāna in the Rigveda and Cyavana elsewhere. This king Cyavana is not ordinarily supposed to be mentioned in the Rigveda, but may perhaps be alluded to in the phrase *sūra iva dhṛṣṇuḥ cyavanah* in x, 69, 5, 6. The genealogy makes him a descendant of Divodāsa and therefore of Vadhryaśva, and this hymn is full of references to Vadhryaśva. The word *cyavana* in it is generally taken as an adjective, and the phrase as meaning "like a hero bold, causing (men) to quake"¹; but it can be translated just as well "like the bold hero Cyavana",² and for this rendering two reasons may be suggested: (1) Cyavana is styled *a-pratiratha* in the genealogy, an adjective that exactly matches the Vedic *sūra dhṛṣṇu*, and (2) a direct mention of such a valiant king in a hymn praising the fire kindled by his ancestor Vadhryaśva is more natural and appropriate than a vague simile to a hero generally. It would be quite natural that, if Cyavana's name was forgotten, the word should be regarded as an adjective, such as it appears in other passages.

Sudāsa *alias* Somadatta in the genealogy is manifestly the Sudās who is often mentioned in the Rigveda. The

¹ I have to thank Professor Macdonell for this rendering, which follows Sāyaṇa's interpretation.

² So Griffith translates it.

genealogy makes him a descendant of Divodāsa, and hymn vii, 18, 25 speaks of Divodāsa as "father" of Sudās Paijavana, where "father" obviously means "ancestor", since Sudās' true patronymic was Paijavana, as stated in verses 22, 23.¹ Again, he is made here son of Pañcājana and grandson of Sṛñjaya—who was son of Devavāta according to the Rigveda as mentioned above. He was thus Devavāta's great-grandson, and verse 22 calls Sudās *naptr Devavatah*, where *Devavant* seems to be merely a variant of *Devarāta*, or vice versā, perhaps for the sake of the metre.

Sahadeva is father of Somaka in this genealogy, and also in the Rigveda, because hymn iv, 15, 7–10 call Somaka *Sāhadevya*.² The genealogy makes him a descendant of Sṛñjaya, and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 34) agrees in calling him Sahadeva Sārñjaya. He is held to have been a king of the Sṛñjayas,³ and the Sṛñjayas were a family, descended from this Sṛñjaya, who were among the Pañcālas attending Drupada of this dynasty in the Mahābhārata, and are often mentioned there.⁴ According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ii, 4, 4, 4) his name at first was *Suplan*.⁵

Sahadeva's son was Somaka, according to the Rigveda, as mentioned above, and also the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 34) and the Mahābhārata.⁶

There are therefore eight persons named in this North Pañcāla genealogy who are mentioned in the Rigveda, namely, Mudgala, his daughter-in-law Indrasenā, Vadhrayaśva, Divodāsa, Sṛñjaya, Sudāsa (Sudās), Sahadeva, and Somaka; and probably a ninth, Cyavana-Pañcājana, is

¹ Aitar. Brāhmaṇa vii, 34; viii, 21. Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Sūtra xvi, 11, 14. Vedic Index ii, 24.

² Also Aitar. Brāhmaṇa vii, 34.

³ Vedic Index ii, 479.

⁴ e.g. i, 138, 5476: vi, 16, 631; 89, 3889.

⁵ Vedic Index ii, 456.

⁶ *Sāhadevi Somaka*, MBh. iii, 125, 10422.

the Cyavana of hymn x, 69, 5, 6, and the Pijavana, father of Sudās Pajavana. Moreover, their order in the genealogy agrees generally with the notices in the Rigveda. All these points of agreement are too numerous and too closely interrelated to permit of any doubt that all these Vedic kings belonged to this North Pañcāla dynasty; and Muir noticed this, but did not give effect to it.¹ There is the further fact that the dynasty, being descended from the great Paurava king Bharata, consisted of Bharatas and Bhāratas, as has been explained in a former paper²; and the Rigveda says that Divodāsa and his descendant Sudās were Bhāratas,³ and also calls Devavāta a Bhārata,⁴ who may well, therefore, be the Devavāta mentioned above as father of Sṛñjaya.

Lines 7–9 of the genealogy explain that the name Pañcāla arose in consequence of a jocular boast by Bhṛmyāśva.⁵ It obviously began popularly as a jocose nickname, applied to his five sons, the “Five capables”, and naturally would have required time to come into ordinary use. Not until it had become quite general and had lost its peculiar original signification would it have been accepted by the dynasty itself.⁶ Hence, it is evident that the name could not appear in the Rigveda.

Three dynasties were descended through Ajamīdha from Bharata, the great Paurava king, namely, the eldest branch which reigned at Hastināpura, this dynasty, and another junior branch (in South Pañcāla). Thus, all three were

¹ Sanskrit Texts i, 120.

² See JRAS. 1914, p. 284.

³ Rigv. iii, 53, 12, 24; vi, 16, 19. Vedic Index i, 363; ii, 95.

⁴ Rigv. iii, 23, 2. The Vedic Index i, 377 says he was a prince.

⁵ The Viṣṇu (iv, 19, 15) says—pañcānām eteṣāṃ viṣayānāṃ rakṣa-nāyālam ete mat-putrāḥ iti pitrābhihitāḥ atas te Pañcālāḥ. The Bhāgavata (ix, 21, 32–3) gives it thus—

Bharmyāśvaḥ prāha putrā me pañcānāṃ rakṣaṇāya hi
viṣayānām alam ime iti Pañcāla-saṅjñitāḥ.

⁶ Compare the names *Christian, Whig, Tory, Prime Minister*, etc.

Paurava, Bhārata, and Ājamīdha.¹ The eldest branch was preferably entitled to these appellations, and accordingly Paurava and Bhārata are freely applied to it in the epic and Puranic literature. Ājamīdha does not appear to have been generally used of any of these dynasties; still, in so far as it occurs in the Mahābharata, it is applied to members of the eldest branch.² There this dynasty is distinguished as Pañcāla or Pāñcāla in Drupada's time, but in the time of the earlier kings celebrated in the Rigveda, Pañcāla had not come into use, and this dynasty could only be described as Paurava or Bhārata in the hymns. The eldest branch, being best entitled to the larger title Paurava, is referred to by the name Pūru in the Rigveda,³ and Bhārata or Bharata is the other appellation by which this dynasty is distinguished there.⁴ This difference in the use of the term Bhārata or Bharata in the hymns and in the later literature must be observed.

Another remarkable feature corroborates this conclusion of the identity of these Vedic kings and these North Pañcāla kings, namely, the close connexion between them and brahmins both in the genealogy and in the Rigveda.

The genealogy says (1) that Mudgala's son was *brahmīstha* or *brahmarṣi* (line 13), which words indicate that he became a brahmin and a rishi; and (2) that from Mudgala sprang the Maudgalyas, who were *kṣatropetā dvijātayaḥ* (lines 10, 11),⁵ which expression may be translated "kṣatriyan brahmins". This expression

¹ JRAS. 1910, pp. 26, 28; 1914, p. 284.

² MBh. i, 94, 3737; ii, 44, 1601; iii, 5, 249; iv, 65, 2091; v, 81, 2892.

³ i, 129, 5; 130, 7; vii, 18, 13; 19, 3; and so vii, 8, 4. Vedic Index ii, 11-12.

⁴ Vedic Index ii, 94-5.

⁵ So also Viṣṇu iv, 19, 16—Mudgalāc ca Maudgalyāḥ kṣatropetā dvijātayo babhūvuh; and even the brahmanical Bhāgavata says (ix, 21, 33)—

Mudgalād brahma nirvṛttaṁ gotram Maudgalya-saṅjñitam.

occurs in various other passages similarly,¹ and means that such royal kṣatriyas were also brahmanas and yet retained their kṣatriya status in regal and political matters. They combined the two positions, sometimes the kṣatriya status predominating and sometimes the brahman status; and consequently the heirs to the throne succeeded to the kingdom and were kings who were kṣatriyas mainly but yet brahmanas also, while the younger scions often became brahmanas principally and gradually dropped their kṣatriya status. This double character in this dynasty was not unique, but arose in other families also; and, surprising though it is, it is yet fully substantiated by the genealogy, the R̥gveda, the brahman var̥ṇas and other allusions.²

The genealogy says that, while Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva became king, others of Mudgala's descendants, the Mudgalas or Maudgalyas, joined the Āṅgirasas (lines 10-12). This brings out a noteworthy concession that the brahmanas made to royal kṣatriyas who became brahmanas. Viśvāmitra, who lived long before this time, became a brahman and established his brahmanhood against the opposition of Vasistha, and, as a result of that opposition, his descendants formed a separate brahman family, with apparently two branches, the Viśvāmitras and the Kauśikas.³ No other kṣatriya who became a brahman did that, and later royal kṣatriyas on becoming brahmanas were admitted into one or other of the great brahman families. This seems to have been one substantial outcome of the great contest about Viśvāmitra's brahmanhood; the brahmanas did not deny the right of royal kṣatriyas to become brahmanas, but opened their ranks to such kṣatriyas and absorbed them and their descendants into their own families. This was done especially by the

¹ Vāyu 88, 7; 91, 115-18; 99, 161, 164. Brahmaṅḍa iii, 63, 7; 66, 86-9. Matsya 49, 38, 41. Viṣṇu iv, 2, 2; 19, 9.

² Vāyu 99, 278; 57, 121. Matsya 50, 88.

³ Bhāgavata ix, 16, 37.

two great families of the Āṅgirasas and Bhārgavas, who either were more liberally inclined or were preferred; and so it is said that the gotras of the Bhārgavas¹ and Āṅgirasas² comprised many outsiders, as the lists given show also. These Mudgalas or Maudgalyas were enrolled among the Āṅgirasas as the Kāṇvas had been who were prior to them (line 12)³; and accordingly it is stated that in the Āṅgirasa *vaṁśa* were Mudgala, Maudgalya, and the Kāṇvas and Kāṇvāyanas.⁴ These Maudgalyas, who were descended from Bharata as mentioned above, had some claim to admission as Āṅgirasas according to tradition, because it says that, when Bharata lost all his own sons, his lineage was continued by Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya, an Āṅgirasa, whom he adopted as son.⁵

Other members of this royal family joined the Bhārgavas. The genealogy does not say anything definite about Vadhryaśva, and yet implies that he was a brahman because his father was *brahmīṣṭha* or *brahmarṣi* (line 13). It calls his son Divodāsa a *rājarṣi* (line 16). Both appear to have joined the Bhārgavas, because both are mentioned in the Bhārgava *vaṁśa*.⁶ Divodāsa's son, king Mitrayu, is styled *brahmīṣṭha* and *brahmarṣi* (line 18), and he or his son Maitreya founded the brahman gotra of the Maitreyas (line 19), who also were kṣatriyan brahmans and joined the Bhārgavas (line 20). Accordingly the Maitreya gotra is named in the Bhārgava *vaṁśa*.⁷

As regards the Rigveda, it is obvious that similar explicit statements cannot be expected in the hymns, still they

¹ Brahmanḍa iii, 1, 99. Vāyu 65, 96.

² Brahmanḍa iii, 1, 113. Vāyu 65, 108.

³ Vāyu 99, 130-1, 169-70. Matsya 49, 46-7. Hariv. 32, 1718. Bhāgav. ix, 20, 6-7.

⁴ Matsya 196, 21, 41-2, 44, 54. Brahmanḍa iii, 1, 111. Vāyu 65, 106-7.

⁵ Vāyu 99, 138-40, 151-7. Matsya 49, 26-34. Hariv. 32, 1726-31. Viṣṇu iv, 19, 5, 8. Vedārthadīpikā on Rīgv. vi, 52.

⁶ Matsya 195, 42.

⁷ Matsya 195, 40. Brahmanḍa iii, 1, 100, where the Vāyu in its corresponding passage (65, 96) misreads *gotreṇa* for *Mitreyaṇ*.

contain various allusions which corroborate the double character of these royal kṣatriyas as both kṣatriyas and rishis or priests.

Thus, hymn x, 69 shows that Vadhryaśva exercised priestly functions, for it extols the "Vādhryaśva fire" (verse 9) and the fire kindled by him (verses 2, 4, 10), without any suggestion that there was any irregularity in his having done so. Its author Sumitra was, as the hymn obviously implies and as the *Sarvānukramaṇī* says, a Vādhryaśva, and also a rishi; and, if the suggestion offered above about verses 5 and 6 be tenable (p. 236), he composed it apparently in honour of his cousin, king Cyavana Vādhryaśva, and in praise of Agni as kindled by their common ancestor Vadhryaśva. Divodāsa similarly seems to have exercised priestly functions, for hymn viii, 103, 2 refers to the *Daivodāsi Agni*, which appears to mean "fire as kindled by Divodāsa", just as the former hymn alludes repeatedly to "Vadhryaśva's fire", the fire that Vadhryaśva kindled. Similarly, the phrase *Agni Bhārata* in various hymns may have meant the "fire as kindled by Bharata", because he was a very pious king, and tradition rather suggests that he himself sacrificed.¹

Similarly, among Divodāsa's descendants must be placed Parucchepa Daivodāsi, who according to the *Sarvānukramaṇī* was the author of hymns i, 127-139, and who according to the *Vedārthadīpikā* was son of king Divodāsa and was a rishi. Yet, whether that ascription be true or not, hymn 130 lauds Divodāsa as a warrior (verse 7), and also says that the Divodāsas praise Agni (verse 10)—just as did Vasiṣṭha² and others; so that it plainly implies some of the descendants of Divodāsa the warrior were rishis and brahmins.

Pratardana Daivodāsi, the reputed author of hymn ix,

¹ MBh. iii, 129, 10527; vii, 68, 2384-7; xii, 29, 940.

² Rigveda vii, 33, 5; 76, 6.

96, may have been another of this family, though the *Vedārthadīpikā* calls him a *rājarsi*; and in that case the names *Pratṛd* and *Trtsu* may reasonably be connected with him, as noticed in the *Vedic Index*. But *Pratardana Kāśi-rāja*, one of the reputed authors of x, 179, whom the *Vedārthadīpikā* rightly calls *Daivodāsi*, was quite a different and earlier prince, son of *Divodāsa*, king of *Kāśi*.¹

Hymn iii, 23, 2, 3 shows that the *Bhārata Devaśravas* was the author of it and was a *rishi*, and praised the fire of the *Bhārata Devavāta*, *Agni Daivavāta*, a phrase similar to the "*Vādhryaśva* fire" and "*Daivodāsi* fire", which would similarly imply that *Devavāta*, who is regarded as a prince,² also exercised priestly functions. Whether he is the same as *Sṛñjaya's* father, *Devavāta*, mentioned above, or not (there is nothing improbable in this), the hymn clearly shows that a *Bhārata* was also a *rishi*.

The later kings are not alluded to in the same way, yet the *Sarvānukramāṇi* sees no objection in attributing hymn x, 133, in praise of *Indra*, to *Sudās Paijavana*. They would seem, therefore, to have gravitated more towards being *kṣatriyas*, and this agrees with the genealogy and with tradition, which treat them as *kṣatriyas*.

It thus appears that this genealogy of the North *Pañcāla* dynasty agrees with the notices of the kings of the same names in the *Rigveda* as regards both genealogical details and also the *brahmanic* status of the earlier kings and their close connexion with *brahmins* and *rishis*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these kings mentioned in the *Rigveda* belonged to this dynasty. On the one hand, the hymns, so far as their statements go, prove that the genealogy is correct, and on the other

¹ See *JRAS.* 1910, pp. 27, 40 : 1914, p. 281.

² *Vedic Index* i, 377.

hand, the variations and additional information appearing in the genealogy show that it was not and could not have been compiled out of the notices in the Rigveda and the Vedic literature, but was compiled independently. It can have been composed only from contemporary information, growing as the dynasty continued, and existing apart from the statements in the hymns, that is, it must have been an independent contemporary account, as old as the hymns themselves.

The genealogy does not come from hostile sources. It is contained in eight Puranas, all of which have been in the custody of the brahmans and preserved by them for long centuries past, while one of those Puranas, the Bhāgavata, is avowedly a brahmanical Purana, held in the highest esteem, which certainly incorporated nothing that could have been suspected to be untrue according to brahmanic ideas, or adverse or detrimental to brahmanic interests. The brahmans themselves put this genealogy into that Purana at least a thousand years ago, thus manifestly declaring that it was true in their own opinion. There is absolutely no ground, therefore, for distrusting this genealogy. The testimony about it is unanimous, and there is nothing against it even in the Vedic hymns, as will appear.

It is no disproof of these matters to object that Vedic literature says nothing about them. Of course it does not. That literature is deeply interested in extolling the status and functions of brahmans, but these matters contained awkward disclosures against exclusive brahmanic pretensions, and naturally it treated them with silence. Silence, therefore, was to be expected, and proves nothing adverse. These matters are preserved in the Puranas by kṣatriya tradition, which, when setting out the royal genealogies, naturally noticed these and other collateral matters that grew out of the genealogies. The brahmans certainly did not put these awkward statements there.

The statements belong to kṣatriya tradition, and the fact that the brahmans have not only preserved them there but have introduced something of them into the Bhāgavata is clear evidence that they are ancient and genuine: the statements could not appear there otherwise.

The hymns contain historical notices, but do not give connected history, as is clear from the articles about Divodāsa, Sudās, and the others in the Vedic Index. They naturally leave historical points of connexion uncertain, and to elucidate them from brahmanical books with their lack of the historical sense¹ is not promising. The genealogy, on the other hand, has a historical character, connects the kings and supplies valuable information that is procurable nowhere else. Hence, it should, and does, throw much needed light on the hymns.

It is clearly established, then, that these Rigvedic kings were kings of North Pañcālā ; and this certainty leads to other plain conclusions, for the position of this dynasty in ancient traditional history has been pointed out by me before.² Further information supplied by the Rigveda may be compared with epic tradition.

First, the hymns³ show that Sudās had a battle with ten confederate kings near the R. Paruṣṇī, the modern Ravi, and among them were Pūru, the Ānavas, Druhyus, Turvaśa, the Matsyas, and Bheda ; and the Yādva was also hostile.⁴ I offered an explanation of that campaign in this Journal for 1910, p. 49, and that holds good, though it requires some distinction as regards the name Bhārata, which, as shown above, pertained equally to this dynasty and the Paurava dynasty of Hastināpura, but is

¹ This is notorious, see Professor Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 10-11 ; and Professor Keith, JRAS. 1914, p. 739 : and I have repeatedly drawn attention to it ; JRAS. 1913, pp. 901-4 ; 1914, pp. 412, 742-3 ; 1915, p. 143 note ; 1917, pp. 43 (bis), 57, 64.

² JRAS. 1910, pp. 48-51 ; 1914, pp. 284, 288.

³ Rigv. vii, 18 and 33 ; and also 19.

⁴ See the Vedic Index under these names.

applied in those hymns to this dynasty, while the other is there called Pūru.

That Sudās of North Pañcāla was warring against Pūru and the others at that river means that he must have crossed Pūru's kingdom of Hastināpura, have conquered it and driven Pūru beyond that river; also that he had overcome the Śivas or Śivis, invaded Ānava territory, and approached the Druhyu kingdom of Gāndhāra, as will appear from the map published in this Journal for 1914, p. 290; and also that the Yādva, or Yādava kingdom of Mathurā, and the Matsyas were in jeopardy. Naturally, therefore, all these were banded against him, the Bhārata, as the hymns say. He defeated them, and one passage¹ suggests that he pushed as far as the R. Sindhu, in which event Pūru must have been driven to that river.

Secondly, while the hymns show Sudās as victorious and prosperous, and able to give his priest, a Vasiṣṭha, a fee of two hundred cows, two chariots complete and four horses, there is no hymn in praise of Sahadeva² and only one (iv, 15) that notices his son Somaka. That hymn does not speak of any successes by Sahadeva or Somaka, and shows that Somaka gave its author, reputed to be Vāmadeva, only two horses as his fee. These facts suggest that Somaka was by no means as opulent as Sudās, that is, the kingdom had declined; and also imply, since there is no hymn by a Vasiṣṭha in praise of Sahadeva or Somaka, that Vasiṣṭha was not his priest. The first inference accords with line 25 of the genealogy, which says the family had decayed when Somaka was born; the second will be noticed further on.

Now epic tradition in one passage takes up this story and carries it to a conclusion which very naturally is not

¹ Rigv. vii, 33, 3.

² The Sahadeva mentioned in Rigv. i, 100, 17, appears to be a different person. Sahadeva was a very common name. But, even if he was the same, the hymn is not in praise of him as king.

noticed in the Rigveda. It relates the story from the Paurava side, calling as usual the Pauravas *Bhāratas* and this dynasty *Pāñcālya*. The passage condensed runs thus.¹ While *Samvarana* was king (of *Hastināpura*), there was great destruction among the people. The kingdom was wasted by manifold calamities—famine, pestilence, drought, and sickness. His foes in great force smote the *Bhāratas*. The victorious *Pāñcālya* defeated him in battle, and king *Samvarana* fled with his wife, ministers, son, etc., and dwelt in a forest fastness near the River *Sindhu* and the mountains a very long time.² The rishi *Vasiṣṭha* went to them. They welcomed him and the king secured him as *purohita*. *Vasiṣṭha* espoused their cause and inaugurated him as *samraj* over all *kṣatriyas*. *Samvarana* dwelt in *Hastināpura* and made all kings tributary. His son *Kuru* succeeded him, and after him were named *Kuruajāṅgala* and *Kurukṣetra*.³ Several passages add that *Kuru* extended his sway as far as *Prayāga* (Allahabad).⁴ These passages obviously imply that *Samvarana* and *Kuru* must have defeated the *Pāñcālya*, recovered their own kingdom, and subdued both South and North *Pāñcāla*: hence the gap between *Jantu* and *Prṣata*, while this dynasty was abased.

The resemblance between these two accounts is very striking, and they manifestly refer to the same matter. *Pūru*, whom *Sudās* defeated at the *Paruṣṇī*, and even perhaps as far west as the *Sindhu*, was the Paurava *Samvarana* who was defeated and fled to the *Sindhu*. The decline of *Sudās'* kingdom after his death and the defection of *Vasiṣṭha* from his family to *Samvarana* enabled *Samvarana* to take the field again against *Sahadeva* or *Somaka*, and not only recover his own

¹ MBh. i, 94, 3725-39.

² "A thousand years," with common exaggeration.

³ See also next note, and *Viṣṇu* iv, 19, 18; *Bhāgav.* ix, 22, 4. *Kuruajāṅgala* was the country east of *Kurukṣetra*.

⁴ *Vāyu* 99, 215. *Matsya* 50, 20. *Brahma* 13, 106. *Hariv.* 32, 1800.

kingdom but also reduce the power of the Pāṇcāla kingdom. The hymns give the Pāṇcāla version, but only in the first stage, and naturally there was nothing to glorify in the final result. The epic gives the Paurava version and notices the whole campaign, but yet deals tenderly with these Rigvedic kings in not mentioning the Pāṇcālya's name and in merely stating Saṁvarana's final success curtly without any description of it. In fact, epic and Puranic tradition, apart from the genealogy, makes no mention of these Pāṇcāla kings, except Somaka in one story,¹ as far as I am aware; and its silence is remarkable and suggests that it felt that this contest between consanguineous dynasties, both Bhāratas, these Pāṇcāla kings famed in Vedic literature and these Paurava kings famed in kṣatriya tradition, was best treated with reticence.

A final conclusion follows from what has been pointed out. The hymns about this dynasty were not composed when the Aryans were in the Panjab forcing their way into India, and it did not lead the Aryan hosts from the north-west into India, but was an offshoot of the Paurava-Bhārata race long after the Aryans had established themselves in North India. The wars that its kings waged, as alluded to in the hymns, were not the struggles of a newly invading host with the earlier inhabitants, but were contests between this dynasty at the plenitude of its power and neighbouring Aryan and non-Aryan kingdoms and tribes. The hymns that extol these kings have thus nothing to do with the Aryan invasion of India. The Aryans had entered India centuries earlier.

¹ MBh. iii, 125, 10422; 127, 10470-128, 10499.

VI

NOTES ON CHINESE PROSODY

By ARTHUR WALEY

CERTAIN elements are found, but in varying degree, in all human speech. Thus it is difficult to conceive of a language in which rhyme, stress-accent, tone-accent would not to some extent occur. In all languages some vowel-sounds are shorter than others, and in certain cases two consecutive words begin with the same sound. If we number these speech-elements we get (1) rhyme, (2) stress-accent, (3) tone-accent, (4) vowel-quantity, (5) alliteration. No doubt other characteristics could be enumerated, but for the purposes of poetry it is these five which have been principally exploited. English poetry has used chiefly (1), (2), and in earlier times (5); it is doubtful whether (3) has played any part, but an unconscious use has probably been made of (4).

Poetry naturally utilizes the most marked and definite characteristics of the language in which it is written. These are used consciously by the poet; but less important elements also play their part, often only in a negative way. Thus the Japanese actually avoid rhyme; the Greeks, while not exploiting it, seem to have tolerated it when it occurred accidentally.

The expedients consciously used by Chinese poetry before the sixth century were rhyme and length of line. A third element, inherent in the language, was not exploited before that date, but must always have been a factor in the euphony of poetry. I refer to tone.

I need not dwell on this feature of the Chinese language, which is familiar, in theory at any rate, to all scholars. When the vowel-sound of a syllable is "all on one note", that is to say, when the sound neither rises

nor sinks during its utterance, the sound is said to be 平 *p'ing*, level or "natural". When the sound rises or falls or is suddenly arrested explosively, it is called 仄 *tsē*, "deflected." There are thus three varieties of the deflected tone, which the Chinese call 上 "rising", 去 "departing", and 入 "entering". The last occurs in words which formerly ended in a consonant. The *p'ing* tone and the three *tsē* tones make up the "four tones" of classical Chinese. These should not be confused with the "four tones" of the Mandarin dialect, in the description of which the old tone-names have been used in a most misleading manner. The so-called lower-level tone of Pekinese (e.g. in such words as 人 "man") is not in any sense "level"; Guernier¹ defines it as "sharp rising", *aigu montant*.

I shall here notate the "level" tone as A and the deflected as B. For the moment we need not concern ourselves with further subdivisions.

I have said that until the sixth century tone-arrangement was not an important element in Chinese prosody. It would seem that the early poets were as insensible to tone-effects as the Greeks were to rhymed endings. Just as Sophocles does not reject couplets whose last feet jingle in a manner disagreeable to modern ears, so the early poets of China took the tones "as they came". It does not often happen in a Chinese sentence that five deflected or five level tones follow one another. Consequently in poetry we should not expect to find lines in which all the syllables are *tsē* or all *p'ing*. But such lines do occasionally occur. For example, in a poem by Ts'ao Chih (Giles, No. 1994, 192-232 A.D.) there is a line 我欲竟此曲, "I want to end this lay," which consists of five deflected words. It is possible that the poet was aiming at a particular effect; but I am inclined

¹ *Notes sur la langue . . . de . . . Pékin*, p. 10 (published in 1912 by the Association Phonétique Internationale).

to believe that Ts'ao Chih thought as little about tone as Shakespeare did about "quantity".

The tone-consciousness of Chinese poetry was no doubt of gradual growth. The process might be compared to the change which took place in Latin poetry when it became quantitative instead of accentual. But the analogy is not complete. Rome imported a foreign prosody, whereas the changes in Chinese poetry were apparently due to the evolution of the language itself. It is not, however, impossible that this evolution was to some extent influenced by foreign contact.

During the time when this transformation of prosody was developing, the northern part of China was under the rule of the Toba Tartars, founders of the Northern Wei dynasty. In 494 they moved their capital from the Shansi frontier to the Lo-yang in Honan; in 534 Western Wei established itself at Ch'ang-an. Under the T'ang dynasty (618-905) these two places, as the Eastern and Western capitals, became of paramount importance, and a dialect moulded by Tartar occupation may well have spread from them to the rest of China.

It is clear that the increased importance of "tones" in poetry must have corresponded to a marked development of their use in ordinary speech. Such a development is best accounted for by the necessity of distinguishing between monosyllables which, owing to phonological changes, had become homophonous.

Towards the end of the fifth century Shên Yo 沈約 (441-513 A.D.), the reputed "discoverer" of the Four Tones, had already enunciated¹ certain principles with regard to the tone-arrangement of the 20 character quatrain. "The second character," he says, "must not be in the same tone as the fifth, nor the fifth in the same tone as the fifteenth." Neither of these principles was

¹ Quoted in P'i Yü Yü Lei 譬喻語類.

admitted by later practice, but it is possible that Shên Yo has been inaccurately quoted. The point of interest is that he should have formulated such a canon at all.

Increasing attention was paid to tone-arrangement in the next three centuries, but needless to say the poets worked by ear rather than by rule. The effects produced by the interchange of tone were subtle and the possible combinations almost infinite. Although certain forms began to assert themselves as orthodox, it was realized that the tones were made for the poet, not the poet for the tones.

If we apply the rigid formulæ of the school books (詩學, etc.) to the poetry of Li Po (705-62) or Tu Fu (712-70), we shall find that the critics have labelled certain forms as orthodox 正格 in a quite arbitrary way, while denouncing as 拗, "contradictory," metres in which many poems of classical celebrity were written.

But it is necessary before going further to distinguish between the "Modern Style" 近體 and the "Old Style" of poetry 古詩. The Chinese say, 近體以平仄爲主, "The important element in the 'Modern Style' is the arrangement of tones." But side by side with it existed and still exists the "Old Style", which 不關平仄, "disregards the tones."

Yet the distinction is not absolute. I have found poems classified in one anthology as "old style" and in another as "irregular modern style". The difference might be compared to that between a rhymed couplet by Pope and one by William Morris. It is easy to recognize that a distinction exists, but hard to define it precisely. Probably a few stray couplets might be found in Pope which could be mistaken for the work of Morris, and vice versa; nevertheless it would be possible to make certain broad statements (for example, about the relative *speed* of their lines) which would generally turn out to be true.

The relation between the old and new styles of Chinese poetry is equally difficult to define. Attempts to codify too rigidly the laws which the new style follows led in later times to a narrowing of the technical groundwork of poetry; but other causes were at work to which allusion will be made later.

Most European writers on this subject have not realized that a large part of classical poetry was written in the old style. Indeed, since the content of such poems is usually more interesting than that of poems in the more rigid forms, a large proportion of the poems which have been made accessible to European readers are 古詩 "in the old style": e.g. Tu Fu's "Recruiter",¹ the "Lute Girl",² and the "Everlasting Wrong"³ by Po Chi-i, and many of the Li Po poems translated by St. Denys and Giles. It is, in fact, chiefly upon his old style poems that the immense fame of Li Po rests: e.g. the series called 古風 "old airs", the 戰城南 translated by Forke⁴ and also by Chavannes,⁵ the 長干行 (translated under the title "The River Merchant's Wife", by Ezra Pound and Fenolossa in "Lustra", 1916), and the 蜀道難.

In dealing with the technique of Chinese poetry most European writers, then, have confined themselves to (a) the Confucian Odes and (b) the New Style.

Schott⁶ accepts the Chinese maxim 一三五不論 二四六分明, i.e. (in the new style) one need only worry about the second, fourth, and sixth characters in the line; the rest will look after themselves. But though this motto is a useful rule of thumb for the native, who in practice qualifies it by the application of other laws

¹ Harvey St. Denys, *Poésies des Thangs*, p. 96.

² Giles, *Chinese Literature*, p. 165.

³ Loc. cit., p. 169.

⁴ *Blüthen Chinois Dichtung*, p. 124.

⁵ *Documents Chinois Découverts par Aurel Stein*, p. xix.

⁶ *Über die Chinesische Verskunst. Abhandl. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1857.

which seem to him so self-evident that it would be superfluous to state them, for the European it is wholly misleading.

St. Denys,¹ having stated some of the general principles of the new style correctly (but giving the erroneous impression that all T'ang poetry was written in this style), illustrates his remarks by a poem which is not a new-style poem at all, but 樂府, i.e. a song, and which disregards the conventions of tone-arrangement. The poem in question is the famous quatrain of Li Po:—

狀前明月光。疑是地上霜
舉頭望明月。低頭思古鄉。

which displays the tone-arrangement AAABA, ABBBA, BABAB, AAABA (the tones are wrongly marked by St. Denys); the first, second, and fourth lines rhyme. This formula would be described by the Chinese as 平聲陽韻三押。不關平仄, i.e. “the *p'ing* rhyme ‘yang’ used three times; tone-arrangement disregarded”.

Harlez² follows Schott, and his very brief exposition is misleading, unless qualified by general rules which he does not mention. Mr. Charles Budd³ devotes seven pages to this department of prosody. He tells us (p. 21) that “the first and last lines (of a quatrain) always agree exactly, tone for tone”. This is true of the commonest form of 7 syllable quatrain, but it is quite untrue of the normal 5 syllable verse, which is toned as follows:—

B or A, B, A, A, B	or A or B, A, A, B, B
A, A, B or A, B, A	B or A, B, B, A, A
A or B, A, A, B, B	B or A, B, A, A, B
B or A, B, B, A, A	A, A, B or A, B, A.

In both of these schemes the second and fourth lines rhyme, and by an absolute law (which was generally

¹ Op. cit., introduction.

² Bulletin de l'Ac. Roy. de Belgique, sér. III, xxiv, p. 181.

³ *Chinese Poems*, 1912.

applied long before the T'ang dynasty) the unrhymed lines must end in a different tone to the rhymed lines.

In the poem given by Mr. Budd as "a perfect specimen of the four-line stanza"¹ it will be seen that the first and last lines do *not* agree. There are other inconsistencies in Mr. Budd's exposition with which I will not deal here.

Kühnert² in his treatise on Chinese rhythm devotes a few pages to poetry, taking his examples from vol. v of Zottoli's *Cursus*. He complains that these examples do not conform to the rules given by Zottoli. This is natural, for Zottoli, like most writers on the subject, has tried to *state* the laws of Chinese prosody with far too great precision. Erring in the same direction Professor Giles tells us,³ "For poetical purposes all the characters in the language are ranged under *two* tones, as *flats* and *sharps*. These occupy certain fixed places, just as dactyls and spondees occupy fixed places in the construction of Latin verse. Thus, in a stanza of the ordinary five-character length the following tonal arrangement must appear:—

Sharp sharp flat flat sharp

Flat flat sharp sharp flat

Flat flat flat sharp sharp

Sharp sharp sharp flat flat."

Professor Giles's "must" is misleading. If it were true, the shackles of metre would be such that a poet could hardly ever say what he wanted to. But this is only one of many forms which are all recognized as orthodox even by Ming pedants, and when we come to examine the actual poetry of the "golden age" (the time of Li Po and Tu Fu) we find that it is far from orthodox. I could point to many stanzas in Professor Giles's own book which do not in any way conform to his scheme.

¹ Op. cit., p. 22.

² *Über d. Rhythmus im Chinesischem, Abhandl. d. k. Akad. . . . zu Wien, 1896.*

³ *Chinese Poetry*, p. 199.

The general reader wants above all to know how much freedom Chinese prosody gave to the poet, and what was the nature of the restrictions imposed. It will be observed that Professor Giles not only greatly exaggerates the strictness of the system, but also omits to mention that the earlier poems in his book are subject to no such restrictions, and that among the T'ang and later poems many are in the "old style" which disregards these laws.

RHYME

Professor Giles states both in the *Encyclopadia Britannica*¹ and in *Chinese Poetry*² that the rhymes used by the classical poets of China are those of the Book of Odes. If this were true, the rhyming of the great T'ang poets would be completely artificial, for it is certain that in the course of 2,000 years the pronunciation of the language had changed. The rhyme-system of the Odes has been amply dealt with by Legge³; it is utterly different from that of other Chinese poetry, as is recognized by all native writers on the subject.

The system of rhymes used in "old style poetry", 古詩, both in the period from Han till T'ang and afterwards, has been described by a Chinese scholar, Chu Hua, 朱華 (H. Lu-chih, 綠池), who settled in Japan at the end of the eighteenth century and became a friend of the Japanese scholars Takemoto Tōtō-an 武元登夕菴 and Rai Sanyō 賴山陽. A book entitled 古詩韻範, *The System of Rhymes in Old Poetry*, was published by Tōtō-an in 1812. In this book the rhymes, in over 200 "old-style" poems, are analysed, dating from the Han dynasty till the end of Ming. The inquiry shows that the Old Style recognizes thirty-four rhymes, many of which are mere assonances. Thus, Tu Fu in the "Recruiter" (see above) makes 𠂔 ts'un

¹ 11th ed., vol. vi, p. 223.

² p. 199.

³ *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv.

rhyme with 看 *k'an*. There is no reason to suppose that in the eighth century the two vowel sounds were identical. Again, we find 東 *tung* rhyming with 江 *chiang*, and 月 *yüeh* (in T'ang times still pronounced *yüet*) with 物 *wu* (formerly pronounced *wut*).

But a stricter rhyme-system is already discernible in the poetry of the sixth century. About this time, or a little later, the Chinese began to use rhyme-categories as a principle of arrangement in works of reference. The 廣韻 (early seventh century?) dictionary was arranged on this plan, the number of the rhymes being 206. The greatest possible number of distinctions was obviously made in order to facilitate the use of the book as a work of reference. But Chinese prosody never recognized the subtler distinctions, which must have been to some extent arbitrary.

The rhymes used by the T'ang poets and their successors in writing "new-style" poetry are 106 in number.¹ These are called the 詩韻 or "rhymes of poetry", and have been used as the basis of arrangement in many famous dictionaries and concordances. The upper and lower level tones are not distinguished, except that of the thirty "level" rhymes fifteen of the words chosen as heads to the categories are in the upper level and fifteen in the lower level. This is merely for convenience of arrangement; it does not affect the rhymes. Thus 同 *t'ung* (in the lower level) rhymes with 東 *tung* (in the upper level).

It has been suggested by European writers that in pre-T'ang poetry a word could rhyme with a word in a different tone, provided their endings were otherwise homophonous. This is not so; the four tones 平, 上,

¹ There was an increasing tendency only to use the *p'ing* rhymes. In later dynasties, when the pronunciation of the language had changed, poets no longer rhymed by *ear*. The burden of knowing by heart the rhymes in the whole 106 categories became intolerable, and to-day, if the poet avoids *tsê* rhymes, it is partly because he does not know them!

去, 入 are kept rigidly distinct. 樣 *yang* (in the 去 tone) and 楊 *yang* (in the 平 tone) would not be considered by the Chinese to be "the same sound" at all. It should here be noted that though rhyme in English excludes words which are identical in sound, it does not do so in Chinese any more than in French poetry. Thus *made* and *maid* are not used as rhymes in English, but 德 *te*, "virtue," and 得 *te*, "to get," do rhyme in Chinese.

RHYME AND TONE-ARRANGEMENT

The "normal" scheme of 5-syllable quatrain which I have given above shows that there are generally only two rhymes in this form of verse. If, however, the first line also rhymes, various other changes take place in the tone-arrangement, which then becomes—

B or A, B, B, A, A	or A, A, B or A, B, A
B, A, A, B, A	B or A, B, B, A, A
A or B, A, A, B, B	B or A, B, A, A, B
B or A, B, B, A, A	B, A, A, B, A.

On the other hand, in the 7-syllable verse the commonest form is with three rhymes, e.g.:

B or A, B, A, A, B, B, A	or A or B, A, A, B, B, A, A
A or B, A, A, B, B, A, A	B or A, B, A, A, B, B, A
A, A, B or A, B, A, A, B	B or A, B, A, A, A, B, B
B or A, B, A, A, B, B, A	A or B, A, A, B, B, A, A.

CÆSURA

In the 5-syllable line it comes after the second foot,¹ in the shape of a very slight pause, which is nevertheless sufficient to control the grammatical relations of the line. That is to say, two characters which grammatically "go together" may not be separated by the cæsure. Thus, the line 嘆息此人去 could never mean "sighing and

¹ This has been correctly stated by most writers. It must be owing to a misprint that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (loc. cit.) gives the impression that the cæsure is after the third foot.

sobbing about this, the man went away", but must mean "sighing and sobbing about this man's departure".

The cæsura in the 7-syllable line comes after the fourth and is much more definite than that of the 5-syllable line, e.g.:

紅 白 花 開 | 山 雨 中

Red and white the flowers open

In the mountain rain.

Nevertheless, it is stated that the great Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) sometimes used lines with the cæsura after the third, e.g.:

雖 欲 悔 | 語 不 可 捫

Although he wanted to retract

He could not force himself to speak.

Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing 劉長卿 (eighth century) wrote the line

孤 城 上 與 白 雲 齊

Deserted fortress above with white clouds level,
which appears to have very little cæsura at all.

It should be noted that when St. Denys quotes 君不見黃河之水 as a "cæsura after the third", he has divided the lines wrongly. 君不見 is *extra metrum*, and the line runs [君不見] 黃河之水 | 天上來.

There is another element which is characteristic of most Oriental poetry, and which has been adequately described by many European writers. This element is parallelism, e.g.:

枕 上 酒 容 和 睡 醒

樓 前 海 月 伴 潮 生

As I lay on my pillow my vinous complexion, soothed by sleep, grew sober;

In front of the tower the ocean moon, accompanying the tide, had risen.

(Po Chü-i, Works, vol. xx, f. 19.)

Nor will I dwell on the rhetorical construction of the 8-line stanza, i.e. the "development" of the theme in

the successive couplets (for this, too, became subject to fixed laws).

But before closing, I will name a few tests by which the "new style" may be distinguished from the "old".

NEW STYLE

(A) Rhymes, those of the arrangement into 106 categories; rhymes in the *p'ing* (level) tone are preferred.

(B) *P'ing* and *tsē*.

(1) A tendency to antithetical arrangement, especially in the last part of the lines. This is called *hsieh* 諧.

(2) A tendency for the tones to go in pairs, e.g. AABBA or ABBAA, etc., rather than in threes. This arrangement in pairs is called *nien* 黏.

Three like tones only come together when divided by a cæsure; e.g. the line BB/AAA would be avoided, but not the line BBAA/ABB.

OLD STYLE

(A) Rhymes. The 34 assonances. Rhymes in the "deflected" tone are used quite as freely as those in the "level" tone.

(B) Tone-arrangement. The tones were apparently disregarded. Eighteenth century writers, following Wang Shih-Ch'eng 王士禎 (1634-1711), tried to discover the laws of "level" and "deflected" (*p'ing* and *tsē*) in old-style poetry. Their efforts are embodied in Professor Mori's *Koshi Heishoku* 古詩平仄 (Tōkiō, 1894). But the "rules" are subject to so many exceptions and modifications that the attempt does not seem very successful. It is better to accept the maxim "old poetry" disregards 平仄 *p'ing* and *tsē*". Both 諧句 "*hsieh* clauses" and 黏句 "*nien* clauses" are occasionally found in "old-style" poems, but so seldom that their occurrence would appear to be accidental.

I have in the foregoing pages treated almost exclusively of *shih* 詩 or "lyrical poetry". The *tz'ü* was a kind of

strophic song, depending on an elaborate pattern of tones, in lines of unequal length. It was an invention of the tenth century, but later critics attempted to treat certain T'ang poems as anticipations of *tz'ü* by pronouncing "level" words as "deflected" and vice versa where the metre required.

花 非 花	A flower; not a flower:
霧 非 霧	A mist; not a mist.
夜 半 來	At midnight coming:
天 明 去	At day's dawn going.
來 如 春 夢	Coming like a spring dream
不 多 時	Only for a little while;
去 似 朝 雲	Gone like a morning cloud
無 覓 處 °	That cannot be recovered.

This poem of Po Chü-i is read as a *tz'ü* by the violent expedient of pronouncing *lai* in the third line and *ch'un* in the fifth as "deflected" words and 去 in the last line but one as "level".

Adequate treatment of the *tz'ü* would require a separate article, as would also the *fu* 賦 or "description", a kind of *vers-libre*.

The above remarks on Chinese prosody are necessarily very incomplete, but I hope they may serve to remove certain misapprehensions which have hitherto prevailed.

VII

FURTHER ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS ON TEXTILES

By A. R. GUEST

IN the Journal for 1906 there were published some Arabic inscriptions on textiles in the South Kensington Museum. Two more Arabic inscriptions on textiles may now be brought to notice. One of them is taken from a Russian publication; the other is from a piece of stuff in the Museum. Mr. A. F. Kendrick, of the Museum, has drawn attention to these specimens, and, as before, has kindly supplied the descriptions of the stuffs. The objects are:—

1. From Wladimir Bock. Coptic Art: Coptic Figured Textiles [Text in Russian]. Moscow, 1897.

Strip of plain linen (part of a garment) embroidered in outline with red silk; a repeating Arabic inscription in a close double row, the lower row inverted. The letters are about 2 cm. high.

It belongs to a collection brought together in Egypt by M. Wladimir Bock in the winter of 1888–9 for the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd. He obtained them partly by excavating at Akhmîm and elsewhere, and partly through purchase. In the above work six plates (xvi–xxi) are devoted to the collection, illustrating sixty-six specimens. The piece in question (pl. xix, No. 40) is the only Arab specimen illustrated. The site from which it was obtained is not stated.

INSCRIPTION (see Plate I)

Transliteration.—العزیز بالله

Translation.—El 'Azîz billâh.

Date.—A.H. 365–386 = A.D. 975–996.

Remark.—El 'Azîz billâh, Fatimid Khalif, reigned in Egypt between the dates mentioned; and the inscription,

which it seems can refer only to him, affords a welcome addition to the small dated series.

There seems to be no doubt as to the correct reading of the inscription; but in the book from which it is taken the following rendering by Mr. L. K. Markov is given: "Death is to find rest in God." Possibly the second

group of letters may have been read as ل , and the latter part of the version might thus be justified, though only at the expense of grammar. It is not evident how any allusion to death can be discovered in the writing.

2. Woven silk strip in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 1235-1864. From the Bock Collection.

This fabric is figured in Plate II. It is divided into vertical panes by groups of stripes, and the pattern is in subdued colours on a purple ground. Five panes are shown on the strip in the Museum, with ornament as follows: (1) The fox and the grapes; (2) a row of heart-shapes between two lines of Kufic characters; (3) an eagle with outspread wings; (4) a roundel enclosing a bird between two lines of Kufic characters; (5) a winged human-headed lion. The patterns are repeated vertically in the panes, but alternately reversed, so that the heads of the animals are downwards, and the inscription reads alternately from right to left and from left to right.

The inscription in all four lines is the same; it is twice in yellow and twice in white.

Another piece of the same stuff, but less complete, is in the Museum for Art and Industry at Vienna (M. Dreger, *Künstlerische Entwicklung der Weberei und Stickerei*. Vienna, 1904, pl. lxxxvi).

The stuff, which belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century, was probably woven in Hither Asia.

Cf. silk stuff in the Museum, No. 8560-1863, described by A. R. Guest in *JRAS.*, April, 1906, p. 394.

INSCRIPTION

Transliteration.—الغز(?) الدائم

Translation.—Lasting glory !

Remark.—The second word in the inscription is doubtful. The letters have probably been distributed in an arbitrary way, solely with a view to ornament.

Inscriptions of this kind, beginning with الغز, seem to have been used frequently on Mesopotamian manufactures, and it is not unlikely that the stuff is of Mesopotamian origin. That the winged lion derives ultimately from an Assyrian original seems at any rate to be clear.

It is the splendid design and weaving of this fabric that make it interesting.

VIII

“THE HAND TREATISE,” A WORK OF ARYADEVA

By F. W. THOMAS AND H. UI

THE little work here presented in text and translation attracted my notice many years ago in connexion with a certain literary question. It occurs as Nos. 1255–6 in Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, where its title is given as *Mushti-prakarana* (?)—*śāstra* (*Tālāntaraka-śāstra*), translated (p. 374, among the works of Gina, i.e. Dignāga) as “*Śāstra on the explanation of the fist*”. I was not in a position to consider its relation to a Tibetan work with which I was familiar, ascribed to Āryadeva and bearing the name *Hastabāla* (sic) or *Hastābhava-prakarana* with commentary.

It was accordingly with great satisfaction that I found an opportunity of consulting a Japanese Buddhist scholar interested in Sanskrit philosophy, in the person of Professor H. Ui, whom the War had brought to England. Together with the Vaiśeṣika text *Daśapadārthī* (Nanjio, No. 1295), which he has now published in the Oriental Translation Series of the Royal Asiatic Society, we discussed also this little work; and in good time Professor Ui furnished me with a text in two versions, adding word-for-word and free translations and explanatory notes. The first comparison of these was sufficient to show that the Chinese version of the work ascribed to Dignāga and the Tibetan version of the work ascribed to Āryadeva were indeed from the same original.

In the meanwhile I had become aware¹ that among the Tibetan MSS. brought by Sir M. A. Stein from Tun-huang and now in the India Office Library there were three

¹ From Professor de la Vallée Poussin's Catalogue (in MS.).

copies of the same work, two being imperfect. They likewise ascribe the Sanskrit original to Āryadeva.

Ultimately Professor Ui agreed to join me in publishing the two versions together. Accordingly I here present his copy of the two Chinese translations with a selection from his notes (he having now left for Japan), preceded by (1) an English translation from the Tibetan, (2) a conjectural reconstitution of the original Sanskrit, (3) the Tibetan version with collation of the MS. and xylograph copies. It has not seemed worth while to print a translation from the Chinese, since, as compared with one based upon the Tibetan (in this case, as always, reliable and exact), it would necessarily be, especially as regards syntactical and sentence connexions, largely conjectural.

The last-mentioned circumstance does not at all deprive the Chinese versions of utility. They are considerably older than the Tibetan ones, that of Paramārtha being placed in 557–569 A.D. and that of I-tsing in 703 A.D. When read in the light of the Tibetan, they reveal themselves as in general surprisingly close to the original, the correspondence of the phrases being in expression and order very satisfactory, and the indications as regards both technical terms and grammatical constructions being most useful in the reconstitution of the Sanskrit. Here Professor Ui's word-for-word interpretation has been exceedingly helpful. On the other hand, the demarcation of the *kārikās* and of the clauses in the Chinese gains greatly in certainty from comparison with the Tibetan.¹

The Sanskrit text will not be regarded as an over-venturesome attempt to rewrite a *chef d'œuvre* of a famous Buddhist philosopher. Its object is simply to bring home to the reader (and students of Indian

¹ The corresponding paragraphs bear the same numbers in all the versions *infra*.

philosophy think best in Sanskrit) the real force and form of the original. On the other hand, we need not fear to have departed too hopelessly from what the author wrote. The Tibetan is good authority for phraseology, word-order, and construction; the technical terms are familiar both from the Buddhist Sanskrit literature and from the criticisms of opponents, e.g. Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*, ii, 2. 18-32, and the Buddhist chapter in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. And the Chinese comes in, as already stated, with its confirmations. The style is the straightforward one of rough *kārikā* verses (here the reconstitution is least certain) and commentary.

A few points of textual criticism are elicited by comparison of the several versions. One of the Tanjur copies supplies at the end an extra *kārikā* with commentary appropriating the text to Yoga practices. Although it is by no means impossible that this addition also had a Sanskrit original, it is so clearly a late and incongruous accretion that it did not deserve to be reproduced in that language.

The particulars of the different MSS. and other copies are as follows :—

- a. MS. (Ch. 9, I, 17 = 623) from Tun-huang. Foll. 4, viz. Nos. 61-4 of volume 7; size $44\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ cm.; ll. 5 per page (writing ends on l. 2 of fol. 64a). Fol. 61a text; foll. 61b-64a text (in red ink) with commentary. Complete.

Title of text: *Rab . tu . byed . pa . lag . tshad . kyi . tshig . lehur . byas . pa* (= *Prakarāṇa-Hastamātra-kārikā*).

Title of commentary: *Rab . tu . byed . pa . lag . tshad . kyi . hgral . pa* (= *Prakarāṇa-Hastamātra-vṛtti*).

Author of text: Āryadeva.

- β. MS. (Ch. 51, I, 29 (42) = 624) from Tun-huang. Fol. 1 not numbered; size $49\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ cm.; ll. 5 and 6 per page. *a*, text; *b*, text (in red ink) with commentary as far as verse 1b.

Title of text and commentary as in *a*.

Author of text: Āryadeva.

- γ. MS. (625) from Tun-huang. Foll. 2, viz. 卐 and ㄣ; size 45×9 cm.; ll. 6 per page. Text (in red ink) and commentary from verse II (part) to end, nearly joining at beginning the end of β. There are a few glosses in small cursive writing.

Title of commentary as in *a* and β.

Author of commentary: Āryadeva.

- A. Xylograph, *Tanjur*, Mdo, vol. ५. Foll. 312b–315a of India Office copy. Text (312b) and text with commentary.

Title of text: *Cha . śas . kyi . yan . lag . ces . bya . baḥi . rab . tu . byed . pa* (Sanskrit given as *Hastabala-nāma-prakaraṇa*).

Title of commentary: *°byed . paḥi . ḥgrel . pa* (*°prakaraṇa-vṛtti*).

Author of text and commentary: Āryadeva.

Translators of both: the Indian Pandit Śraddhākara-varman and the Tibetan *lotsāba* Rin . cen . bzan . po.

- B. Xylograph, *Tanjur*, Mdo, vol. ५. Foll. 21b–23a of India Office copy. Text (21b) and text with commentary (21b–23a).

Title of text: *Rab . tu . byed . pa . lag . paḥi . tshad . kyi . tshig . lehur . byas . pa* (Sanskrit given as *Hastābhava-prakaraṇa-kārikā*).

Title of commentary: *Lag . paḥi . tshad . kyi . ḥgrel . pa* (*Hastābhava-vṛtti*).

Author of text and commentary: Āryadeva.

Translators of both : the Indian Pandit Dānaśīla and the *lotsāba* the *bhikṣu* Dpal . hbyor . sñiñ . po. Revising *lotsāba* the *bhikṣu* Dpal . brtsegs . rakṣita.

B is a revised text which has plainly been compared with Chinese versions. *A* shows, as confronted with the MSS., a few variations in detail, due to corruption. It should be observed that all the Tibetan copies, MS. and xylograph, contain the same version : there is no question of independent translations. Accordingly the MS. copies from Tun-huang, which do not name the translator, must also exhibit the work of Śraddhākara-varman and Rin . cen . bzan . po, the latter a famous scholar whose date is about 950–1050 A.D. (see *Pag . sam . jon . zang*, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908, part ii, pp. xv–xvii).

In order of date the authorities for our text are therefore as follows :—

(1) Paramārtha, A.D. 557–569 (*circa* one hundred years later than Dignāga);

(2) I-tsing, A.D. 703;

(3) Śraddhākara-varman and Rin . cen . bzan . po, *circa* A.D. 1000 :

(a) MSS. from Tun-huang;

(b) Xylographs *A* and *B* (revised) in the *Tanjur*.

We may now remark upon the authorship, the object, and the title of the treatise.

There cannot be many Buddhist works which are illuminated by such a galaxy of Buddhist authorities as Āryadeva, Dignāga, Paramārtha, and I-tsing, all too well known to need any further statement of their position and work. The Tibetan translator Rin . cen . bzan . po was likewise, as already stated, an eminent scholar. But who is the real author, Āryadeva or Dignāga? From Professor Ui I understand that the Chinese tradition is not really unanimous in naming Dignāga. Both authorities

have their supporters. As Dignāga often appears as a commentator upon the works of Nāgārjuna and others, it may be suggested that, while the *kārikās* may be the work of Āryadeva, the commentary may be due to Dignāga. For a real decision of the question we have no material.

In any case the little treatise belongs to the Mādhyamika school. This is clear from *kārikā* iv, where not only external objects, but also the mental activities (*viññāna*) are shown to be illusory. On the other hand, the term *śūnya*, "void," does not occur, and the argument lacks the sophistical turn common in the Nihilist school. The distinction between conventional and ultimate truth (*saṃvṛti* (or *vyavahāra*)-*satya* and *paramārtha-satya*) is not distinctive of a particular sect.

The title presents some difficulty. The Chinese has, according to Nanjio, "Explanation-fist-śāstra" (Paramārtha) and "Palm-within-śāstra", which are rendered *Musti-prakarāṇa-śāstra* and *Tālāntaraka-śāstra*. But, as Professor Ui points out in his note, the former should probably be "Explanation-roll-up(twist)-śāstra", and the latter "Fist-within-śāstra".¹ M. Cordier, in his catalogue of the Tanjur (*Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, iii, p. 297) interprets *Hastavāla* as a synonym for *karavāla*, "a scimitar," an explanation which does not account for the Tibetan rendering *Lag tshad*, "hand-measure." I would suggest that Paramārtha's rendering supplies the best hint. If we might suppose that his "roll-up", "twist", represented a Sanskrit

¹ Mr. L. C. Hopkins, who with great kindness has read the proof of the Chinese texts, remarks that the first of the three characters in Paramārtha's title, though often meaning "explain", has primarily the physical sense of "undo", "untie", "dissect"; while the second, according to Kang-hsi's Dictionary, is interchanged with 拳 "a fist". He therefore considers that the sense is "undo the fist", and is parallel to the common expression in the spoken language 解手, "undo the hand," which might correspond to I-tsing's phrase.

form *vāla*, from the root *val*, to “roll” or “twist”, and that his “Explanation” either conceals the word “hand” or represents “commentary”, we should be able to point to the Sanskrit phrase *valita-hasta* in the sense of “clenched hand”, the “fist” of I-tsing. The work would then be entitled “Hand-clenching”. Why “hand” and “clenching”? “Hand” is an idea which occurs in other titles, either virtually, as in *Kusumāñjali*, or explicitly, as in *Hastāmalaka*, meaning “myrobalan fruit in the hand”. It is well applied to a summary exposition, the *kura-badara* or “berry in the hand” of the *Vāsavadattā*, verse 1. The “clenching” would well represent the closing of the grasp of the matter. Accordingly, I understand the title *Hasta-vāla* in this sense, and regard it as a significant fact that the *kārikās* are six in number, of which the sixth draws the practical conclusion: it is the five fingers and the closing upon them.

The Tibetan form of the title, *lag . tshad*, *lag . paḥi . tshad*, and *cha . śas . kyī . yan . lag* (= *aṃśāvayava*!), must be regarded as free renderings, unless we may suppose an early copyist’s error, in which case we might think of the verb *gcud*, “twist” (cf. the phrase *lag . pa . gcus*, quoted by Jäschke from the *Zamatog*), or of the noun *glad*, “top,” as the original reading in place of *tshad*.

THE CLOSED HAND

In the language of India: *Hastavāla-nāma-prakarāṇa-vṛtti*.

In the language of Tibet: *Rab . tu . byed . pa . lag . tshad . kyi . lgrel . pa* (Commentary upon the treatise "Hand-Measure").

Homage to the exalted Mañjuśrī, whose essence is knowledge!

Since in regard to the Triple Universe, owing to imagination of reality in what is merely conventional, living creatures do not penetrate to the truth (1-2), this treatise is undertaken (5) in order that, by way of distinguishing the proper nature of things (3), they may attain an infallible knowledge (4).

हस्तवालप्रकरणवृत्तिः ।

मञ्जुश्रिये ज्ञानसत्वाय नमः ।

त्रैलोके¹ व्यवहारमात्रे² सति¹(1) परमार्थाभिमानात् तत्त्वा-
र्थानवगाहिभिः सत्त्वै⁽²⁾ र्वस्तुस्वभावविवेकद्वारेणा⁽³⁾ विपर्ययज्ञान³-
संप्राप्तये⁽⁴⁾ [शास्त्र]रचनेयम्⁽⁵⁾ ।

¹ Locative also in Chinese

² The Tibetan seems to use *tha'sñad* for *vyavahāra* and *kun'rdzob* for *saṃvṛti*.

³ The *sems* (*citta*) of *B* is a correction, not supported by the Chinese.

*Ia. Conception of snake in regard to rope,
When the rope is seen, is without reality (6).*

Here in some place not too distant, but merely appearing in a moderate light (7), on seeing something having a feature in common with the form of a rope¹(8), there arises through error a cognition in the form of certitude, "This is a snake" (9): because we do not penetrate to the specific form (10). When the specific form is ascertained (11), that cognition, since it is merely an emanation of fancy, not corresponding with fact (12), is illusory cognition, without reality (13).

*Ib. When we see its parts, in regard to it also
The cognition is illusory, like the snake (14).*

When we consider the rope also as divided into parts (15), the proper form of the rope is not perceived (16). Since it is not perceived (17), the perception of rope also is, like the thought of snake (18), merely illusion and disappears (19).

Again, just as the cognition of the rope is illusory (20), so the parts also; when we look at their parts, half, fraction, and so on (21), their own proper form is not apprehended (22): as that is not apprehended, the thought which has the form of perceiving them, like the thought of the rope, is merely illusion (23).

¹ Paramārtha everywhere gives "wisteria", "creeper" (which is also a meaning of the Tibetan *thag . pa*) in place of "rope".

I (a)

रज्जौ सर्पमनस्कारो रज्जुं दृष्ट्वा निरर्थकः। (6)

अत्रानतिदूरे¹ ऽप्यालोकमात्रया भासमाने देशे (7) रज्जु-
पसाधारणधर्मोपलब्धितो⁽²⁾ (8) भ्रान्त्या सर्प एवायमिति निश्चयरूपं
ज्ञानं जायते (9) । विशेषस्वरूपानवगाहनात्² (10) । तद्विशेषं
गृहीत्वा (11) । अयमर्थार्थतो³ ऽभिमानपरिस्फुरणत्वात् (12) तज्ज्ञानं
भ्रान्तज्ञानं निरर्थकमेव भवति (13) ।

I (b)

तदंशान् वीक्ष्य तत्रापि भ्रान्ता बुद्धिरहाविव⁴ (14) ॥

रज्जावपि⁵ तस्यामंशविभागेन परीक्ष्य (15) रज्जुस्वरूपं नोपल-
भ्यते (16) । तदनुपलब्धौ⁶ (17) रज्जूपलब्धिरपि सर्पइतिबुद्धि-
वद् (18) भ्रममात्रा⁷ कुत्रापि लीयते⁷ (19) । अथ यथा रज्जुज्ञानं
भ्रान्तं (20) तथा⁸ ते ऽप्यवयवाः । तत्खण्डकैदादिषु दृश्यमानेषु (21)
तेषां स्वरूपं न निर्धार्यते (22) । तदनिर्धारणात्⁹ तदुपलब्ध्याकारबु-
द्धिरपि रज्जुबुद्धिवद्¹⁰ भ्रममात्रैव (23) ।

¹ The Tibetan *skal* or *bskal* is of uncertain meaning: the Chinese has "far".

² This clause comes earlier in the Chinese.

³ This word is omitted by I-tsing.

⁴ In I-tsing's version this half-verse joins on to the previous half

⁵ Locative in Chinese and Tibetan.

⁶ Apparently I-tsing read in error *tadupalabdham*.

⁷ These words do not appear in the Chinese.

⁸ Clause omitted by Paramārtha.

⁹ Omitted in Chinese, which inserts "rope" and "parts".

¹⁰ Omitted in Chinese, which inserts "all".

R-*Ras* (1) R. धर्मप. (५६. ३९)

II. *All dependent*¹ *things,*
If we examine their proper form,
Throughout the range of conventional cognition
Are dependent upon something other (24).

As, when we examine ropes and so forth, making divisions of parts, etc. (25), the proper form is not perceived, and so the thought also of rope and so forth is, like the thought of snake, illusory (26), so, when we regard the sides and so forth, pot, cloth, etc., throughout the range of conventional cognition, are of the essence of thought (*or* dependent) (27). When we divide them to the end, every one, pot and so forth, is merely dependent upon convention (28): "upon something other": [other than] ultimate reality (29).

¹ Or "relative". "Dependent" in Chinese: no doubt *btags* represents *āśrita*, which is a technical term in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy for all non-atomic *dravyas*: see *Prasastapāda-bhāṣya*, pp. 16 and 18, *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, v. 23, and compare Burnouf, *Buddhisme*, p. 449.

It is tempting to read in the Sanskrit *sarvāḷambana*^o ("all objects of thought") in place of *sarvāśrita*^o. But both the Tibetan (*B*) and the Chinese of Paramārtha seem to have the same word here as in the following line.

II

सर्वाण्याश्रितवस्तूनि स्वरूपे सुविचारिते ।
आश्रितान्यन्यतो यावत् संवृतिज्ञानगोचरः (24) ॥

यथावयवादिविभागेन पृथग्रज्ज्वादिषु विचार्यमाणेषु स्वरू- (25)
पानुपलब्धितो रज्ज्वादिबुद्धिरपि सर्पइतिबुद्धिर्बुद्धि¹ भ्रान्ता (26)
तथा दिग्भागादीन्²पेक्ष्य घटपटादयो व्यवहारज्ञानगोचरो यावत्
सर्वे चिदात्मका एव (आश्रिता एव) (27) । तेष्वन्ततो विभज्यमानेषु
प्रत्येकघटादयो व्यवहाराश्रिता भवन्ति (28) । अन्यत³ इति पर-
मार्थतः (29) ।

¹ Omitted in I-tsing.

² Paramārtha has apparently *kapilādīn* and I-tsing *tantrādīn* in place of *digbhūgādīn*.

³ I-tsing places *anyatah*, apparently, before *ryarahāra*.

IIIa. *Since things without parts cannot be conceived,
The last (part) is equivalent to non-existent (30).*

As for the last end of all dependent things, the substance of the atom, the only one without parts (31), that also, since it cannot be seen, having an unthinkable form¹ (32), is proved to be equally with a garland of sky-flowers, a hare's horn and so on, without reality (33-4).

But, if you ask how, for this very reason of its having an unthinkable mark¹ (35), you can know that (37) the substance of the atom, if it exists, is not an unity (36), this is because, if it exists, it has different sides (38); for example, the substances of pot, cloth, cart, etc., which exist, are seen, because they have different sides, east, west, and so on, to have different parts (39); if the substance of the atom also exists (40), undoubtedly, since it has different sides, it must be admitted to have different parts, east, west, etc. (41). Having different parts, the substance of the atom cannot be proved one (42). Since various differences of substance are seen, the unity does not exist (43). Inasmuch as the atom is not visible, give up this speaking of atomic substance (44).

IIIb. *Therefore a wise man should not regard
What is mere illusion as reality (45).*

Why? Because the Triple Universe is thus merely illusion, therefore, "a wise man," one who desires to attain to felicity, must not in regard to it entertain the conception of ultimate reality (46).

If you say that upon this view it is true that external things, pot, etc., since they have an unthinkable form, are imagined out of nothing (47), yet the illusory cognitions which have the form of perceiving them exist (48); for example, just as, while illusions, mirage, etc., do not exist, the cognitions which have the form of perceiving them are—if you so approve, [then] (49)—

¹ "Being invisible" might give better sense, if the Tibetan word (*rtogs*) admitted this meaning.

III (a)

निरंशानामचिन्यत्वादन्यो ऽप्यवस्तुना समः(30) ।

यत्ताश्चितवस्तूनां सर्वेषामन्वं परमाणुद्रव्यं निरवयवमेकं(31)
तस्याप्यचिन्त्यस्वरूपत्वेनानुपलभ्यत्वात् (32) तदपि खपुष्पमालाशशृ-
ङ्गादिभिः सम (33) मवस्तुकमेव सिध्यते (34) । किंच कथमचिन्त्यल-
क्षणत्वहेतुना (35)¹ परमाणुद्रव्यं सद्रव्येकं नास्ती (36) ति ज्ञातुं
शक्यते (37) । यतः सत्त्वे दिग्भागनानात्वात् (38) । तथा हि यथा
सतां घटपटशकटादीनां द्रव्याणि प्राक्प्रत्यगादिनानादिग्भागव-
त्त्वान् नानावयवीनि त्रियन्ते (39) यदि परमाणुद्रव्यमप्यस्ति (40)
तदावश्यं ²दिग्भागनानात्वात् प्राक्प्रत्यगादिनानावयवाः स्वीकर्त-
व्याः (41) । सत्सु तु नानावयवेषु परमाणुद्रव्यमेकं न सिध्यते (42) ।
विद्यमानेषु बहुषु द्रव्यविभागेष्वेकत्वं नास्ति (43) । परमाण्वनुप-
लब्धेः³ परमाणुद्रव्यत्वकथनमिदं त्यक्तव्यम् (44) ।

III (b)

भ्रान्तमात्रमतः प्राज्ञैर्न चिन्यं परमार्थतः (45) ॥

कस्मात् । एवं त्रैलोक्ये भ्रान्तमात्रमस्ति तस्मात् । प्राज्ञैः श्रेय-
स्कामिभिर⁴ च परमार्थचिन्ता न कर्तव्या (46) ।⁵ यद्येतन्नते तानि घटा-
दिबाह्यवस्तून्चिन्त्यरूपत्वादभावतः संकल्पितानीति सत्यम् (47) ।
तदुपलब्ध्याकारभ्रान्तज्ञानमिदमस्त्येव (48) । यथासत्स्वपि माया⁶-
गन्धर्वनगरादिषु तदुपलब्ध्याकारज्ञानमिवेतीष्यते (49) ।

¹ §§ 34-5 omitted by Paramārtha, who also had a different text in § 32. The Sanskrit text here was perhaps expanded after his date by a gloss : cf. the English translation, which reads awkwardly.

² "Six" parts by Paramārtha.

³ Altered in Paramārtha's version.

⁴ "Those who desire most excellent teaching," I-tsing : °mokṣa, Paramārtha.

⁵ The Chinese here insert verse IV, but give its substance again apparently in § 50.

⁶ The Chinese here have *nirmīta-puruṣa* or *māyā-puruṣa*, in which respect they are followed by B. But *māyā* is supported by use (see Śaṅkara, *Brahma-sūtra*, ii, 2. 28), and below, § 57, it is given by the Chinese also.

IV. *If illusion, that also, since it is not true,
Is not such as it appears ;
Being appearance without reality,
It is of like character with those (50).*

As to this illusion, again, which thinks the form of substance, the substance is not of that same form (51). This has been explained above (52). Since, if its content does not exist, it cannot of itself be existent, it is not true (53). Not being true, it is likewise of illusory form (54). How is this known? (55). Thus: in the world also, if the seed does not generate, we do not see such a phenomenon as existence of the thence to be generated shoots, etc. (56). Hence we declare the example of the illusion to be without cogency (57).¹

¹ The argument here requires a little elucidation. We may compare Śāṅkara on *Brahma-sūtra*, ii, 2. 28, and *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya*, i, 43. The point is that apperception includes the consciousness of the thing as distinct from the perception of it. If the thing-content is false, the *vijñāna* itself is then also false, since it does not exist without a content.

IV

भ्रान्तं तदप्यसम्यक्त्वाद् यथा भानं तथास्ति न ।

अनर्थकं भासमानं तत्सदृशात्मकं भवेत् ¹ (50) ॥

भ्रान्त्यापि तथा यद् द्रव्यस्वरूपं ज्ञायते तथारूपं द्रव्यं तन्नास्ति (51) । इदं प्रागुक्तम् ² (52) । असति तु तस्मिन्नर्थे सा स्वरूपेणाशक्तत्वादसम्यग्भवति (53) । असम्यक्त्वाद् भ्रान्तरूपैव तद्वद् भवति ³ (54) । तत् कथं ज्ञायते ⁴ (55) । तथा हि लोके ऽपि बीजादिजनकाभावे जन्वाङ्कुरादयः सन्तीति धर्म ईदृङ् न दृश्यते (56) । अत एव मायासादृश्यमसिद्धमस्माभिर्निर्दिष्टम् (57) ।

¹ The Chinese gives "the percipient (*grāhaka*) also is unreal".

² Sentence omitted in the Chinese.

³ The Chinese seems here rather doubtful.

⁴ The Chinese has "how can that illusoriness be established?" (Paramārtha), and "how let that illusoriness exist?" (I-tsing).

V. *Whoso with subtle intelligence
Conceives all things as merely dependent,
That intelligent man easily abandons
Attachment, etc., like the fear of the snake* (58).

In this Triple Universe, which, as explained above, is merely dependent, whoso clears away the thought of coarse things, pots and so on (59), and with fine intelligence apprehends certainly that things are without substance and merely conventional (60), just as a man, after reflection upon the particular fear arising from the cognition of rope as snake (61), upon ascertaining that it is a rope, is not frightened by that snake (62), so he, after examining the things which give rise to desire, etc. (63), "easily," "without difficulty," "soon," verily abandons the nets of infirmities, such as desire and so forth (64).

V

सर्वमेवाश्रितं येन विद्यते सूक्ष्मबुद्धिना ।

त्यजेत्स बुद्धिमान् सुष्ठु रागाद्यहिभयं यथा (58) ॥

यथोक्तप्रकारेणाश्रितमात्रे सति त्रैलोक्ये ऽस्मिन् यो घटादि-
स्थूलबुद्धिं विहाय (59) सूक्ष्मबुद्ध्या द्रव्यहीनं व्यवहारमात्रं निश्चि-
नोति (60) यथा रज्ज्वौ सर्प इति ज्ञानादागतभयो (61) विशेषं
विचार्य रज्जुनिश्चये सर्पान्निर्भयो भवति (62) तथा रागादिजनक-
वस्तूनि परीक्ष्य (63) तेनापि रागादिलेशजालानि सुष्ठु अक्षच्छ्रेण
अचिरेणैव त्यज्यन्ते¹ (64) ।

¹ The Chinese has for *tyajyante* the future passive of *ucchid*.

- VI. *When considering worldly things,
One should conceive like the world ;
When desiring entirely to abandon infirmities,
One must seek according to ultimate reality (65).*

As worldly people, conceiving of things, pot, etc., under the aspect of existing, attach to them conventions such as "This is a pot", "This is a cloth", "This is a cart" (66), thus in accordance with previous acceptance one should employ conventions (67). Afterwards, wishing to abandon infirmities, such as desire, etc. (68), one must investigate things according to the above expounded definition of ultimate reality (69). If we so investigate things, the nets of infirmities, desire, and so forth, do not again arise (70).¹

- [VII. *Thus, knowing thoroughly according to fact,
The Yogin, being rendered capable
By his conduct in relation to colour, etc.,
Quickly attains the fruit of his asceticism.*

Having the above explained knowledge, reflecting completely upon the proper nature of reality (*tattva*), the Yogin, acting according to the desired virtues, obtains by the Vajradhara asceticism a body withdrawn into the principal artery (*purītat*).]

End of the commentary upon the treatise "Hand-Measure", composed by Āryadeva.

[A. Translated by the Indian Paṇḍit Śraddhākara-varman and the Tibetan *lotsāba* Rin . chen . bzañ . po.

B. Translated by the Indian Paṇḍit Dānaśīla and the *lotsāba* Dpal . hbyor . sñiñ . po.]

¹ The attitude here adopted in regard to conventional life and philosophical truth is identical with that of Descartes in his *Meditations*.

VI

लौकिकार्थविचारेषु लोकसिद्धिमनुव्रजेत् ।

क्लेशान् सर्वान् त्यक्तुमना यतेत परमार्थतः (65) ॥ '

यथा लौकिका(क) घटाद्यर्थेषु सद्वृत्तेषु चिन्त्यमानेषु अयं घटः पटः शकटः इति व्यवहारानावध्नन्ति (66) तथा पूर्वसिद्धतो व्यवहारः कर्तव्यः (67) । ततः परं रागादिक्लेशान् त्यक्तुकामेन (68) यथोक्तपरमार्थलक्षणेन वस्तूनि परीक्षितव्यानि (69) । तथा परीक्ष्यमाणेषु वस्तुषु कामादिक्लेशजालानि न पुनस्तप्यन्ते¹ (70) ॥

¹ Paramārtha has "actually existent *kleśas* disappear and those not yet originated do not arise". Had he before him *kleśajātām* "mass of *kleśas*", which he then misinterpreted? I-tsing certainly read *jālāni* with the Tibetans.

॥ ཏྲ་གར་སྐད་ཅུ ।

¹ ཏྲ་སྐྱ་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་མ་ཐ་ཀ་ར་ཏ་ཐི་དྲི །

ཐོད་སྐད་ཅུ །

ར་པ་ཏྲ་ཕྱེད་པ་ལག་ཚད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་པ །²

འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སེམས་དཔལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ །

། ཁམས་གསུམ་པ³་ཐ་སྐྱད་ཅམ་ལ་(1) ཡན་དག་པའི་དོན་ཏྲ་ཀྱན་ཏྲ་
རྟོག⁴་པ་ཕྱིར་དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དོན་ཁོང་ཏྲ་མ་ཆུད་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་
ལ་(2)དོངས་པའི་རང་བཞིན་ར་པ་ཏྲ་དཔྱེ་བའི⁵་སྒོ་ནས་(3) ། ཕྱིན་ཅི་མ་ལོག་
པའི་ཤེས་⁶་པ་ཡང་དག་པར་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་(4) འདི་བརྟམས་⁷་སོ(5) ॥

I (a)

། ཐག་པ་ལ་ནི་སྐྱལ་སྐྱམ་འཇོན །

། ཐག་པ་མཐོང་ནས་⁸་དོན་མེད་དོ(6) །

། འདི་ནི⁹་ལུལ་རྩ་ཅང་བསྐྱལ་¹⁰་པ་མ་ཡིན་པའང་འོད་¹¹་ཅམ་སྐྱང་¹²་པ་
ཞིག་ན(7) ། ཐག་པའི་གཞུགས་སྤྱི་འཚོས་ཅན་དམིགས་¹³་པ་ལས་¹⁴་(8) འབྲེལ་

¹ B ཏྲ་སྐྱ་པ་པ་

² B ལག་པའི་ཚད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་པ ། A ཆ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་ཅེས་ཕྱ་པའི་ར་པ་
ཏྲ་ཕྱེད་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ །

³ A B པའི་

⁴ A B རྟོགས་

⁵ B ར་པ་ཏྲ་རྣམ་པར་དཔྱེ་བའི་

⁶ B སེམས་

⁷ B བརྟམས་

⁸ A B ན་

⁹ B ན་

¹⁰ A སྐྱལ་

¹¹ A ཡིན་པ་འོད་

¹² B A ཅམ་ཞིག་སྐྱང་

¹³ B A ཅན་ཞིག་དམིགས་; B ཅམ་ཞིག་

¹⁴ A ལ་; B དམིགས་པས་

ནས | འདི¹་ནི་སྐྱལ་ཁོ་ནའོ² | ཞེས་ངེས་པར་³་འཛིན་པའི་ངོ་བོའི⁴་ཤེས་
 པ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ(9) | ཁྱད་པར་རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་ཁོང་རུ་མ⁵་ཆུད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ(10) | དེའི་
 ཁྱད་པར་ངེས་པར་འཛིན་པ་ན(11) | རྟོན་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་བཞིན་རུ⁶་མ་ཡིན་པར་
 གུན་རུ་རྟོག་པས་རབ་རུ་སྒྲིམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར(12) | ཤེས་པ་དེ་ཡང་འབྲུལ་
 བའི་ཤེས་པ་དོན་མེད་པ་ཁོ་ནར་⁸་འབྱུར་རོ(13) |

I (b)

| དེ་ཡི་ཆ་མཐོང་དེ་ལ་ཡང་ |

| སྐྱལ་བཞིན་ཤེས་པ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཡིན(14) |

| ཐག་པ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་རྩ་ཤས་⁹་སྐྱ་ཕྱེ་ནས་བརྟགས་པ་ན(15) | ཐག་པའི་
 རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་མི་དམིགས་ཏེ(16) || དེ་མ་དམིགས་ན་(17) ཐག་པར་¹⁰་དམིགས་
 པ་ཡང་སྐྱལ་ལོ་སྐྱམ་པའི་སྐོ་བཞིན་རུ་(18) འབྲུལ་བ་ཙམ་འབང་ཞིག་རུ་
 ཟེད་རོ(19) || ཡང་ཙམ་¹¹་ལྟར་ཐག་པའི་ཤེས་པ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཡིན་པ¹²་(20) དེ་
 བཞིན་རུ | ཆ་ཤས་དེ་ཡང་རུམ་བུ¹³་དང་ | ཉག་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་
 བསྟོས་པ་ན་¹⁴་(21) དེའི་¹⁵་རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་ངེས་པར་མི་ཟིན་¹⁶་ཏོ(22) || དེ་ངེས་

¹ B འབྲུལ་པས་ཐག་པ་ལ་འདི.

² A ན.

³ β inserts མི after པར, a mistaken correction.

⁴ A བོ.

⁵ B omits མ.

⁶ B omits རྟོན; α β omit རུ; A omits བཞིན་རུ. I-tsing omits the clause.

⁷ B སྐྱེ་བ.

⁸ B ན.

⁹ β repeats ཤས་ (one erased ?); α omits ལ.

¹⁰ β here inserts མི.

¹¹ A B ཇི.

¹² A omits ཡིན་པ.

¹³ α བུམ་ for རུམ་བུ.

¹⁴ B བརྟགས་ན.

¹⁵ A omits དེའི.

¹⁶ A འཛིན; β ཟུན (sic, with མི).

པར་མ་ཟེན་པས་དེ་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་ནམ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་སྒོ་ཡང་ཐག་པའི་སྒོ་བཞིན་
 རུ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཙམ་¹ཁོ་ནའོ (23) |

II

| བདགས་²པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ |

| རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་བདགས་³པ་ན |

⁴ | གཞན་རུ་ཁྱད་ཚུལ་ཤེས་པའི |

| སྒྲུང་ཡུལ་ཇི་སྟེང་བདགས་⁵པ་ཡིན (24) |

| ཇི་ལྟར་ཆ་ཤས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དབྱེ་བས་ཐ་དད་པའི་ཐག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་
 ལ་བདགས་ལ་⁶ (25) རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་མ་དམིགས་ཏེ⁷ | ཐག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྒོ་
 ཡང་སྒྲུལ་ལོ་སྒྲུལ་པའི་སྒོ་བཞིན་རུ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཡིན་པ་⁸ (26) དེ་བཞིན་རུ |
 “ངོས་ཆ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་བཞྌས་ནས་ཡོད་པ་ཇ་མ་དང་མོར་བྱ་ལ་སོགས་པ་¹⁰

¹ Here ends the text of β.

² A བདགས་.

³ Here begins the text of γ.

⁴ A ཁྱད་ཚུལ་རུ་ན་ཤེས་པ་ཡི || སྒྲུང་ཡུལ་ཇི་སྟེང་བདགས་པ་ཡིན |
 B ཁྱད་ཚུལ་ཤེས་པའི་སྒྲུང་ཡུལ་ནི || ཇི་སྟེང་ཡོད་པ་གཞན་ལས་བདགས |

⁵ A བདགས་.

⁶ γ ན; A པ་ན་.

⁷ B མི་དམིགས་པས་.

⁸ B འབྲུལ་བ་ཙམ་རུ་བྱད་པ་.

⁹ B omits ངོས་ . . . ཡོད་པ་, having ཇ་མ་དང་མུར་བྱ་ལ་སོགས་པ་
 immediately after དེ་བཞིན་རུ་ and continuing བདགས་པའི་ཡོད་པ་ཐམས་
 ཅད་ཀྱང་ངོས་ཆ་ . . . བཞྌས་པ་ཡིན་པས་ཐ་སྒྲུང་པའི་ཤེས་པའི་ཡུལ་སྐྱམ་པ་
 ལ་སོགས་པ་རབ་རུ་དབྱེ་བའི་མཐར་ཐུག་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཇི་སྟེང་པ་འདི་དག་
 ནི་གཞན་ལས་ཐ་སྒྲུང་བདགས་པ་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་གྱི་དོན་དམ་པར་ནི་མ་ཡིན་ནོ་.

¹⁰ A B omit བ་.

ཐ་སྐྱད་པའི་ཤེས་པའི་སྐྱོད་ལུ་ལ་ཇི་སྟེད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་¹་བརྟགས་པར་ཡོད་པ་
 ཡིན་ཏེ་(27) | དེ་དག་མཐར་རབ་ཏུ་སྟེ་ན | རེ་²་ཞིག་ཐུམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་
 ཐ་སྐྱད་ཏུ་བརྟགས་པ་³་⁴ཡིན་ནོ་(28) | གཞན་ཏུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི | རོན་དམ་པའི་
 ཉིད་ལས་སོ་(29) | .

III (a)

| ཆ་མེད་བརྟགས་པར་བྱ་མེད་⁵་ཕྱིར་ |

| ཐ་མ་ཡང་ནི་མེད་པར་མཚུངས་(30) |

| གང་ཡང་བརྟགས་⁶་པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐ་མ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཀྱི་ཇུས་
 ཆ་མེད་པ་གཅིག་ཐུ་(31)དེ་ཡང་ | བརྟགས་པར་བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་རང་གི་ངོ་
 བོས་⁷་དམིགས་པར་མི་བྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར་(32) | ནམ་མཁའི་མེ་ཏོག་གི་སྟེང་བ་
 དང་ | དེ་བོད་གི་རྩ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་མཚུངས་པས་(33) ; དེ་ཡང་དངོས་པོ་
 མེད་པ་ཉིད་ཏུ་འབྱུང་པོ་(34) || ཇི་⁸་སྟེ་ཡང་ཇི་ལྟར་ན་བརྟགས་པར་བྱ་བ་
 མ་ཡིན་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་⁹་གཏན་ཚིགས་དེས་(35) | རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཀྱི་ཇུས་
 ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཉིད་གཅིག་ཏུ་¹⁰་མེད་ནོ་(36) | ཞེས་བྱས་པར་ཤེས་ཞེ་ན་¹¹་(37) | གང་

¹ *a γ* insert གྱང and continue བརྟགས, with which the Chinese also agree and which is perhaps preferable.

² *B* omits རེ.

³ *A* བརྟགས་པ.

⁴ *γ A* insert རོན་ན.

⁵ *B* མེན.

⁶ *A* བརྟགས.

⁷ *B* (probably influenced by I-tsing) omits བརྟགས . . . བོས here, and inserts it, but reading . . . རོ་བོ་དག, after རྩ་ལ་སོགས་པ just below.

⁸ *A* རུང.

⁹ *A* ཅི.

¹⁰ *A* omits ཀྱི.

¹¹ *A* reads ཡོད་པ་ཉིད་གཅིག་པ་ཉིད་ཏུ.

¹² *A B* ཞེས་ཤེས་པར་བྱས་ཞེ་ན ; a ཐུབ for བྱས. The Chinese has "reason what?", "that difference what?"

གི་ཕྱིར་ཡོད་ན་¹་ཚུགས་ཆ་ཐ་དད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ (38) | དཔེར་ན་ཡོད་པ་སྤྱུང་པ་
 དང་སྤྱུང་པ་དང་ཤིང་རྩ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཇུས་ནུམས་ནི་ | ཤར་དང་རྒྱལ་ལ་²་
 སོགས་པའི་¹་ཚུགས་ཆ་ཐ་དད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ | ཆ་ཤས་ཐ་དད་པ་དག་སྤྱང་པ་
 ལྟར་ (39) གལ་ཏེ་³་རྩལ་སྤྲ་རབ་ཀྱི་ཇུས་ཀྱང་ཡོད་པ་སྤྱར་ན་¹ (40) | གཏོན་
 མི་ཐ་པར་ཚུགས་ཆ་ཐ་དད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཤར་དང་རྒྱལ་ལ་⁴་སོགས་པའི་ཆ་ཤས་
 ཐ་དད་པར་⁵་ཁས་སྤང་པར་བཟུང་ (41) | ཆ་ཤས་ཐ་དད་པ་ཡིན་ན་ནི་རྩལ་སྤྲ་
 རབ་ཀྱི་ཇུས་གཅིག་ཏུ་མི་འབྱུང་ལོ་ (42) | ཇུས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་པ་མང་པོ་སྤྱང་པའི་
 ཕྱིར་གཅིག་པ་ཉིད་ནི་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་⁶ (43) | རྩལ་སྤྲ་རབ་མི་དམིགས་པས་
 རྩལ་སྤྲ་རབ་⁷་ཇུས་སྤྱ་སྤྱ་པ་འདི་ཐོང་དོག་⁸ (44) |

III (b)

| དེ་ཕྱིར་མཁས་པས་འབྲུལ་པ་ཙམ་ |

| ཡང་དག་དོན་རྩ་མེན་པར་བརྟག་ (45) |

| གང་གི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་ཁམས་གསུམ་ལ་འབྲུལ་པ་ཙམ་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་ཕྱིར་ |
 མཁས་པ་ལེགས་པ་ཐོབ་པར་འདོད་པས་འདི་ལ་ཡང་དག་པའི་དོན་རྩ་བརྟག་
 པར་མི་བཟུང་ (46) | གལ་ཏེ་འདི་སྤྱུང་རྩ་སྤྱུང་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་

¹ B བ.

² A ཤར་དང་རྒྱལ་དང་སྤྱང་དང་འོག་ལ་; γ B ཤར་དང་རྒྱལ་དང་བྱང་དང་
 སྤྱང་ལ་. I-tsing has "east, west, north, etc."

³ B omits གལ་ཏེ་.

⁴ A ཤར་དང་རྒྱལ་དང་བྱང་དང་སྤྱང་ལ་; γ the same, but omitting
 དང་བྱང་. I-tsing "east, west, north, etc."

⁵ A omits ཐ་དད་པར་.

⁶ B གཅིག་ཉིད་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ན་ནི་.

⁷ A inserts ཀྱི་.

⁸ α γ A ཤིག་.

དངོས་པོ་དེ་དག་ནི། རྩོ་པོ་ཉིད་མི་རྟོགས་¹་པའི་ཕྱིར་མེད་པ་ལས་ཀྱན་²་བརྟགས་
 པ་ཡིན་³་བཤེན་ནོ (47) ༥ དེ་དག་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་འཁྲུལ་བའི་ཤེས་
 པ་⁴་འདི་ནི་⁵་ཡོད་པོ (48) ༥ དཔེར་ན་སྤྱུ་མ་⁶་དང་ཟི་ཟའི་ཤྱོད་ཁྱེད་ལ་སོགས་
 པ་མེད་ཀྱང་། དེ་དག་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཤེས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། ཞེས་བྱ་
 བར་⁷་འདོད་པོ་ཞེ་ན་⁸ (49) ༥

IV

༥ ཁྲུལ་ན་དེ་ཡང་མ་དག་ཕྱིར།

༥ ཇི་ལྟར་སྒྲུང་བ་དེ་ལྟར་མེད།

༥ རོན་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན་སྒྲུང་བ་ནི།

༥ ཇི་ལྟར་དེའི་⁹་བདག་ཉིད་འཇུར་ (50) ༥

༥ འཁྲུལ་བ་དེ་ཡང་གང་¹⁰་ཇུས་གྱི་རང་གི་¹¹་རྩོ་པོ་ཤེས་¹²་པ་ཡིན་ན། ཇུས་
 དེ་ནི་རྩོ་པོ་ཉིད་དེ་ལྟ་བུར་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ (51) ; འདི་ནི་གོང་དུ་བཤད་
 ཟིན་ནོ་¹³ (52) ༥ རོན་དེ་མེད་ན་ཡང་རང་གི་རྩོ་པོས་ནི་བྱས་པ་མེད་པས་མ་
 དག་པར་འཇུར་པོ (53) ༥ མ་དག་པའི་ཕྱིར་འཁྲུལ་བའི་རྩོ་པོ་ཉིད་དེ་ལྟ་
 བུར་ཡོད་པོ (54) ༥ ཞེས་བྱ་བ་¹⁴་ཇི་ལྟར་¹⁵་ཤེས་ (55) ༥ འདི་¹⁶་ལྟར་འཇིག་

¹ A རྟག; B རྟོགས་

² B ཀྱན་ཏུ་

³ A ཡིན་པ་

⁴ A འཁྲུལ་བ་འདྲ་ཤེས་

⁵ A omits ནི་

⁶ a སྤྱུ་མ; B སྤྱུ་མའི་སྤྱེས་བྱ་, as also the Chinese. ⁷ B བ་

⁸ A ཞེས་

⁹ B དེ་ཡི་

¹⁰ A B omit གང་

¹¹ A གིས་

¹² B རྩོ་པོ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ཤེས་

¹³ A omits འདི་ . . . ཟིན་ནོ; so the Chinese. B and 7 omit གོང་དུ་
 and read ཟིན་ཏོ་

¹⁴ A བར་

¹⁵ A ཇི་ལྟར་བྱར་

¹⁶ A ཇི་

ནིན་ན་ཡང་ས་པོན་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པ་མེད་ན། བསྐྱེད་
པར་བྱ་བའི་¹སྒྲུ་བྱ་ལ་སོགས་པ་²ཡོད་དོ། ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཆོས་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡང་
མ་མཐོང་དོ (56) ॥ དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་³སྒྲུ་མའི་དཔེ་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་པར་ངས་
བཤད་དོ་⁴ (57) ।

V

། གང་ཞིག་ཞིབ་མོའི་སྒོ་ཡིས་ནི།

། ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་ས་⁵པ་ཁོ་ནར་ཤེས།

། སྒོ་ལྟན་དེས་ནི་⁶ཆགས་⁷ལ་སོགས།

། བདེ་བར་སྒྲུལ་བྱི་སྒྲག་བཞིན་སྤྱོད་ (58) །

། ཇི་སྐད་བཤད་པའི་རྣམ་པས་བདག་ས་⁵པ་ཙམ་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཁམས་གསུམ་
པ་འདི་ལ་གང་ཞིག་སྒྲུལ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་པའི་སྒོ་བསྒྲུལ་⁸དེ (59) ། ཞིབ་
མོའི་སྒོས་ཇས་⁹མེད་པ་ཐ་སྟན་ཙམ་ཡིན་པར་ངེས་པར་འཛིན་པ་ (60) དེ་
ནི། ཇི་ལྟར་ཐག་པ་ལ་སྒྲུལ་ལོ་སྒྲུལ་པའི་ཤེས་པས་ཀྱན་ནས་བསྐྱེད་¹⁰པའི་
འཛིགས་པའི་¹¹ (61) ཁྱད་པར་རྣམ་པར་དབྱེད་¹²ནས་ཐག་པར་ངེས་པ་
ན། དེའི་¹³སྒྲུལ་བྱིས་¹⁴སྒྲག་པ་མེད་པར་ཐུར་པ་ (62) དེ་¹⁵བཞིན་དུ་¹⁶འོོད་

¹ A བ.

² A omits ག.

³ B inserts བདག་ནི.

⁴ A reads སྒྲུ་མ་ལྟ་བུ་འོོད་པ་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་པར་ངས་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།
B སྒྲུ་མའི་སྒྲེས་བུའི་(Chinese *nirmita-purusa*) དཔེ་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་པར་འཆད་དོ.

⁵ A བདག་ས.

⁶ A དེ་ཡིས་; B དེ་ནི.

⁷ B ཆ.

⁸ A B བསྒྲུལ་.

⁹ B inserts སྒྲུ.

¹⁰ A སྐྱེད་.

¹¹ B བས་དེའི་; A བ་དེའི.

¹² A སྐྱེད་.

¹³ B omits དེའི.

¹⁴ A བྱི.

¹⁵ A སྒྲག་པ་མེད་པ་དེ་; B omits དེ.

¹⁶ B inserts དེས་ཀྱང་.

ཆགས་ལ་སྟགས་པ་¹བསྐྱེད་²པར་བྱེད་པའི་དྲོས་པོ་³དག་ལ་ཡོངས་སུ་
བརྟགས་⁴པ་ (63) དེས་ཀྱང་⁵ | འདོད་ཆགས་ལ་སྟགས་པ་ཉན་མོངས་པའི་དྲ་བ་
རྣམས་བདེ་བར་བཀའ་བ་མེད་པར་རིང་པོར་མི་ཐོགས་པ་ཁོ་ནར་སྤྱང་བ་
འབྱུང་རོ (64) |

VI

| འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་⁶དོན་རྟོགས་པས་ |

| འཇིག་རྟེན་བཞིན་ཏུ་ཤེས་⁷པར་བྱ་ |

| ཀྱན་ནས་ཉན་མོངས་སྤྱང་འདོད་པས་ |

| དམ་པའི་དོན་གྱིས་བཅལ་བར་བྱ་ (65) |

| ཇི་ལྟར་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་དག་⁸བུམ་པ་ལ་སྟགས་པའི་དོན་ལ་⁹ཡོད་པའི་ངོ་
པོར་རྟོགས་པས་¹⁰ | འདི་ནི་¹¹བུམ་པའོ || བུམ་བུའོ || ཤིང་རྟའོ | ཞེས་ཐ་
སྟེད་འདོགས་པ་ (66) དེ་བཞིན་ཏུ་སྟོན་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་པས་ཐ་སྟེད་ཏུ་བྱ་
བའོ¹² (67) || དེའི་འོག་ཏུ་འདོད་ཆགས་ལ་སྟགས་པ་¹³ཉན་མོངས་པ་སྤྱང་
པར་འདོད་པས་¹⁴ (68) | ཇི་སྐད་བཤད་པའི་དོན་དམ་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་
དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་¹⁵ཡོངས་སུ་བཅལ་བ་བྱ་སྟེ་¹⁶ (69) | དེ་ལྟར་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་

¹ A inserts དེ.

² γ B རྐྱེད.

³ B inserts ཉིད.

⁴ A བརྟག.

⁵ B བརྟགས་པས, omitting དེས་ཀྱང་.

⁶ A B པ་ཡི.

⁷ γ A B བསྒྲུབ.

⁸ B འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི.

⁹ α omits དོན་ལ; so perhaps I-tsing.

¹⁰ A དོན་ལ་དངོས་པོར་རྟོག་པས.

¹¹ A omits ནི.

¹² γ A ཏུ་བུའོ; B ཏུའོ.

¹³ B omits པ.

¹⁴ A B འདོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས.

¹⁵ B inserts ལ.

¹⁶ B བཅལ་བ་སྟེ.

ལ¹་ཡོངས་སྤྱོད་ལ་པ་ན་² | དེའི་³་འདོད་ཆགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་⁴་ཉན་མོངས་པའི་
 རྩ་པ་⁵་ཐུག་མི་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར་རོ (70) |

VII

⁶ [དེ་ལྟར་རང་བཞིན་ཡོངས་ཤེས་པའི |

| རྣམ་འཁྱོད་པས་ནི་གཞུགས་སོགས་ལ |

| ཉེ་བར་སྤྱོད་པས་སྐྱུ་པ་ཡིས |

| བརྒྱལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་འབྲས་ཐུར་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ་ |

| ཇི་སྐད་ཏུ་བཞད་པའི་རིགས་པས | དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ཡོངས་
 སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་པའི་རྣམ་འཁྱོད་པ་འདོད་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་རྣམས་ལ་མངོན་ཏུ་སྤྱོད་པ་ནི་
 ཇི་འདྲིན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱིས་ཐུར་ཏུ་འཁྱུག་པའི་སྐྱུ་འགྱུར་པ་ཡིན་ནོ ||

རབ་ཏུ་ཐེད་ལག་ཆད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཇོགས་སྟོ || ⁷

¹ A omits ལ་.

² འ་ནི་.

³ B འདིའི་.

⁴ B པའི་.

⁵ B འདྲི་མ་; not so I-tsing. Paramārtha had -jātam for jālāni?

⁶ a γ B and Chinese omit this verse and its commentary.

⁷ γ has འགྲེལ་པ་སྟོན་དཔོན་འཕགས་པའི་ལྟས་མཛད་པ་ཇོགས་སོ ||

A has ཆ་ཤས་ . . . འགྲེལ་པ་སྟོན་དཔོན་ . . . ཇོགས་སོ || རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་
 མཁན་པོ་ཤར་ཏུ་ཀ་ར་ལྷ་ར་མ་དང་ | བོད་ཀྱི་མོ་ལྷ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་
 བསྐྱུར་བའོ ||

B has རབ་ . . . འགྲེལ་པ་སྟོན་དཔོན་ . . . ཇོགས་སོ || རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁན་
 པོ་ལྷ་ན་ཤི་ལ་དང་ | མོ་ལྷ་པ་དགེ་སྟོན་དཔལ་འཁྱོད་སྤྱོད་པོས་བསྐྱུར་
 ཅིང་ | རྒྱ་ཆེན་གྱི་མོ་ལྷ་པ་དགེ་སྟོན་དཔལ་བཞེས་ར་ཀྱི་ཏས་ཞུས་ནས་གདན་
 ལ་མབ་པའོ ||

PARAMĀRTHA

十四

如此智人先隨此事 (67)

後若求解脫 (68)

應修真理簡擇世法自性若如

理簡擇 (69)

現起惑滅未起不生 (70)

是立論用

I-TSING

智者亦爾當順世間而興言說
知¹非實有 (67)

若樂觀察煩惱過失求解脫者 (68)

宜於如是真實勝義中週遍探尋

如理作意 (69)

於諸境處及能緣妄識

煩惱繫縛不復生長 (70)

¹ Here 知 seems to mean "make to know".

PARAMĀRTHA

速易能滅欲等諸惑亦復如是 (64)

VI

智人不違世

隨說世間法

若欲滅惑障

依真應觀察 (65)

如世間瓶衣等物信有不違或說

亦他 (66)

十三

I-TSING

易速蠲除煩惱羅網

及諸業果自當斷滅 (64)

VI

有別頌曰²智人觀俗事

當隨俗所行

欲等煩惱斷

要明真勝義 (65)

猶如世人於諸俗事瓶衣等處

以爲實有名瓶衣等³ (66)

¹ This phrase = *karmaphalāni*. The whole clause is an insertion by I-tsing.

² = "another verse", i.e. perhaps "the last verse".

³ [Omitted by P.]

PARAMĀRTHA

十二

但見唯有亂識無有外塵 (60b)

此亂識因不成就故似無物故体

則不成就內外已無所有 (53-4 bis?)

得會法空一切分別所作 (60b bis)

欲等諸惑智人易除 (64 bis?)

譬如於藤妄起蛇想而生怖畏 (61)

若見差別定知是藤能除蛇怖 (62)

由思量能起欲等諸塵自性 (63)

I-TSING

善觀察者能了知已 (60b)

即於繩處蛇怖除遣 (61)

復審思惟了彼差別於繩等處

妄執亦無 (62)

如是觀時一切能生離染之法¹ (63)

¹ Var. lect. 離.

PARAMĀRTHA

V

一切假名類

若細心思量

智人欲等惑

能除如蛇怖
(58)

猶如是說已、議三界但假名、除瓶

等麤識
(59)習微細心、
(60a)如世間所立瓶衣等物、由假名有²
(66)約世俗心不違此事、⁽⁶⁷⁾後爲遣此俗
(68) 方起簡擇心
(69)

十一

I-TSING

頌曰
V

斯皆是假設

善覺者¹能知、

智人斷煩惱、

易若除蛇怖
(58)

論曰、如說三界但有假名、瓶等

麤覺已除遣已
(59)知從名言而有其事、
(60a)¹ These two signs usually = *Buddha*.² 假 clearly corresponds to 名言 and 言名 and translates the same word, *nāma*, *nāmadheya*, etc.³ [Here begins a long insertion by P., apparently made up of repetitions, with variations, from other parts of the text.]

PARAMĀRTHA

是義不然以不成就故云何不成就
 如所見不如見有¹故^(50a bis)
 此亂識似無物由物無体云何識
 得有²如所緣塵自性能緣自性亦
 如是⁽⁵¹⁾
 所緣塵已無⁽⁵²⁾
 此亂識不能自起⁽⁵³⁾
 由他功力他已不成起義何在³⁽⁵⁴⁾
 以是義故亂識有義云何得立⁽⁵⁵⁾
 於世間無如此法種子等生因若無
 所生芽等果是有則無是處⁽⁵⁶⁾
 是故說幻化等譬亦不可立⁽⁵⁷⁾

I-TSING

設有此¹亦非實有故與所見
 事不相應故¹^(50a bis)
 此惑亂識於所緣境作有性解
 彼事自性已明非有⁽⁵¹⁾
 境已是無⁽⁵²⁾
 能緣妄識亦非實有⁽⁵³⁾
 云何令彼妄識有耶⁽⁵⁵⁾
 然於世間不曾見有無能生種
 子有所生芽等⁽⁵⁶⁾
 由斯汝說幻城等喻道理不成⁽⁵⁷⁾

¹ [Here we seem to have the equivalent of verse iv in its proper place, the verse having been already inserted by I-tsing above.]

² 所緣 is usually = *ālambana*.

³ [Insertion by P.]

⁴ 城 = *nagara* [insertion by I-tsing].

PARAMĀRTHA

IV

問²曰有亂識²答若汝言我信瓶等外物自性
不可得故⁽⁴⁷⁾但有分別亂識緣無境⁽⁴⁸⁾何以故幻化人乾闥婆城等實
非有亂識似幻等起⁴而非無⁽⁴⁹⁾

九

I-TSING

頌曰^{IV}

能緣亦非有 ¹ (50)	由境相虛妄 ¹	與所見不同	妄有非實故
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論曰若言我亦於彼瓶衣等事
許彼自性是不可得皆是妄識
之所分別⁽⁴⁷⁾然而緣彼相狀亂識是其實有⁽⁴⁸⁾
觀健達婆城及幻人等其識是有⁽⁴⁹⁾¹ These two lines mean "the objects being illusory, the recognizer is also unreal".² [Insertion by P.]³ We have here two transliterations of *Gandharva*.⁴ 似 . . . 起 is a technical term of the Vijñānavāda, denoting the projection-perception of objects, as an activity of thought. 幻 = *māyā*.

PARAMĀRTHA

則是有分不成一物⁽⁴²⁾
 若不成一物、則爲多物所成⁽⁴³⁾
 與瓶不異亦無實體²

III
(b)

智人於俗境

勿起真實意⁽⁴⁵⁾

由此三界唯有散亂³、若智人欲
 求解脫、不應起真實計⁽⁴⁶⁾

I-TSING

支分別、故此實極微理不成就⁽⁴²⁾
 亦非一体、多分成故、見事別故⁽⁴³⁾

一實極微定不可得、如是應捨
 極微之論⁽⁴⁴⁾

是故智者了知三界咸是妄情³
 欲求妙理、不應執實⁽⁴⁶⁾

¹ 實 apparently = *dravya*.

² [Insertion by P.]

³ We have here in P. *bhrānta* without *cutta*. In I-tsing's version 情 apparently means mind and its activity: it has a bad sense in both Buddhist and Classical Chinese; its modern sense is "feeling".

PARAMĀRTHA

其²異如何² (37)
 隣虛者不可立爲一物若有物
 必有方異 (38)
 猶如瓶等瓶等諸物是世間有
 有方異是故有分不成一物 (39)
 若隣虛是有 (40)
 者應有六分 (41)

I-TSING

所執極微定非實有 (34)¹
 所以須說不可見因 (35)
 由彼不能安立極微成實有故 (36)¹
 所以者何 (37)
 由有方分事差別故 (38)
 猶現見有瓶衣等物東西比等方
 分別故斯皆現有支分可得 (39)
 若言極微是現有者 (40)
 必有方分別異性³故是則應許
 東西比等 (41)

¹ [The omission by P. of clauses 34-6 is perhaps due to homœoteleuton *sidhyate—sakyate*. They are, however, perhaps reflected by the first nine characters in clause 38. See also p. 281, n. 1.]

² This is the equivalent of *kasya hetoh*.

³ 別異 = *viśeṣa*; 性 = *-tva*; 故, as before, = ablative.

PARAMĀRTHA

III
(a),

六

最後無分析

難顯離皆無
(30)一切假名類最後分無分析
(31)唯一隣虛⁴若離一大⁵餘大及一大並不可顯現無有体故
(32)如兔角等
(33)I-TSING
頌曰 III

無分非見故

至極同非有
(30)但由¹惑亂心智者不應執
(45)論曰²若復執曰²諸有假事至極微位³不可分析
若無方分是實有者
(31)此即猶如空華及兔角等
(33)不可見故⁶無力能生緣彼識故
(32)¹ This character must be inserted.² [Insertion by I-tsing.]³ 位 = "stage", "place".⁴ Literally "next to vacuum", i.e. the limit of smallness (*antya*), a characteristic of Paramārtha's translation.⁵ 大 usually = *bhūta*, *mahābhūta*, and not used in the sense of *paramāṇu*, "atom."⁶ = *na śakyate* + infinitive.

PARAMĀRTHA.

依分分析觀察藤時 (25)

不見自体故如蛇知此藤

等知¹但是亂知 (26)

實無有境²一切假名有法⁴

瓶衣人等若觀瓦等諸分

乃至俗智境在 (27)

及最後分此中瓶等假名

從他而起 (28)

五

I-TSING

論曰如於繩等支分之處別別

分析審觀察時 (25)

知無有實體唯是妄心 (26)

如是知已一切諸法但是假名

如瓶衣等物藉泥縷等成乃至

言說識所行境 (27)

未至破壞名為瓶等言從他者

謂從世俗言說而有 (28)

非於勝義 (29)

¹ [Omitted by I-tsing.]

² [Insertion by Paramārtha.]

³ [Insertion by I-tsing.]

⁴ 法 usually = *dharma*, but here = *vastu*, 物 (Paramārtha).

⁵ Var. lect. 瓶.

⁶ Another reading for 瓦 (*kapāla*) is 瓶 (*ghaṭa*).

⁷ Var. lect. 染.

⁸ 境 = *viṣaya*; 所行 = *gocara*.

⁹ Var. lect. 知.

¹⁰ [Omission by Paramārtha.]

PARAMĀRTHA

乃 至 ⁸ 俗 智 ⁹ 境 (24)	假 名 ⁸ 從 他 ⁷ 起 ⁷	簡 擇 自 性 時 ⁷	一 切 假 名 ⁶ 類	II	亂 智 ⁴ (23)	此 知 緣 藤 及 藤 分 悉 皆	體 相 不 可 得 故 ⁴ (22)	量 分 析 ⁴ (21)	於 藤 諸 分 中 ² 亦 如 是 思
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四

I-TSING

乃 至 ⁸ 世 俗 ⁹ 境 (24)	從 他 ⁷ 皆 假 名 ⁷	詳 觀 自 性 時 ⁷	諸 有 假 設 ⁶ 事	II	狀 ⁶ 但 唯 妄 識 ⁴ (23)	是 故 繩 及 分 等 心 所 有 相	無 實 可 得 ⁴ (22)	假 藉 ³ (21)	亦 於 彼 分 毫 釐 等 處 ⁸ 知 ⁸ 相	如 ¹ 於 繩 處 有 惑 亂 識 ¹ (20)
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¹ [Omitted by P.]² 於 . . . 中 = locative case.³ [知 . . . insertion in I-tsing.] 假藉 is "provisional", "without foundation", "without corresponding real objects".⁴ Var. lect. 知.⁵ 心所有相狀 means "all the functions of *citta*" or "*citta* and all its functions".⁶ 假名 and 假設 seem to have the same meaning. The latter is sometimes equivalent to *prajñāpti*.⁷ 從他起 and 從他 are translations of *paratantra* or *pāratantrya*. [But see p. 278, n. 1.]⁸ 乃至 sometimes = *yāvat*.⁹ The two signs in both translations = *saṃvṛti*.

					PARAMĀRTHA		
但是亂知 ⁽¹⁹⁾	此藤知如炆知 ⁽¹⁸⁾	若無 ^体 ⁽¹⁷⁾	此藤境、藤体不可得 ⁽¹⁶⁾	若分分思量析 ⁽¹⁵⁾	I(b) ³		
				藤知如炆知 ⁽¹⁴⁾	若見藤分已	昔解但是亂知、則無境 ⁽¹³⁾	不如分別故 ¹ 虛妄相故 ⁽¹²⁾
							若見藤異相 ⁽¹¹⁾

					I-TSING		
唯有妄識 ⁷ ⁽¹⁹⁾	所有繩解猶如蛇覺 ⁽¹⁸⁾	如是知已 ⁶ ⁽¹⁷⁾	繩之自体亦不可得 ⁶ ⁽¹⁶⁾	復於繩處 ⁴ 支分差別善 ^一	但是錯解無有實事 ⁽¹³⁾	知由妄執誑亂生故 ⁽¹²⁾	後時了彼差別法已 ⁽¹¹⁾

(15)

¹ 不 . . . 故 omitted by I-tsing.² 妄 . . . "to be deluded by imagination".³ [This second half of the verse is reproduced here at the same point as in the Tibetan.]⁴ 於 . . . 處 = locative case.⁵ 不 . . . 得 = *na upalabhyate*.⁶ [I-tsing has apparently read *tad-upalabdhan*, omitting the negative.]⁷ = *bhrānta(mithyā)-jñāna*.

PARAMĀRTHA

謂 彼 是 蛇 生 決 定 解 ³ (9b)	未 見 差 別 ⁽¹⁰⁾	爲 境 所 誑 ^(9a)	於 藤 色 形 見 似 蛇 相 ⁽⁸⁾	昏 昧 時 中 在 非 遠 處 ⁽⁷⁾					爲 生 不 顛 倒 智 故 ¹ (4) 立 此 論 ⁽⁵⁾
					見 藤 則 無 境 ⁽⁶⁾	於 藤 起 蛇 知	I (a)		

二

I-TSING

被 惑 亂 故 定 執 爲 蛇 ⁽⁹⁾	未 能 了 彼 差 別 自 性 ⁽¹⁰⁾	唯 (見) ⁴ 繩 蛇 相 似 之 事 ⁽⁸⁾	論 曰 如 ³ 於 非 遠 不 分 明 處 ⁽⁷⁾						頌 曰 I 於 繩 作 蛇 解	令 無 倒 解 故 ² (4) 造 斯 論 ⁽⁵⁾
				知 如 蛇 解 謬 ⁽¹⁴⁾	若 了 彼 分 時	見 繩 知 境 無 ⁽⁶⁾				

¹ 爲 . . . 故 = dative case.² 欲 . . . 令 故 = "desiring make understand correctly".³ 如 correlates with 如是 below.⁴ 見 "see" is required by the sense "merely seeing the similarity of the rope to a snake".⁵ Literally "produce a decided (*niscita*) understanding".

No. 1255 (PARAMĀRTHA)

解
捲
論¹

諸 法 自 性 (3)	由 簡 擇 門 ⁸	故 不 得 真 ⁵ (2)	非 實 有 法 ⁴	由 強 分 別 ³	體 (1)	以 言 名 爲	三 界 者 唯
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No. 1256 (I-TSING)

掌
中
論¹

自 性 之 門 (3)	決 擇 諸 法	未 證 真 者 ⁷ (2)	今 欲 爲 彼	由 妄 執 ⁸ 故 ⁶	實 無 外 境 ⁴	假 名 ² (1)	三 界、 但 有	論 曰、 謂 於
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¹ Paramārtha: Nanjio's Catalogue gives 拳 "fist" instead of 捲, which is literally "rolling up", "wrapping", and is not used in the sense of the former. 解 is preferable to 角 捲, because the latter seems not to be an usual phrase, and I-tsing uses 掌. 解 means "disclose", "explain", "understand". [See, however, Mr. Hopkins' note on p. 272.]

I-tsing: 掌 中 usually means "within a fist", "in a fist", rather than "in the palm of the hand", although 掌 itself does not mean "fist"; 中 in such a phrase presupposes a clenched hand. Accordingly 掌 is here similar to 拳.

² 言 名 and 假 名 seem to be different translations of one word.

³ Since 強 has a rather bad sense, 強 分 別 seems to be the same as 妄 執 故.

⁴ 實 有 法 and 外 境 are alternative translations, both still in use.

⁵ 真 does not necessarily of itself mean *paramārtha*; but not seldom it has that meaning. The usual rendering of *paramārtha* (or *paramārtha-satya*) is 眞 諦 or 勝 義 諦 (諦 is *satya*).

⁶ 由 . . . 故 = instrumental or ablative case. †

⁷ 彼 . . . 者 = "one who".

⁸ 門 = "a gate".

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

UDYANA AND URDI

On p. 461, n., of the Journal for 1906 I wrote, "The Buddhist Sanskrit form of the name *Udyāna* is *Uḍḍiyāna* or *Oḍḍiyāna*, and the presence of an *r*, or at least a cerebral, seems to be attested by the Tibetan *U. rgyan*. *Udyāna* is therefore a popular corruption. If *Urdi* [Patañjali *ad* Pāṇini, iv, 2. 99] denotes this country, it would be appropriately mentioned in conjunction with Kapiśa, Balkh, and the Pāradas."

Patañjali gives the form *Aurdāyanī* as a derivative from *Urdi*.

I should like now to point out that an *Udāyana* or *Uddāyana*, a Sindhu-Sauvira king, whose name has been connected with the form *Aurdāyana*, is actually named in Professor Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri* (p. 28).

F. W. THOMAS.

A NOTE ON THE MOUNTAIN OF NAFASHT, NEAR ISTAKHR

The article in JRAS. for 1912 (pp. 1-30) by Mr. G. Le Strange, entitled "Description of the Province of Fars in Persia at the beginning of the Twelfth Century A.D.", contains a translation from the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhi in the British Museum. With reference to this article the following passage in an account of Istakhr and Marvdasht, p. 28, is of interest: "Near Istakhr is seen the mountain of Nafasht, on which was preserved the book of Zend which (the Prophet) Zoroaster

revealed." In his footnote 3, to the word Zend, the author of the article says: "This mountain and its connection with the revelation of the *Zand Avesta* does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority."

The word "Nafasht" must be originally *nibisht* or *niwasht*, i.e. a writing. It is Pahlavi *nibisht*, a writing or document. In the Pahlavi *Virāf-Nāmeḥ* (ch. i, 7) we read: "*Va denman dīnō, chigun hamāk avistak va zand, madam torā pōstīhā-i-vīrāstak va pavan mayā-i zahabā nipishtak, yin Stākhar Pāpakānō pavan karītā-nipist hankhetund yekavīmūnād*" (I give the old reading as in the text of Dastur Hoshang).

Translation: "And (the books of) this religion, viz. all the Avesta and Zand, (which) were written upon adorned cow-skins with golden ink, were deposited in Stākhar (Istakhar) of Pāpak in the fortress of Nipisht."

This passage clears up the doubts of Mr. G. Le Strange. The "Stākhar of Pāpak" of the Pahlavi *Virāf-Nāmeḥ* is the Istakhr of the MS. of Ibn-al-Balkhi. It is called Istakhr of Pāpak perhaps because it was taken by Ardeshir Pāpakān (Ardeshir Bābegān, Artaxerxes), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, from Ardāvān, the last of the Parthians, and because it was his royal residence for several years. We read in Edrisi: "*Elle (Isthakhr) était la . . . résidence royale avant qu'Ardeshir eût fait de Djour sa capitale*" (Edrisi traduit par Jaubert, i, p. 393). In the Pahlavi *Shatrōihā-i-Airān*, Ardavān, the king of the people of Pars or Fars, is said to have been its founder (*vide my Aiyādgār-i-Zarīrān*, p. 97).

In the above passage the Zand Avesta books are said to have been placed in the Karita-i-Nipisht. *Karītā* is the Arabic *qaryat* or *qaryta*, which means a city, village, fortress, or citadel. So Karita-i-Nipisht may mean a "Castle of Writings". It appears that there was housed one of the two famous government libraries of ancient Persia. It was a library wherein, like the

present library of the British Museum, copies of all writings were kept. It was a royal archive.

From a subsequent passage of the *Virāf-nāmeḥ* we learn that the second great library of ancient Irān was that of Shaspigan. This word is variously written and also read as Shapān or Shapigān. The *Dinkard* thus speaks of this second imperial library: "The excellent king Kai Vishtasp ordered knowledge in each subject to be written down according to the original information, embracing the original questions and answers, and deposited them from the first to the last in the treasury of Shaspigan" (Ganj-i-Shaspigan).

Perhaps one may say that the library itself is here spoken of as an intellectual treasury, just as libraries were also called as "Dispensaries of the Soul". For example, according to Diodorus Siculus the library of the Egyptian king Osymandies, supposed to have been as old as 1400 B.C., had an inscription calling it the *Leitpeion*, "the Dispensary of the Soul." But it seems that this library of Shapigan was actually associated with a treasury which was itself connected with a great fire-temple (Atash Beheram). Some of the ancient fire-temples of Iran, like the temples of ancient Greece, served various purposes, one of them being that of modern banks.

As to the situation of this Shapigan, Dr. Haug thought that "it was perhaps the name of the fort at Pasargadæ" (*Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, p. xxxvi). But, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ this library of Shapigan was connected with the treasury of an Atash Beheram or fire-temple at Samarkand.

The *Karita-i-Napisht* is also spoken of in the Pahlavi Dinkard as Daz (or Dez or Dezu)-i Napisht. The word Daz here is the same as Persian *diz*, "a fortress," and comes from the Avesta *uz-daēza*. In the Dinkard also, these two libraries are referred to. One of them, that of

¹ Journal BBRAS., vol. xx, No. liv.

the Karita or Daz-i Napisht at Istakhr, was burnt when Alexander destroyed the city, an event referred to by several Pahlavi writers. It is also mentioned in the letter of Tansar to the king of Tabaristān preserved in a history of that country. The letter has come down to us in Persian through the Arabic (*Journal Asiatique*, tome iii, new series). The Ganj-i Shapigan was broken up during the Greek invasion, but some of its books were translated into Greek.

From this short account of the royal libraries of ancient Iran we learn that Istakhr had a library, known as the Karita or Daz-i Napisht. It was accommodated in a castle situated on a high hill, whence the hill itself apparently came to be known as Napisht, and it is that hill or mountain which is spoken of in the above MS. as "the mountain of Nafasht on which was preserved the Book of Zend which Zoroaster revealed".

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

TARKHAN AND TARQUINIUS

I am greatly obliged to Mr. Thomas for his note on this subject in the January number of the *Journal*. His remarks have carried the question a step further, and will, I hope, lead to more discussion.

As regards the remoteness in time and space between Tarkhān and Tarquin, on which Mr. Thomas has commented, I beg leave to observe that neither of these elements is incredibly great. Tarkhān is, as Blochmann has said (*A.A.*, p. 364), an ancient title, and is mentioned, according to Ducange, by a Byzantine writer, Menander Protector, who belongs to the sixth century A.D. See Ducange's *Glossary to Mediaeval and Low Greek*, Lyons, 1688, p. 1535. His words are: "Tarχᾶν, Dignitas apud Persas, de quā Menander Protector [i.e. body-guard of the

Euphrates] in excerptis de Legat, p. 154, edit. Reg." In his *Glossary of Mediæval and Low Greek* Ducange has: "Tarchan, apud Tartaros dicitur, qui ab omnibus quæ a Rege imponuntur, immunis est, uniusque quicquid in bello, spoliis reportaverit totum cedit, nec ulla inde Regi pars desumatur." The title Tarkhān is also mentioned by Abul Faraj in his *Dynastic History*, and also, I believe, by Marco Polo. The writer (Dr. Leonard Schmitz) of the article "Tarchon" in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography* regards the name as probably identical with Tyrrhenus, and considers that the two names represent a Pelasgian hero who founded settlements in the North of Italy, and refers to Müller's *Etrusker* for confirmation of this view. Chingiz Khān revived or extended the privileges of a Tarkhān, but it is evident that the title existed long before his time, for we find that Tarkhān, the prince of Farghāna, showed hospitality to the last king of Persia when he was a fugitive (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. i, p. 499). This would give a date of about the middle of the seventh century A.D. Naturally enough, the author of the second *Tarkhān-nāma*, when dealing with so ancient a family, carries up their genealogy to the days of Noah. The antiquity of the name is evidenced by the facts that its etymology is unknown, and that Oriental writers are obliged to make absurd guesses on the subject, such as that it means "the moist, that is, the well-supplied khān", or that it is a mistake for *tarkhūn* and means wet with the blood of enemies! Another proof of the antiquity of the title seems to lie in the barbarous and primæval way in which punishment was inflicted on a guilty Tarkhān, as described by Mirzā Haidar and Abul Fazl, and which is quoted by Blochmann, p. 365, of his translation of the *Ayīn Akbarī*. We do not know where Virgil got his materials for his account of Eneas's Italian wars, but it is not likely that he invented the names of Mezentius, Tarchon, and others. They must

have existed in old traditions. And so we are brought to conclude that the name Tarchon may be at least as old as the Trojan War. And I do not suppose that there can be any doubt that the names Tarchon, Tarquin, and Tarkhān are identical. Nor is the interval in space between Tarquin Priscus and Tarkhān so great as to make the connexion between the two names incredible. For there were Tarkhāns in Scinde, that is, in Western India, as well as in Central Asia. It was both a personal title and the name of a tribe. It should also be pointed out that the word Tarkhān is not Turkish, but Mongolian. My friend Mr. Ellis, of the India Office, has shown it me in an extensive dictionary of the Mongolian language. It is there described as meaning free from imposts, and I suppose that it was this meaning which led Mr. Shaw to render Tarkhān by the word "franklin", i.e. freeholder. In conclusion, I may suggest that the reverence felt by the Tartars and Moghuls for the number nine is evidence of some connexion between the Eastern nations and the Etruscans, for, if I remember rightly, the latter also set great store by that number. Like Chingiz Khan, Akbar revived the title for one Nūru-d-dīn, who was a poet and a mathematician, and the guardian of Humayun's tomb. But the name no longer carried any privileges with it, and Nūru-d-dīn had to lament that though Tarkhān meant a "wet khān" he himself was but a dry one. See Badayūni, iii, 198-9, where the poet's verses are quoted, and also Blochmann's *Ayīn Akbarī*, p. 541.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PRE-TREATY RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CHINA¹

The literature published in the United States treating of the relations, both commercial and missionary, which existed between that country and China during pre-treaty days is considerable in extent; but it consists almost entirely of biographies of particular individuals and historical sketches of particular ports from which the merchantmen sailed or of individual Boards under which the missionaries worked. And it is the merit of Mr. Latourette's History that it has not only worked the information scattered through these earlier publications into a consecutive and co-ordinated narrative, but has checked and supplemented it by references to the many log-books and manuscript diaries which have come into the possession of the public libraries of the New England States and New York, and to consular reports received from Canton—a Consular officer having curiously enough been appointed to that port as early as 1786, and, though he was only regarded by the Chinese as a sort of head merchant, the post was maintained until it was given a recognized status by the treaty of 1844.

Prior to the Revolution, the American Colonies were of course debarred from trading with China by the monopoly granted in 1698 to the East India Company of all British trade from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the straits of Magellan. But after the signature of peace this Act ceased to be binding on the new nation, and the spirit of

¹ *History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, pp. 209, being vol. xxii of *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. Yale University Press, 1917.

adventure developed by privateering in the course of the war sought new outlets in this distant field. The first American ship to reach China was the *Empress of China*, which sailed from New York with a cargo chiefly of ginseng, a medicinal root highly prized by the Chinese, on February 22, 1784. She entered Whampoa, the harbour of Canton, on August 28, and arrived back in New York on May 10, 1785. The final profit of the voyage was estimated at \$30,727, or about 25 per cent on the capital invested.

The success of this venture acted as a great incentive to the development of the trade, which spread to a number of New England ports; but as the voyages were full of risk and required capital and experience, the trade fell into the hands of a few large firms and centred almost exclusively at Boston. A great difficulty connected with the trade was the provision of cargo for shipment to China, the Americans showing almost as strong objection to the export of specie as the Chinese did later to its drainage from their country in payment for opium. The high value and restricted demand for ginseng soon rendered that commodity unsuitable. Attention was then directed to furs, at first to those of the sea-otter, by the publication of Captain Cook's Journals, which recorded the almost fabulous sums realized for these skins at Canton; and ships on their way to China proceeded to the North-West Coast to trade for them with the Sitka Indians. Obstacles, however, having been placed in the way of this traffic by the Russian authorities, the American ships sailed to the Falklands, Massafuero, and other islands where seals were plentiful, spent one or two seasons in hunting them, and then continued their voyage to Canton to exchange their skins for Chinese tea and silks. But this sealing industry, like the North-West Coast trade, had a rapid growth and a decline; for it was self-destructive, it being estimated that between 1793 and

1807 three and a half million seal-skins were taken from the island of Massafuero alone for sale in Canton. Thereafter China goods were chiefly paid for with specie, or after 1826 by specie and bills on England—the average exports from the United States for this purpose having been annually between 1805 and 1816 \$900,000 in merchandise and \$2,043,000 in specie, and \$2,324,000 in merchandise and \$3,700,000 in specie and bills on England between 1807 and 1833. The number of American ships engaged in this trade, which was but four in 1789, had increased in the season of 1805-6 to forty-two—the high-water mark.

Much valuable information will be found in this work regarding the development of public opinion in the United States leading to the appointment of Caleb Cushing as Special Envoy to conclude the treaty of Wanghia and the course of the negotiations, as well as a detailed history of the origin and development of American Evangelical Missions in China. A valuable feature of the work, too, is a bibliography of the subjects treated, extending over fifty-six pages and giving the present location of every MS. quoted.

Two slips have been noted. The honour of having been the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe is awarded on p. 83 to the *Vincennes* in 1830, while on p. 32 it is awarded some forty years earlier to the *Columbia*. It is stated on p. 76 that black tea and green tea “are grown on different varieties of the same species of shrub”, whereas Robert Fortune showed so far back as 1843 that both are produced from the leaves of the same plant by varying the process of manufacture.

A. E. H.

AUFSÄTZE ZUR KULTUR- UND SPRACHGESCHICHTE, VORNEHMLICH DES ORIENTS. Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage am 7. Februar, 1916, gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern. München, 1916. pp. xxv and 523. Breslau: M. & H. Marcus. 1916.

This volume, offered to Ernst Kuhn on his 70th birthday, contains a great variety of matter. Most of the contributions are very short, as space had to be found for sixty-five authors. Classical Sanskrit is discussed by W. Jahn (on the Purāṇas), Konow (on Bhāsa and the Indian theatre), Jolly, and Winternitz. The two longest articles are Conrady's "Eine merkwürdige Beziehung zwischen den austrischen und den indochinesischen Sprachen", which raises again the question of the relationships of Chinese, and Heiler's "Die buddhistischen Versenkungsstufen", in which a comparison is made with the stages of absorption in Western forms of mysticism. Other Buddhist articles are Attenhofer's and Dutoit's on the Jātakas, Franke on Buddhist negativism, Hillebrandt's on the Lokāyatas, and Windisch's on brahmin influence in Buddhism. Bezzenberger, Johansson, Pater W. Schmidt, Lüders, and Streitberg discuss etymological questions. Semitic scholars are represented by Nöldeke, Goldziher, Hell, Hommel, and Seybold.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

DIE LEHRE DER UPANISHADEN UND DIE ANFÄNGE DES BUDDHISMUS. Von HERMANN OLDENBERG. pp. viii and 366. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1915.

The reason why this book has not been reviewed before will be obvious, but there is nothing in the work itself to indicate any disturbance of the calm course of the author's thought, or of any break in relations with old associates. The central interest of the book lies in the question as to how far any definite connexion of Buddhism with the

Upanishads and brahmanic doctrine can be established, but more than four-fifths is devoted to an independent exposition of Indian thought from the brāhmaṇa period down to the full development of Sāṃkhya and Yoga. A feature emphasized by Dr. Oldenberg is the atmosphere of magic in which from the Vedic period religion moves. The priests are entirely magicians. The idea of Brahman grew up on the basis of a world-concept of the All permeated with powers localized here and there, or moving about freely, and producing their effects by magic. Even the dialectic of the Upanishads works in a sphere of magic.

The development of the concepts of Brahman and Ātman into the Vedānta system has perhaps been studied too much in the light of Śaṅkara, and it is refreshing to find Deussen's positions largely disposed of, and to have the evidence set forth without introducing the catchwords of Kantianism, which is "like finding Kepler in the Veda". This is not the only instance in which attractive modern theories are set aside. Against Garbe and Jacobi Dr. Oldenberg looks on the epic Sāṃkhya, not as a development of the classical with Vedāntic borrowings, but as an intermediate stage between the Upanishad form and the classical. A close analysis of earlier Sāṃkhya and Yoga leads to the question of the beginning of Buddhism. There is a break in locality, language, and social life; and although we may suppose Buddha to have studied brahmanical systems, and the Order must have been recruited from brahmin circles, it is no easy matter to identify doctrines discussed in the suttas with those of the Upanishads. The term Sāṃkhya does not occur in the texts, nor (against Jacobi) has the attempt to find the fundamental Sāṃkhya categories in Buddhism succeeded. Still, although there is no direct contact, the connecting threads are there, and they firmly hold. It was not, however, classical Sāṃkhya in which the absolute has become a plurality of individual souls. In the case of

Yoga the relation is closer, though Senart goes too far in calling Buddhism a branch of Yoga.

On the question of what is implied by the state of Nirvāṇa Dr. Oldenberg appears to have modified his former views in the direction of O. Schrader's theories. At the side of the idea that the question of the existence of a Tathāgata after death is useless, is the view that it is unfathomable. It remains a mystery, but "the traces that are recognizable indicate that there was the idea of a universal being extending infinitely beyond the limits of the individual—an absolute, not of course as a world-principle, because there was no impulse to inquire openly or disguisedly about such a principle, but an absolute as final highest end. Like Brahman, which was called 'no, no', it is named by negations". This may not be Sāṃkhya or Vedānta, but how much of it would the Vedāntin have denied?

In spite of divergences from the views of others the whole work is written without any polemical tone, and (except for a pardonable impatience in discussing Deussen) with a generous recognition of the labours of other scholars.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, Vol. V

The outstanding events of the period dealt with in this volume between April and October, 1748, were the French attack on Cuddalore, the arrival of the French Squadron at Fort St. George with men and money, and the unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry by Admiral Boscawen. Of these three important events we have full information from British sources. The Diary gives us information from another point of view; and that is what makes it so thoroughly interesting.

At the beginning of the period there was a general cessation of French trade owing to want of money, which

could not be brought to the French Settlements as long as the British fleet effectually commanded the sea route. Dupleix had staked his all on the success of his scheme to destroy British power in the East ; but success was delayed and he was getting to the end of his resources. Ananda Ranga Pillai was a firm believer in his master's good luck ; in that belief he both spoke and acted ; and thereby he kept up Dupleix's spirits when he seemed to see failure in front of him.

It was in June that the French fleet arrived. It found the British fleet unprepared at Cuddalore. The French admiral cleverly got by it, delivered his cargo of men and money at Fort St. George, and put to sea again on his return voyage to the Isle of Bourbon, before the British fleet could start from its anchorage. When it did start, it had the greatest difficulty in getting back again to its anchorage owing to adverse winds. Its absence left Fort St. David and Cuddalore unprotected. This was an opportunity for an attack which Dupleix seems to have projected quite on the spur of the moment and without due preparation. Ranga Pillai says he was misled by Madame Dupleix's spies ; and he attributes the failure of the attack to the insufficiency of the information they obtained. Almost as soon as the attack was made they reported that the town was taken. Ranga Pillai had other information. He, however, remained silent, and enjoyed a wordless triumph over Madame. Later on Abd-ul-Rahman, who commanded the French sepoys, gave his account of the attack, and attributed the failure to the fact that Madame had made the arrangements. Orme gives the British account. Between them all one comes to the conclusion that some credit was due to Major Stringer Lawrence, who was successful in deceiving the spies and giving the attacking party a warmer reception than they anticipated.

Between the French reverse in June and the arrival of

Admiral Boscawen in August there must have been some military preparations for eventualities ; but Ranga Pillai does not record them. He exposes Dupleix's plots to get a share of Chanda Sahib's conquests if he made any ; Madame's plots to accumulate wealth at the expense of the native inhabitants and their necessities ; the plots of the Jesuits to get rid of the Shivite temple near their church ; and a plot of his own, suggested by Dupleix, to get the ruler of the Deccan to send letters of praise and robes of honour to Dupleix such as were sent to his predecessor, Governor Dumas. He fills up his diary with angry criticism of Madame and all her ways, and with impatient judgments of Dupleix, yet bearing with him because of his yet stronger belief in his good luck.

Then Admiral Boscawen arrived. The siege and capture of Aryancopang, a fort on the south side of Pondicherry, followed ; and the rest of the volume is taken up with a description of the siege of Pondicherry itself. Ranga Pillai gives a very shrewd opinion about the reason of the failure—which was endorsed afterwards by the British military authorities—namely, that the town was attacked from the north-west instead of the north-east. Major Lawrence was captured at the siege of Aryancopang. He was the chief military authority on the British side. Doubtless his capture had something to do with the failure ; for Admiral Boscawen was thereby deprived of his expert opinion.

During the siege Ranga Pillai helped Dupleix in various ways to feed the inhabitants when they were put on rations and to prevent hoarding on the part of the richer people. His loyalty, help, and counsel were invaluable. He had a fixed belief, derived from his knowledge of astrology, in Dupleix's good fortune ; and he never doubted the final success of the besieged. The professional Tamil astrologers predicted success also ; and this is quite one of the most remarkable things connected

with the siege. They said that there would be a bad time for the town up to September 25; that there would be indications of the success of the besieged up to October 6; that the siege would be raised on October 12; and it was so. The diary may have been written up after the event. If it was not, the testimony of the stars was very remarkable.

At the end of the siege Ranga Pillai indulged in an appropriate pæan; he wrote "Just as the thick darkness vanishes at the brightness of the Sun . . . so the deeds of the English vanished before the matchless bravery, strength, grandeur, and might of Maharajah Rajah Sri His Excellency Nawab Monsieur Chevalier Dupleix Bahadur Mozuffar Jang Governor General".

The only criticism that is necessary is that there are too many printer's errors in the text. They are of no great importance, but there they are. On p. 279 the word 'pomp' is used; but the sense of the text seems to indicate that the word "honour" or "dignity" would have been preferable.

FRANK PENNY.

DESCRIPTIVE LISTS OF INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR. By HIRA LAL, B.A., Rai Bahadur. 8vo; pp. ix, 2, xi, 203, lviii, with a map. Government Press, Nagpur, 1916.

This is a notably useful and handily arranged book by a competent epigraphist. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has given us abstracts of the contents of all the inscriptions, so far as is possible, together with references to the publications in which they have been published or noticed and a preliminary survey of the history of the country as revealed by its epigraphic records. His method is to divide the material according to districts, and then to subdivide it according as it is of major or minor

importance, a course which perhaps may sometimes lead to differences of opinion; possibly it would have been better to have classified the records of each district according to their age: but this is a point of small moment. It is interesting to find in these pages so many records of primary importance, such as the Rūpnāth edict of Aśōka, the Ēraṇ inscriptions of Samudragupta, Budhagupta, Tōramāna, and others; and still more remarkable is the appearance of a Babylonian seal about 4,000 years old, of the period of the first dynasty of Babylon, which has been discovered in Nagpur Museum, and which "gives furiously to think".

L. D. BARNETT.

VANGĪYA BHĀṢAR ABHIDHĀN. By JĀNENDRA MOHAN DĀS. pp. [24] 1577. Calcutta: Indian Publishing House. 1323 (1917). Rs. 7.

The time is not yet come, perhaps, to estimate the full value of the disinterested labours of the Vangīya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad, started on a very small scale in 1894, among its founders being the then budding poet and novelist who was modestly described in its Journal as Babu Rabindranath Tagore. In 1899 Mr. Jānendra Mohan Dās contributed to the valuable and interesting Patrikā of the Paṛiṣad a paper headed "Vāṅgālā Śabda Tattva", in which he discussed, with much acumen and vivacity, the lexicographical needs of the Bengali language. He was already awake to the fact, unsuspected by some of his fellow-countrymen, that Bengali spelling, if less lawless than that of English, is no more phonetically accurate than, say, French spelling, and foresaw the need, not only for foreigners but for Bengalis themselves, of a guide to pronunciation. He had noted that most of the abhidhāns which existed at that time, scorning to take example by William Carey's dictionary of colloquial and

current Bengali, were mere vocabularies, and, worse still, mere translations of Sanskrit Śabda-koṣas. Inspired, no doubt, by English dictionaries from the time of Dr. Johnson downwards, he was aware that an apt quotation is not only useful as a matter of philological history, but is often more revealing than a laboured explanation of the "meaning" of a word, or a synonym which is not exactly synonymous. He noted, too, as Dr. Trench had noted before him, that a dictionary should be an inventory of the written language, not a standard of taste in vocabulary. All these and other similar considerations, including his experience as a teacher of the language, led him to undertake the formidable task of compiling a Bengali dictionary on modern lines.

In the meanwhile, the Parisad encouraged several of its members to prepare technical and scientific glossaries and grammatical treatises, some of which are of great value and interest. Mr. Yoges Candra Rāy Vidyānidhi prepared an admirable vocabulary of vernacular words peculiar to the Province. In 1909 Mr. Subal Candra Mitra published the second edition of his "Saraḷ Vāṅgālā Abhidhān" (it has now reached a third edition), in which some of the defects of previous abhidhāns were rectified. All this was grist to Mr. Dās's busy mill, which kept him occupied, often for fifteen hours a day (he tells us) for some fifteen years. The result is the handsome and marvellously cheap volume before us.

Let me hasten to say that it marks a notable advance on all its predecessors. Mr. Dās has the courage of his opinions, which are of necessity not always those of his present grateful and admiring reviewer. In his just desire to use all words, of whatever origin, that have become naturalized in Bengal, he has conferred civic rights in his country on many English words for which indigenous equivalents might perhaps have been found. Such, among many hundreds, are the words *tebil*, *ceyār*,

rest (= *parisista*), *botām*, *botal*, *gelās*, *diś*, *skul*, *kālej*, etc. But perhaps an Englishman's prejudice against the introduction of such words would be shared by an Arab on seeing such names as *Isrāyel*, *Jamśed*, *Sirāj-ad-daulā*, etc., in Bengali script. We must needs think of the requirements of the indigenous student, and for him Mr. Dās has provided careful transliterations which come as close as possible to foreign sounds in Bengali mouths.

Mr. Dās's courageous attempt to provide a phonetic record of Bengali sounds must be discussed by a foreigner with respect and diffidence. But, after all, he is an innovator and a beginner in this matter, and seems to be unaware that such experts in phonetic writing as Mr. Daniel Jones can record spoken sounds with an accuracy which surprises and delights a novice. Mr. Dās has invented a (modified Bengali) script of his own as a means of writing down the Calcutta pronunciation, which he has wisely taken as the standard speech of Bengal, on the ground that immigrants from all parts of Bengal have contributed to its formation, and all can readily acquire it. Mr. Dās's phonetic renderings will be useful to those who have already some acquaintance with spoken Bengali. But I am bound to admit, regretfully, that it will not be so useful to a foreign beginner as the I.P.A. script. To give some simple examples, there is nothing to show that the name of the god Śiva, though it is written Śib, is pronounced as *fi:b* and not as *fib*; so there is nothing to show that in "tini" the vowels have different qualities and in I.P.A. script would be rendered as *tui*; so, again, the word "ṛṇ" is phoneticized as *rñ*, whereas in I.P.A. script it would be *rin* or even *riṇ*. If there is any expert pupil of Mr. Daniel Jones in Calcutta Mr. Dās will find it interesting to discuss phonetics with him.

As a matter of fact, most of the phonetic peculiarities of Bengali can be reduced to rule, and are perfectly regular results of the Prākṛt origin of the language.

This is, of course, not to say that Mr. Dās's phonetic renderings are useless to beginners. On the contrary, they are invaluable, if they do not go so far as modern phonetic records in Europe go. For instance, it is well to be reminded that "ahna" is pronounced *ənhə*, "āhlād" as *alhad*, "satya" as *ʃəto*, etc.

One other instance there is in which Mr. Dās might be more helpful to the foreigner. He has economized space by omitting quite common compound words, giving only their constituent members. But such words often puzzle even experienced foreigners. Take, for instance, the word "kulopanā", which has a tempting resemblance to "ku-lopanā", but is in fact "kulo-panā", "like-a-winnowing fan", on the model of *ginnī panā*, *guṇa-panā*, etc. Take, again, such a compound as "paṭolcerā", used of a woman's eyes. A foreigner would have some difficulty in discovering unaided that this means eyes "having the sectional shape of a (cleft) paṭol", the cucurbitous fruit of that name.

Mr. Dās will readily forgive me for dealing first with these (more or less trifling) matters of detail before I come to my real and much pleasanter business; that of heartily congratulating him and his publisher and friend Mr. Cintāmaṇi Ghos, on the production of by far the completest, most original, and most useful abhidhān of the Bengali language that has ever been published. The usefulness of a dictionary can, of course, only be put to a complete test by frequent resort to its help. Let anyone, however, read, for example, Sir Rabindranath Tagore's charming novel *Cokher Bāli*. He will probably fail to find the following words in any dictionary but Mr. Dās's: *niribili*, *barādda*, *kulūṅgi*, *syātsēte*, *ghana-ghatā*, *keyā-khayer*, *moddā*, and that delightful word for a picnic—*cadur-bhāti*, "a sparrow's meal," picked up in a garden.

But it will be in the reading of the older Bengali

poetry, such as is collected in Mr. Dineś Candra Sen's admirable anthology, that Mr. Dās's dictionary will be most helpful. His quotations from ancient and modern verse are most apt, and (an excellent feature) he is fully aware that proverbial phrases play an important part in Bengali conversation and literature. Note, for instance, the section dealing with "begun" (the *brinjal* plant and fruit), and especially the explanation of the phrase "tele begune nāciyā uṭhā". One admirable feature of the dictionary is the copious illustration of the many onomatopœic words in Bengali. Take the phrase "kal-kal" (or kul-kul) for the soft warbling of birds. Mr. Dās's quotation is excellent: "Kala kala kala rave ki kathā kahicha re, kala-ninādinī!"

Perhaps I ought to say, in passing, that Mr. Dās has not been able entirely to avoid a common pitfall of lexicographers in dealing with what Dr. Johnson called "appellatives". He says, for example, that the "paṭal" or "paṭol" is the fruit of the "palta" creeper, and then defines the "palta" as the plant which bears the "paṭol"—cross-references which leave the ignorant foreigner very much where he was!

But this is to slip into meticulous criticism again, and to show ingratitude for the possession of what is undoubtedly the best Bengali dictionary yet published. Mr. Dās modestly looks forward to a day when a great company of Bengali scholars under the command of a Bengali Sir James Murray shall compile a counterpart of the New English Dictionary. But he hastens to add that such a leader will only be found when in one mind are united the Western learning of Dvijendranāth Ṭhākur, the diligence of Vācaspati, and the linguistic acquirements of Hari Nāth Deva. In the meanwhile, we have a dictionary which yields at once instruction and pleasure, and one which any student of Bengali, however small or conspicuous his acquirements, may be proud and grateful to have at his elbow.

At present Sir Graves C. Haughton's dictionary, published so long ago as 1833, still holds the field as the safest help of the English beginner. It would not be difficult for an English student, provided he had Mr. Dās's permission and—a more difficult matter—the requisite leisure, industry, and knowledge, to make an up-to-date English-Bengali and Bengali-English dictionary out of the materials which Mr. Dās has so laboriously, intelligently, and successfully collected. The English words might be omitted, and, if the translator can acquire the necessary proficiency, the pronunciations might be given in I.P.A. script. The mass of Bengali literature and Bengali vocabulary has grown notably since Haughton's day, not only by the writings of modern authors, but by the discovery of an enormous quantity of half-forgotten writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Failing that, however, even a beginner will do well to use his Dās together with his Haughton, just as a wise schoolboy will use his Littré with, or in preference to, his French-English dictionary.

There was a time when the current and living speech of Bengal was despised by men of learning, Mr. Dās tells us, and was contemptuously dubbed *prākṛt*, *deśī*, *a-śuddha*, *bhāṣā*, *apa-bhāṣā*, or even *itar bhāṣā*. But the unlearned had their revenge. The speech of the ultra-refined became so alembicated that it could no longer express the common emotions of men, their tears and laughter, their joys and sorrows. It became a "sāndhya bhāṣā", a dusk twilight language. Mr. Dās is fully alive to the necessity of recognizing and encouraging the charming speech in which Rabindranath has written his lyrics, Bankim his novels, and Tārak Nāth Gānguli that little masterpiece, *Svarṇa-latā*, a sort of Bengali *Vicar of Wakefield*. In Mr. Dās's dictionary it is easy to see not only the scholar and lexicographer, but the enthusiastic and competent student of sound literature. May his abhidhān be the germ of many delightful masterpieces to come !

P.S.—Since I wrote the above, I have learned that an up-to-date English-Bengali dictionary is being published at Dacca under the editorship of Mr. Cāru Candra Guha. Two volumes (up to Q) have already been published, and a third is in preparation.

J. D. A.

BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEER: MYMENSINGH. By F. A. SACHSE, I.C.S.

Mymensingh, the largest district in Bengal, with an area of 6,300 square miles and a population of 4,516,422 persons, "may well claim" to be the largest district in India. It is said to derive its name from Momin Shah, who held the pargana in the time of Akbar, and is a flat alluvial tract bounded by and traversed by numerous rivers and watercourses, and intersected by the old Brahmaputra; in the northern area hillocks crop up outliers from the Garo Hills; in the south many of the villages are waterlogged, as in the neighbouring district of Sylhet, which has been described as "a boggy Syrtis, neither sea nor good dry land". A peculiar feature is the belt of hard red soil, like that of the Barind in Rajshahi, between the Jamuna and the old Brahmaputra known as the Madhupur jungle. The author defends the scenery of this district against the very pessimistic view taken by Mr. Allen of the scenery of Dacca. Cold-weather travellers across India have been known to compare favourably the green bamboo-clad villages of Bengal with the brown fields and mud-walled towns of the Upper Provinces.

The botany of Mymensingh does not seem to have found any special inquirer and is briefly dealt with. The *jarul* named for its timber might be added to the *simul* and *palāsh* as red "flowers of the forest".

Mr. L. R. Fawcus, I.C.S., contributes a full note on ornithology. The florican is not mentioned; it has

disappeared from the battlefield of Plassey, and is said to be "never seen" in Dacca, but it was recorded in Mymensingh by the late Mr. Farrow, and it is to be hoped that it may still be found in the plains of *ulu* grass from which it takes its name in Assamese, *ulu moira*, "the peacock of the *ulu* grass."

The early history of Mymensingh is merged in the general history of Eastern Bengal and Dacca. Separate incidents are the incursions of the Garos into the Sherpur Pargana, and the rebellion of the Sanyāsīs after 1782. They are described by Warren Hastings in 1773 as "the gypsies of Hindustan", and in another document as "in reality usurers disguised as religious friars". Money-lenders at the present time would be more likely to be victims than leaders of popular movements. At any rate, the Sanyāsīs were up-countrymen and foreigners who took advantage of disorganization after the famine of 1770.

In his paragraphs on the character and material condition of the people Mr. Sachse gives a terse and vigorous criticism of the Muhammadan masses. These characteristics are common to Eastern Bengal—if boorishness and churlishness must be admitted on the one hand, due, possibly, largely to remoteness and want of education and strict government, abstemiousness and independence of character should be set on the other, and at a time when the contribution of Bengal to military service on land is contrasted with that of other provinces it may be pointed out that, contrary to popular opinion which connects lascars with Bombay, most of the Indian lascars come from Eastern Bengal, chiefly from Sylhet and the districts of the Chittagong Division, which have also contributed to the Labour Corps and other oversea enterprises. Mymensingh appears to be the first district in which chaukidars were organized. The question of the partition of this unwieldy district, which has a population nearly

half a million larger than that of Ceylon, has been discussed continuously since 1876; the latest proposal is to form three districts with headquarters at Mymensingh, Gopalpur, and Kishorganj. The Gazetteer proper deals adequately with the few notable places in the district, and there is much interesting information in the chapters on Rents, Land, Revenue, and Communications acquired by Mr. Sachse as Settlement and District Officer.

A few errata may be noted. p. 40, Kacharies of *Dinapur* for *Dimapur*; p. 53, *sun* is not strictly hemp (*Cannabis*); p. 57, "hoards" for "hordes"; p. 109, "depradations," *amlas* is found as *āmlas*, a spelling adopted in other numbers of the Gazetteer; long *ā* is used sometimes irregularly in final syllables; Index, "porridges" for "partridges", Map *Revenue Thana*; the short *a* is transliterated as *o* in *sambhor*, *mohurrirs*, etc., and there are a few colloquial turns of expression not suited to an official report.

LAND AND LABOUR IN A DECCAN VILLAGE. By HAROLD H. MANN, D.Sc., Principal, Poona Agricultural College. University of Bombay, Economic Series, No. 1. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917.

This book cannot be fully reviewed in the Journal of a learned Society, but it merits brief notice. It is one of the first attempts to make an intensive study of India as it is and not as it might or ought to be. Mr. Mann and his collaborators have collected a great many facts, economic principally, about a typical Deccan village. They conclude that out of 103 families investigated only 36, or just under 35 per cent, can pay their way on the standard they themselves lay down. The others are living below that standard—"an exceedingly serious state of affairs." The authors deal with the history of the village in chapter iii, "The Land and its Divisions

and the Holdings," a sound method which brings out some of the causes of its economic condition. Fragmentation of the holdings has contributed to this, but the main cause of its stagnation is lack of applied capital, enterprise, and education. Incidentally the writer throws some light on the economic basis of caste.

H. A. R.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SURVEY DEPARTMENT, SOUTHERN CIRCLE, MADRAS,
FOR 1916-17. By A. H. LONGHURST, Superintendent.
Government Press, Madras, 1917.

This report is of permanent value. It contains an account of the Udayagiri Fort and Temples, Nellore District, and one of the Krishna Temple at Vijayanagar, with a full description of the Buddhist monuments at Guntupalle, Kistna District, and a brief note on antiquities in Coorg. Mr. Longhurst points out that though Krishna is one of the most popular deities of modern Hinduism, ancient temples specially dedicated to him are exceedingly rare. He describes the custom of depositing valuable offerings beneath the floor of the shrine chamber when the foundations of a temple are laid. As is well known, such treasures are often in charge of a spirit—the ghost of a person sacrificed in order that it might fulfil that function. But Mr. Longhurst adds that desecrators of temple shrines in Southern India have more than once been suspected of offering human sacrifice (the only kind believed to be of any avail) to the goddess who is supposed to guard human treasure in order to reward their efforts, and wandering Bairāgis from Northern and Central India are credited with this superstition. This points to a new type of guardian goddess. In Coorg occur kistvaens of the usual type, but in front of the tomb is a large upright slab cut to the shape of a billhook, which Mr. M. Raghunatha Rao, R.B., thinks was meant to

show a particular tribe of Kadanhas, old Kadanhas who used to tap trees for toddy with a billhook-shaped instrument. The chieftains had billhooks (*murtekatti*) on their banners. This Report is well illustrated with plates and plans, but it is prefaced by 21 pages of official minutiae totally devoid of scientific or general interest.

H. A. R.

TWO SUMMERS IN THE ICE-WILDS OF EASTERN KARAKORAM, THE EXPLORATION OF 1900 SQUARE MILES OF MOUNTAIN AND GLACIER. By FANNY BULLOCK WORKMAN and WILLIAM HUNTER WORKMAN. London : Fisher Unwin, 1917.

This work contains three good maps and 141 excellent illustrations by the authors. It is a narrative of geographical exploration and geological study pure and simple, relieved by occasional details of personal experiences, and as such it must appeal to scientists. It does not deal with matters of antiquarian, historical, or ethnological interest.

H. A. R.

BIJAPUR AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS, WITH AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE ADIL SHAHI DYNASTY. By HENRY COUSENS, M.R.A.S. Government Central Press, Bombay. 1916. Price Rs. 41 (£3 1s. 6d.).

This book forms vol. xxxviii, Imperial Series, of the Archæological Survey of India, and it is well printed on good paper. The illustrations number 118, excluding 28 in the text, and are excellent. Mr. Cousens gives a sketch of the Adil Shāhi dynasty, a description of the Bijapur city, its architecture, its early monuments and those built under the Adil Shāhis, its waterworks, the pavilions at Kumatgi, the coinage of Bijapur, and some of its old *sanads*. The Adil Shāhis derived their line from

Murād II, Sultan of Turkey 1421–51. That ruler's heir, as a prudent act of state, put to death all his father's other male children in order to prevent disputes about the succession, but one escaped and landed at Dābul, a port of Hindustān. Taking service with Bīdar, he became governor of Bijapur with the title of Adil Khān. A less romantic version makes him a son of Mahmūd Beg, governor of Sāvah, who was brought up at Ispahān and Shirāz and went to India. But as the crescent surmounts the old state buildings of Bijapur the Turkish origin of the Adil Shāhis may not be altogether mythical. Yūsuf Beg, its founder, eventually became king of Bijapur, with the title of Adil Shāh, in 1489. His supporters were Turks and Mughals, and he introduced Shi'a doctrines which he had brought from Persia into his new state. His descendants made no great changes in his policy. Some leaned towards orthodoxy, but others did not. Some enlisted Dakhanis and Abyssinians, while others preferred Mughal mercenaries, who "were excellent archers and spearmen". The rigorous Turkish rule which put all rivals out of the way at a new king's accession was mitigated for Mallu Adil Shāh (acc. 1534), who neglected this precaution and was deposed as a libertine by his younger brother Ibrahim, who mercifully only blinded him. Mr. Cousens says this was a common practice in India when the stronger party dared not commit murder, but in point of fact a mutilated man could not reign, and so blindness was just as effective a disqualification as death. The practice, too, was not confined to India, and Shakespeare has dramatized one incident of it in English history. Ibrahim was a brave man and a good soldier. He restored the Sunni form of faith, ejected Shi'as from office, and re-employed Dakhanis and Abyssinians in lieu of Persians. He also cultivated the Hindu element, and introduced a non-Moslem rule of succession by promising, when he married a victorious general's daughter, that his

son by her should be his heir. A later Adil Shāhi (Ibrāhīm II) was styled Jagat-gir and Jagat-guru, on account of his leanings towards Hinduism. Contemporary with Queen Elizabeth, Chānd Bibī, widow of the last king, acted as regent and proved one of the most successful rulers of Bijapur. The State was, however, overthrown by the Mughals, and its capital surrendered to Aurangzeb in 1686.

The city of Bijapur is well described by Mr. Cousens, and his account of it includes notes on its citadel and guns. That of the largest calibre was reputed to take a charge of 15,000 lb. of powder, and is now worshipped by the people.

H. A. R.

RAJPUT PAINTING, BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE HINDU PAINTINGS OF RAJASTHAN AND THE PANJAB HIMALAYAS FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, DESCRIBED IN THEIR RELATION TO CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT. With Texts and Translations. By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. London, etc. Two volumes. Oxford University Press, 1916.

These handsome volumes are probably the finest yet produced on Indian art. The author's first volume contains his text, while his second contains the plates, so that the paintings reproduced can be studied conveniently with the text. His text deals in part i with the Rājput Schools—(1) Rājasthāni, and (2) Pahārī, (a) Jammu and (b) Kāngrā; and in part ii he discusses the subject-matter of Rājput paintings, the Krishna Līlā Śṛṅgāra, Śiva, and Pārvatī, the Epics, Ballad and Romance, Rāgmālas, Seasons, Animals, Landscape, and Portraiture. Part iii deals with allied arts and the present day.

Rājput art has had an unhappy history. Owing to the decay of the Hill States in the Punjab Himalayas and their subjugation by the Sikhs, the Rājas who

had patronized art ceased to be able to do so. The collection of the Rāja of Tira-Sujānpur, for example, was broken up some years ago, and probably few of its paintings now survive in private hands. Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy does not mention the ancient principality of Kula, where some of the old ruling family's art treasures might still be found. Much has no doubt been irretrievably lost, but what has survived suffices to show that art in India is essentially topical and cannot be understood without a knowledge of all its branches. Painting is used to illustrate music, and "from the second half of the sixteenth century, or even earlier, onwards it became the fashion to compose Rāgmālas or sets of verses describing the *rāgas* or *rāgiṇīs*, in Hindi, and these works are constantly illustrated". These illustrations are simply intended to express pictorially the *śṛṅgār* of the *rāga* or *rāgiṇī* represented, not necessarily as a visible *devatā*; each represents the circumstances appropriate to his or her visible presence. This system is probably of some antiquity. In some of its examples architecture is represented with much sympathy and understanding, and this compensates for a certain lack of vitality in the figures.

Mr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's text enables us to correct an impression which is somewhat general. It has been often stated that in popular poetry the advances in love affairs are always made by the woman, or that this is the general rule. In paintings also it is not unusual to find this idea depicted, and Genesis has been cited as a parallel. But in Indian painting we find eight types of heroine, *nāyikā*, and only one of them is "she who goes out to seek her beloved", the *abhisārikā*. She is the subject of a quatrain in the *Rasikapriyā*, quoted at the foot of p. 44, and a dialogue quoted on p. 45. An element of mysticism probably underlies this conception and that of the *utka*, she who expects and yearns for her

lover; just as "the spiritual significance of *sati* is constantly employed in mystic symbolism", even "by one so human and gentle as Kabir".

H. A. R.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON PAGAN. With Plan. By TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., I.S.O. A Guide to Pagan, published by the Government of Burma. Price As. 8.

It gives a useful list of the monuments at Pagan and in its neighbourhood.

HAMPI RUINS, DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED. By A. H. LONGHURST. Madras, Superintendent Government Printing, 1917. Price 4s. 6d.

This book is well written and illustrated. Its object is to give not only a description of the various styles of buildings at Hampi produced during the Vijayanagar period, but also to consider those influences which have contributed to the formation of each special style. The author has attained this purpose in his chapters on Locality, History of Vijayanagar from the Inscriptions, Social and Political History as recorded by Foreign Visitors, and Religion. Part ii of his work deals with the buildings, including fortifications and irrigation works, in each locality. The extent of the Jaina influence on the earlier sculptures in the citadel at Hampi is emphasized by the writer, but, as he points out, it is not always easy to say where Jaina influences end and Hindu begin. Some of his quotations from Nuniz are piquant. That traveller describes a Mahānavami held in the reign of Achyuta Rāya (1530-42 A.D.) and relates how that king did not sit on the throne used only on that occasion, "for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this king never does so." Doubtless reasons of

state compelled him to take that precaution, and his unweracity imported no moral defect in himself. In the fourteenth century the rulers of Vijayanagar actively revived *sati*, which Saivism seems to have elevated to a rite of Stoic heroism.

H. A. R.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. By HERBERT H. GOWEN, D.D., Professor of Oriental History at the University of Washington. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1917.

This work is a new and revised edition of the *Outline History of China*, published by Dr. Gowen in 1913, and reviewed in the Journal of this Society for 1914, p. 218. Its object is to redress a want of balance in similar works previously issued. "Chinese history," says the Preface, "has almost invariably been treated by English and American writers from the point of view of Foreign Relations, with the result that a few pages have sufficed for the four millenniums prior to the Manchu occupation, while hundreds of pages have been used to discuss (from a foreign point of view) the events of the past few decades. The consequence is that, to the best of the writer's knowledge, there is no work in English giving the student such a sketch of pre-Manchu times as will enable him to grasp the singular continuity of Chinese political and social life." As an outline of Chinese history it is both interesting and informative, though it is to be regretted that the posthumous title conferred upon the sovereign is still at times treated as his personal name and at others as a title assumed by himself.

The work appears, too, to be in the main accurate. But it is difficult to understand how the author can have been led to attribute (p. 288) the destruction of the Yuen-ming Yuen palace to so inadequate a reason as that "Lord Elgin felt that, inasmuch as the obstinacy and bad

faith of the Court had been responsible for the protracted character of the war, a stern act of justice was necessary to reach the Imperial mind and heart". It was a deliberate act of retribution for the treacherous capture of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Loch and Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes—who, as Envoys under the protection of a flag of truce, were negotiating terms of peace—and of thirty-seven civilians and soldiers who were with them, and for their subjection in the grounds of that palace to the most horrible tortures, under which no less than twenty succumbed. The matter is rendered more difficult of explanation by the fact that the author was acquainted with Lord Elgin's *Letters and Journals*, from which he quotes. For on p. 366 of that work Lord Elgin states the reasons why this form of retribution was decided upon thus: "The punishment was one which would fall, not on the people, who may be comparatively innocent, but exclusively on the Emperor, whose direct responsibility for the crime committed is established, not only by the treatment of the prisoners at Yuen-ming Yuen, but also by the Edict in which he offered a pecuniary reward for the heads of the foreigners."

But how is the description given on p. 307 of the building of "China's First Railway" to be explained, unless we suppose that some mischievous imp has played pranks with the author's notes? The inception of the Shanghai-Wusung railway had, and could have, no connexion with famines in the provinces mentioned, all of which are hundreds of miles away from the Hwangpu River. Nor is it correct to state that "the innovation aroused all the prejudices of Chinese conservatism . . . hence no sooner was the line in operation than the Chinese determined to make it inoperative . . . The excitement increased to such an extent that the Government was constrained to buy up the line, tear up the rails, and dump the engines into the river". The facts

are that the Chinese Government having refused to have railways unless built by themselves, a foreign firm in Shanghai "conceived the idea of going to work quietly and buying up the land between Shanghai and Wusung with the ostensible object of making a road, and the ultimate intention once the land was bought of laying rails. The proposed road being outside the foreign settlement, the consent of the Chinese authorities had to be obtained for its construction, but the nature of the scheme was not disclosed" (Kent's *Railway Enterprise in China*, p. 14). In January, 1876, the first rail was laid, and a month later the first run was made over a short distance. "No opposition was manifested by the Chinese in the district; on the contrary, a continually increasing and friendly interest was displayed as the work progressed" (again Kent). But the real character of the enterprise having been thus disclosed, the Taotai of Shanghai, the highest local native official, protested to the British Consul that the land had been obtained by deception, that construction of the line had not been authorized and should therefore cease. A compromise was, however, reached by the Company undertaking not to run the engine for a period of a month, during which the matter could be referred to Peking. There the authorities were more than occupied in trying to arrange with the British Minister a settlement of his demands arising out of the murder of Mr. Margary, of H.M. Consular Service, on the borders of Yünnan; and the railway dispatch was pigeonholed. Work was pressed on with such speed that the line was opened on July 1 to passenger traffic, which at once assumed such large dimensions that it became necessary to order a second set of carriages. A month later a Chinese threw himself under the train and was killed. No claim was made against the Company, but there being fear of a riot the railway was closed by order of H.M. Minister. In

September the Margary case was closed by the signature of the Chefoo Convention; and shortly after the Nanking Viceroy was forced to buy out the railway, the Company retaining and working the line pending final payment. It ran quite smoothly and profitably until payment of the last instalment was made in October, 1877, when, in spite of a memorial from more than 100 leading Chinese individuals and firms in favour of the maintenance of the line, the Viceroy ordered its demolition and the transport of engines, rolling stock, and rails to the island of Formosa. The point is that opposition to the line was offered, not by the people, but by the officials, who smarted under a sense of injustice at being forced to buy out an undertaking conceived in fraud and carried through despite their protests, and who were resolved to wipe out every reminder of their humiliation.

The statement that "no more attempts were made to build railways in China till 1881, when Wu Ting-fan had influence enough to secure the construction of the line to the capital", is no less incorrect. Water carriage of the coal mined from the collieries recently opened at Tongshan in the Chihli province having been proved impracticable, a small tramway was laid down in 1880 by the engineer, Mr. C. W. Kinder, acting under the orders of Mr. Tong King Sing, the enlightened controller of the mines and previously comprador to a foreign firm in Shanghai. The cars were to be drawn by mules, but Mr. Kinder having built a small engine, appropriately named "The Rocket", this was tried in 1881, and, no opposition being shown by the natives, was employed for haulage until a couple of tank engines could be obtained. In 1887 the metropolitan Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, on the ground of national defence requested Imperial sanction for an extension of the line, which had by this time become a broad-gauge railway, eastward toward Shan-hai-kwan and westward to Tientsin. The eyes of the Government having been

meanwhile opened by the war with France, this was granted, and in the autumn of that year the line reached Tientsin. But so many difficulties had even then to be overcome before sanction for any further extension could be obtained that it was not till the end of 1894 that the line was pushed forward to Fêngtai, a village two miles outside the south wall of Peking.

We are accustomed to think of things in China as the opposite of what is usual among ourselves—white the colour of mourning, not black; to shake one's own hand when meeting a friend, instead of the latter's. Nevertheless, nature is governed by the same laws in East and West alike; and *pace* Dr. Gowen, "the great bore of Hangchow" will not be seen "rolling *seawards* with 'a wrathful sound and the swift rush of thunder'".

A. E. H.

AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL, 1542-1605. By VINCENT A. SMITH, late of the I.C.S. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 16s. net.

This is an admirable account of a great ruler. "Designed as a biography rather than as a formal history," it avoids many details which would have obscured the picture of a monarch who used his all but despotic powers to good purpose and attempted to reconcile all the national religions of India. Akbar's place in history is well-marked. At his accession the great epoch of militant Islam had long since passed away, and even the Turks had become comparatively civilized. The first Turkish invasions had almost destroyed Islamic civilization. Their later conquests essayed to avoid their earlier irreparable mistakes. Babur and Humayun were enlightened and politic, but strictly orthodox, Moslems who yet refrained from persecuting unbelievers and were content with conquests based on the Mogal claims to Hindustan as the inheritance of Timur. By the middle of the sixteenth

century the world was only passing into the phase of religious toleration, and wars for the sake of religion had not yet ceased in Europe. Yet in India we find a monarch who, after consolidating his power over the greater part of the peninsula, had the foresight to see that it could hardly be made permanent by merely tolerating the indigenous faiths and that his position would be greatly strengthened by reconciling them. In this respect his life-work challenges comparison with that of Alexander the Great, and if it failed its failure was not the less splendid. His whole conception of an administrator's functions was modern. Here perhaps Mr. Vincent Smith is not altogether just to Akbar. He observes that the Indian commonalty has no history that can be told, but material for its history is not quite non-existent, and if we had a fuller key to all that Abu'l Fazl wrote we might obtain a pretty clear picture of what Akbar tried to do for the commonalty of his empire. If his work as a fuser of religious faiths did not endure, it must be remembered that a *theocrasia* is rarely successful and that Akbar's successors, especially Aurangzeb, strove hard to undo his work. But in purely administrative fields his work seems to have lasted to the end of the Mughal empire and even to have survived it, though a few of his reforms failed. Thus, when he, characteristically enough, disregarded the local jurisdictions or *pargannas*, which were doubtless based on natural features and so had become traditional, and divided most of his empire into 182 purely artificial units each yielding a crore of rupees, his scheme failed and hardly a trace of it survives. But his recognition of the *qānūn* or customary, as opposed to the *shara'* or orthodox, law, and his nomination of *qānūngos* as its expounders, was statesmanlike and endured. Unfortunately we do not know if it had originated before his time, a possibility indicated by the existence of the distinction in the Turkish empire. Akbar

certainly favoured fixed assessments of the revenue for the comparatively short term of ten years, and these were based on estimates framed by the local *qānūngos*.

THE R. G. BHANDARKAR MEMORIAL VOLUME. A. B. Press,
Poona, 1917.

This volume contains forty essays presented by his friends, pupils, and admirers to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and it contains:—

VEDA AND ANTIQUITY—

1. Macdonell (England) : On translating Ṛgveda.
2. A. Stein (England) : The Ṛgveda Rivers.
3. B. G. Tilak (Poona) : Chaldean and Indian Vedas.
4. P. D. Gune (Poona) : Brāhmaṇa-quotations in Nirukta.
5. J. H. Moulton (England) : Some Avestic Translations.
6. J. J. Modi (Bombay) : Hūṇas in Avesta.
7. A. B. Keith (Scotland) : Early Indo-Iranian History.
8. Sardesai (Poona) : Land of Seven Rivers.

EPICS AND PURANAS—

9. S. Lévi (France) : “Tato jayam udīrayat” (French).
10. Pargiter (England) : Ancient Indian Genealogies.

PALI AND BUDDHISM—

11. Grierson (England) : Home of Literary Pāli.
12. T. W. Rhys Davids (England) : Cakkavatti.
13. Mrs. Rhys Davids (England) : Sage and King in K.-
Saṃyutta.
14. Vijayadharma Suri (Kathiawad) : Jain Philosophy
(Sanskrit).

PHILOSOPHY—

15. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan (Calcutta) : Ancient Nyāya
School.
16. Ganganath Jha (Allahabad) : Prabhākara's Theory of
Error.
17. Belvalkar (Poona) : Māṭharavṛtti and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY—

18. D. R. Blandarkar (Poona) : Vikrama Era.
19. K. B. Pathak (Hubli) : Gupta Era and Mihirakula.
20. H. Krishnashastri (Madras) : Fiscal Administration under Colas.
21. Lewis Rice (England) : Gaṅgavāḍi.
22. Haraprasad Shastri (Calcutta) : Eleventh Century Bombay.
23. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras) : Virūpākṣa II of Vijayanagar.
24. Vincent Smith (England) : Akbar's Jain Teachers.
25. Rawlinson (Dharwar) : William Hawkins (1607-12).
26. Jadunath Sarkar (Bankipore) : Shivaji (1665-7).
27. V. Sukthankar (Poona) : Palæographic Notes.

GRAMMAR AND PHILOLOGY—

28. V. K. Rajwade (Poona) : Grammar of the Gitā.
29. V. S. Ghate (Bombay) : Analogy in Sanskrit.
30. A. Meillet (France) : La racine ' lubh ' (French).
31. J. Bloch (France) : L'accent d'intensité en Indo-Aryen (French).

KAVYA AND ALANKARA—

32. Mehendale (Poona) : Date of Śūdraka.
33. Thomas (England) : Making of the Sanskrit Poet.
34. Sovani (Meerut) : Pre-dhvani Alankāra Schools.
35. Trivedi (Ahmedabad) : Notes on Bhāmaha.

TECHNICAL SCIENCES—

36. Hoernle (England) : Ancient Medical Manuscript from E. Turkestan.
 37. Rambhadra Ojha (Alwar) : Kirīṭa-Mukūṭa.
 38. G. S. Khare (Poona) : A Stanza from Pāṇiniya Śikṣā.
 39. Havell (England) : Śikhara and Gupta Architecture.
 40. Radhakumud Mukerji (Calcutta) : Notes on Ancient Shipping.
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NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE TABAQĀT ASH-SHU'ARĀ'

An *editio princeps* of al-Jumahī's *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā'*¹ was published in 1916 by Professor Joseph Hell of Erlangen. The following suggestions are an attempt to correct some errors (including misprints) and to throw light on some obscure passages in this valuable book:—

- | page | line | |
|------|-------|--|
| 4 | 10 | أَوْتَى, read أُوتَى. |
| 5 | 22 | مَيِّمُونَ. |
| 6 | 13-17 | Cf. Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p. 22, l. 9 seq. |
| 7 | 10-11 | Cf. Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p. 23, l. 4 seq. |
| 7 | 11 | أشد [الناس] تسليما للعرب, read أشد تسليما بالعرب with Nuzhat al-Alibbā', p. 23, l. 8, i.e. "He was extreme in his submission to the authority of the Arabs (of the desert, so in linguistic matters)". |
| 8 | 6 | كُعَلِّل, read كُعَلِّل. |
| 9 | 9 | حَتَّى كُكَيِّبَ, read حَتَّى كُكَيِّبَ in accordance with the following words: كَأَنَّهُ جَعَلَهُ غَايَةً فَخَفِضَ. |
| 11 | 19 | Instead of مُشْتَمِلٌ and آِلَابِلُ read مُشْتَمِلٌ and آِلَابِلُ (metre). |
| 12 | 18 | سَقَوُهُ, read سَقَوُهُ. |
| 15 | 1 | حَمَانُ, read حَمَانُ. |
| 23 | 15 | مَجْدُهُمْ, read مَجْدُهُمْ. |
| 33 | 11-12 | These two verses are given with three others in the <i>Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa</i> of Ibn ash-Shajarī (MS. Paris, Arabe 6018, fol. 16a). Instead of فِي الْغَالِبِ read فِي الْغَابِ with Ibn ash-Shajarī. |
| 33 | 22 | فَمَا أَحْسَ رُقَادَى, read فَمَا أَحْسَ رُقَادَى. |
| 40 | 21 | لَا يَبْعِدُ اللَّهُ ضَابِئًا, read لَا يَبْعِدُ اللَّهُ ضَابِئًا. |
| | | الْقَرْنِ, read الْقَرْنِ. |

¹ Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumahī, *Die Klassen der Dichter*, herausgegeben von Joseph Hell; Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1916.

page	line	
42	9	For <i>إِلَّا قَدَامَ</i> read <i>إِلَّا قَدَامَ</i> .
42	18	<i>لَا أَخَا لَكَ</i> , read <i>لَا أَخَا لَكَ</i> .
42	23	<i>أَتَغْلَبُ</i> , read <i>أَتَغْلَبُ</i> .
		<i>أُولَى حِلْفَةٍ</i> , read <i>أُولَى حِلْفَةٍ</i> , i.e. "I swear an oath".
44	9	<i>وَأَلْقَاهُ</i> , read <i>وَأَلْقَاهُ</i> with B.
44	12	<i>كِلَابًا</i> , read <i>كِلَابًا</i> (rhyme).
44	18	<i>يَبْرُغُ</i> , read <i>يَبْرُغُ</i> .
45	2	<i>فَنَفِي</i> , which is contrary to the metre, cannot be correct.
		<i>أَعْجَبُهُ</i> , better <i>أَعْجَبُهُ</i> .
45	5	<i>وَأَلَمَوْتَ سَيَّانٍ</i> , read <i>وَأَلَمَوْتَ سَيَّانٍ</i> .
46	9	<i>فَأَسَاحِي</i> , read <i>فَأَسَاحِي</i> .
46	10	<i>هَادِيَا</i> , read <i>هَادِيَا</i> with A. and Aghānī.
46	11	<i>مُبَيَّتَةٍ</i> , read <i>مُبَيَّتَةٍ</i> , i.e. "a body of men making a night attack".
46	12	<i>يُخْضِرُ</i> , read probably <i>يُخْضِرُ</i> .
47	11	<i>أَمَلَّ</i> , read <i>أَمَلَّ</i> .
50	4	<i>أَلَّا يُسِيرَ تَحْتَ رَايَةِ أَمِيرِهَا خَالِدًا أَبَدًا</i> , read <i>أَلَّا يُسِيرَ</i> , <i>تَحْتَ رَايَةِ أَمِيرِهَا خَالِدًا أَبَدًا</i> , i.e. "that he would never march under a standard of which the commander was Khālīd".
50	5	<i>فَأَغْرَضَ</i> , read <i>فَأَغْرَضَ</i> . Khālīd is the subject.
50	7	<i>يَضْرِبُ</i> , better <i>يَضْرِبُ</i> .
50	11	<i>بَعْقَدْنَا</i> , read <i>بَعْقَرَاءَ</i> , as suggested by Hell in his note.
51	12	<i>يَعْتَفِرُ</i> , read <i>يَعْتَفِرُ</i> .
51	21	Read <i>الْجَذْلَانِ</i> .
53	1	<i>مَنْعَ النَّوْمِ بِالْعِشَاءِ</i> , read <i>مَنْعَ النَّوْمِ بِالْعِشَاءِ</i> , <i>الْهُمُومِ</i> (so correctly Dīwān).
53	18	<i>حَيْثُ</i> .
53	22	<i>وَسَطُهُ</i> , read <i>وَسَطُهُ</i> with Ibn Hishām.

- page line
- 54 4 الأباء, read الأباء; cf. Nöldeke's *Delectus*, p. 69, l. 9.
- 54 7-11 These lines, with the exception of the last, are quoted in the *Hamāsa* of Ibn ash-Shajarī (MS. Paris, Arabe 6018, fol 22b).
- 54 9 فَكَسْتُ لِحَاصِنٍ, read فَكَسْتُ لِحَاصِنٍ, i.e. "I am not the son of a chaste woman"; cf. *Der Dīwān des Kais ibn al-Ḥatīm*, ed. Kowalski, p. 33, l. 2, with Kowalski's note on this passage.
- 54 15 سَتَغْلِبُ, read سَتَغْلِبُ.
- 55 7 Read فَحَمَرُونِي.
- 55 11 عَزَوْا, read عَزَوْا.
- 55 15 آتَاكَ, read آتَاكَ.
- 55 20 Read وَلْتَذَرْهُنَّ with Ibn Hishām.
- 56 13 عَذْرَاءَ ذَاتِ, read عَذْرَاءَ ذَاتِ.
- 58 2 اللّٰحْمُ, read اللّٰحْمُ.
- 58 9 إِنْ يَبْلُغَهُ, read إِنْ يَبْلُغَهُ.
- 62 13 Read أَلْفَى and أَنْ لَا أَلُومُهُ.
- 63 1 Read مُقَيَّنَةً نَّقِيْنٍ, "a maid who used to dress the hair of brides."
- 63 10 قَرَشِيًّا, read قَرَشِيًّا.
- 63 11 وَوَلِي, read وَوَلِي.
- 63 15 Read وَلِيَتَ and عَرَفَتَ.
- 64 4 أَبْلَغًا.
- 64 8 الخُورُجُ, read الخُورُجُ.
- 64 21 المروءة, read المروءة.
- 70 11 Read فَضْلَهُ (in explanation of his name المنفصل).
- 70 12 المُنْصَفَّةُ, probably المُنْصَفَّةُ. This name was given to poems in which the poet, describing a war or battle, did full justice to the prowess of the enemy. One such poem is given in *Hamāsa* (Bulāq, 1296), i, p. 228 (فوارسا, rhyme العباس بن مرداس).

- page line
- 71 14 seq. = Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, p. 87, l. 15, q.v. for variants.
- 72 14 دَرُّهَا, دَرُّهَا (so B) more probable.
- 72 16 صَبَّحْتُ, read صَبَّحْتُ.
- 72 18 هَالِكٌ, هَالِكٌ better.
- 72 23 أَكَلَفُهَا, read أَكَلَفُهَا.
- 73 2-4 Quoted in the *Ḥamāsa* of Ibn ash-Shajārī (MS. Paris, Arabe 6018, fol. 12b), which gives the following variants:—
1. 2, وَكُنْتُ عَلَى ;
- 1 3, مِنَ الْوَهْنِ, مِنَ الْوَهْنِ ;
1. 4, يَوْمِي, يَوْمِي.
- 73 11 مَا إِنَّ, read مَا إِنَّ.
- 73 17 شِعَارٌ, read شِعَارٌ.
- 73 22 إِنَّ آمَسَّيْتُ (*metri gratia*).
- 74 2 وَمَا إِنَّ أَرَى .
- 74 10 سَرَابٌ بِدَوِيَّةٍ, read سَرَابٌ بِدَوِيَّةٍ, i.e. “a mirage in a desert”.
- 79 8 سَلُودٌ, read سَلُودٌ, “ask him.”
- 79 23 شَجْوَهَا, read شَجْوَهَا. For the phrase cf. the verse of Ibn Mufarrigh (Zajjājī, *Amāli*, p. 30, l. 12, etc.)—
- الريح تبكي شجوها والبرق يلمع في غمامه
- 80 10 لئن كانت.
- 105 4 هَمَزٌ, read هَمَزٌ.
- 105 19 أَبْلَغُ.
- 106 21 لَا قِيَتَ.
- 107 17 كُنَيْبُ.
- 111 13 أَحَاك.
- 112 18-19 = *Ḥamāsa* (Būlāq, 1296), i, p. 70.
- Read نَعْرِضُ (الحوامي), and حَمَيْنَا الكَلَامِ.

- page line
- 118 22 يَشْرِك, read يُشْرِك; cf. Fākhir, p. 96, l. 18.
- 120 4 مَعْرَاء.
- 120 6 Read قَرِيْبُ الَّذِي.
- 122 17 بَن, read بِن.
- 124 1 ولكن.
- 124 19 خُلَسَاتِ.
- 128 5 آذِرَاع, read آذِرَاع (metre).
- 131 22 كَلَب, read كَلَب.
- 131 23 سُنَّة (unmetrical), read سُنَّة (?).
- 132 11 وطابا.
- 132 12 وَرِيَا حَيْثُ, read وَرِيَا حَيْثُ, “and plump at the place where she ties the *hiqāb*.”
- 133 8 حَيِّت, read حَيِّت.
- 133 9 يبرح, read يبرح.
- 133 14 حَمَارَةٌ, read حَمَارَةٌ.
- 133 20 مُمَاطَلَتُهُ, read مُمَاطَلَتُهُ.
- 133 ult. أَنْ.
- 134 8 كَالْغَارِ, read كَالْغَارِ, “like a cave.”
- 134 22 عَلِيَّة.
- 135 18 مَكِينًا.
- 135 23 قَلِيْبُكُمْ, read قَلِيْبُكُمْ. The reference is to a grave (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 453).
- 136 22 فَطَانَةٌ.
- 137 16 Read النَّمِيَّ الْأَمِّيَّ وَالصِّدِيْقَ (metre).
- 138 1 يَرْجِعْنَ.
- 138 20 Read واكثُرُ مِنْهَا مَا تُجِنُّ.
- 138 23 لِيَذْكُرَاهَا.
- 140 7 seq. Cf. *Amālī* of az-Zajjājī, p. 53.
- 140 12 تَحُلُّ.

- page line
- 140 13 Cf. Bakrī, *Mu'jam ma'sta'jam*, p. 798 penult.—
أَحْلُ الدَّعْفِ مِنْ أَحْمَدٍ وَأَنَّنِي مَسَاكِينَهَا شَبِيكَةً أَوْ سَنَامُ
- 140 15 صَلُّوا.
- 141 5 سَعْدَى.
- 141 12 أَصَابَ, read اضَاعَ (?).
- 141 21 لَا نَبَايَانِي, read perhaps لَا نَبَايَانِي, "they (i.e. مَسَى يَل and (صَبَحَ نَهَارَهُ) would remove me to a distance."
- 142 12 Read تَوَاهَا with B and Aghānī.
- 142 20 قَلَبْتُ, read قَلَبْتُ.
- 143 4 غَيْرٌ تَحْلٍ, read غَيْرٌ تَحْلٍ, "without making any false claim"; cf. *Hamāsa* (Bulāq), ii, p. 120, l. 14—
لَنَا الْحَصَانُ مِنْ أَجْلِ وَسَلْمَى وَشَرْقِيَاهُمَا غَيْرَ اتِّحَالِ
- 143 13 الدِّعَامَةِ.
- 143 15 Read سَكَاةً (with MSS.) and تَحْسَبُهَا
- 143 16 الدِّمَامَةِ.
- 144 10 بِالْمَآزِيرِ, read بِأَلْمَاءِ زِيرِ.
- 146 2 لَتَمَشِ better.
- 146 23 Read خَزَى and هَوَانُ.
- 147 21 تُغَيِّرُ, read تُغَيِّرُ. For this use of أَغَارَ in the sense of "appropriating the words or ideas of another author" cf. *Yatīma*, i, p. 92, l. 10, etc.
- 150 20 تَبَارَى better.
- 151 3 نَأَى, read نَاءٌ (this is what is meant by the readings of the MSS.).
- 151 6 Read perhaps بِذَلَّةٍ. The two roots بذل and صون are antithetical; cf. the verse of al-Mutanabbi—
وَكَثَرَمَا تَلْقَى أَبَا الْمَسْكِ بِذَلَّةٍ إِذَا لَمْ تَصْنِ إِلَّا الْحَدِيدَ ثِيَابَ
and also the verse of Umayya b. Abi 'A'idh cited in *Tāj al-'Arūs*, s v. صون.
- 151 21 تَوَّرَ.

page	line	
152	2	غَيْرَ مَحْبُورٍ, read غَيْرَ مَحْبُورٍ, "shall the guest depart from you uncheered?"
152	5	إِذَا جِئْتَ لَهَا, read إِذَا جِئْتَ لَهَا, "lo! another friend of hers"
152	16	زَيْدٍ.
152	21	قِرَاضٍ (<i>metri gratia</i>).

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C. A. STOREY.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January–March, 1918)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

January 8, 1918.—Mr. J. Kennedy, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. H. N. Chatterjee.
Sayyid Haidar Imam.
Mr. M. H. Isphani.
Captain H. E. Poynter, A.S.C.
Rev. Edward W. Ormerod.
Swami Chhuttar Lal.
Mr. K. N. Sitaraman.
Mr. L. Hirananda Shastri.

Sir Charles Lyall read a paper on “Four Poems by Ta’abbata Sharra, the Brigand-Poet”. A discussion followed, in which Messrs. J. D. Anderson, A. G. Ellis, and Yusuf Ali took part.

February 13.—Mr. J. Kennedy, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Robert Scott Greenshields, I.C.S. (retd.).
Professor Vidya Nath Sahari.

Mr. Grant Brown read a paper on “The Burmese Drama”, and in the discussion which followed Sir Frederick Fryer took part.

The resignations of the following members were announced :—

Lady Herringham.
Mr. Seaton.

March 12.—Mr. Longworth Dames, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Rajendranath Ghosh.
 Pandit Shivadhar Panda.
 Lieut.-Col. C. H. Craven.
 Pandit Ram Prasad Tripathi.
 Mrs. R. W. Frazer.
 Major H. O. A. D. Burrowes.
 Professor H. Ui.

Professor Margoliouth read a paper on "Some Sources of the Arabian Nights". A vote of thanks was passed to him, on the motion of the Chairman and Mr. Hagopian.

II. PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

1. EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA. Vol. II, Pt. iv, 1917.

This issue contains the conclusion of Polonnaruwa : Stone Bath Slab-Inscription, Śiva-Devālaye Slab-Inscription, Kiri - Vehera Slab - Inscription, Slab - Inscriptions of Nissanka-Malla, and at the North Gate, and Prīti-Dānaka-Mandapa Rock-Inscription ; also Slab-Inscription of Vijaya-Bāhu II. The last item is Dimbulā-Gaha : Mārā-vidiye Rock-Inscription.

2. BENGAL PAST AND PRESENT. Vol. XIV, Pt. ii, No. xxviii. April-June, 1917.

Contains much material for the history of Bengal under English rule, in "A Missionary Tour in Bengal in 1597, the Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell", and "Materials for the History of Calcutta Streets and Houses, 1786-1834, No. II". "In the Footsteps of Hooker through Sikkim and Nepal" takes us further afield.

3. SARAWAK MUSEUM JOURNAL. Vol. II, Pt. iii, No. vii.

Contains "Key to the Ferns of Borneo", by E. B. Copeland, and no other article.

4. BIJDRAGEN TOT DE TAAL-, LAND-, EN VOLKERKUNDE VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIË. Deel 73, Tweede aflevering, 1917.

Has an obituary notice (with portrait) of the late Professor J. H. C. Kern, by C. Snouck Hurgronje; Dr. H. Kern contributes "Zang IV-V van't Oudjavaansche Rāmāyana in vertaling", and A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, "Het Obslag en het oponthod van den Gouverneur-Generaal Mr. Dieterik Durven op. 9 Oct., 1731"; Dr. F. de Haan writes on "De haatste der Mardijkers"; and Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje on "Een belangrijk document betreffende den Heiligen Oorlog van den Islam (1914) en eene officiële correctie".

5. INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW. Vol. I, No. i, July, 1917.

Is a new quarterly devoted to the promotion of philosophical studies and is edited by Messrs. Allan G. Widerg, M.A., and R. D. Ranade, M.A., Professors of Philosophy at Baroda and Poona respectively. The former contributes Philosophy and Life, the latter Psychology in the Upanishads, to this issue, which also contains Śāṅkaracharya's "Criterion of Truth", by P. Mahabhagvat of Kurtkotī; "The Undercurrents of Jainism," by Professor S. K. Belvalkar; "Some Ethical Aspects of Ancient Hindu Law," by A. K. Trivedi; "Zarathustra and the Hope of Immortality," by P. A. Nadia; and "Aesthetics and Artistic Production", by Eric Major. This review is excellently printed and is priced at Rs. 6 or 12s. only per annum.

6. VEDIC MAGAZINE. Vol. XI, Nos. i, ii.

Discusses the philosophy of Yoga, democracy in Vedic civilization, Sanskrit and Persian literature, the religious philosophy of Hindu marriage; Maharishi Dayananda's "Introduction to the Commentary on the Rig and other Vedas"; "Was Draupadi the joint wife of the Five Pandavas?" and ancient Aryan culture.

7. CALCUTTA REVIEW. No. cclxxxviii, April, 1917.

Has "A Maratha Poet Saint", by Dr. Nicol Macnicol; "Some Santal Legends," by the Hon. and Rev. Dr. A. Campbell; and "Notes on some Grammatical Terms in Bengali", by J. M. Thomas; with other more general articles. "Kashmir and its Moghul Gardens," by T. O. D. Dunn, claims a strong sense of landscape in the Mughal emperors—a point sometimes overlooked in restoration work.

No. cclxxxix, July, 1917.

Contains a slight but suggestive paper, "A Plea for an Economic Interpretation of the Jatakas," by J. N. Das Gupta. Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt's article on "The Sunderbans" contains some historical notes.

No. ccxc, October, 1917.

Contains a brief article by J. Arthur Jones on "Village Godlings" (in Bengal), and a more important one by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., on "Bengali Buddhist Literature". The main thesis in the latter is that Lui, nicknamed Matsāntrāda or "eater of the entrails of fish", founded a sect in the second half of the tenth century A.D. Its doctrine was an outcome of the Mahāyana doctrine of Buddhism, though one of its *siddhāchāryyas* speaks contemptuously of it. Lui is still worshipped in Tibet as one of the wise, and in that part of the Mayūrabhanj State still called Rādhā (where he dwelt) he is now venerated as a saint (*siddha-purusha*). The sect evolved a tenet that there is no virtue or vice, no religious merit or sin, and no *nirvāna*, for that is simply the negation of bondage, which is itself an illusion.

8. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Sér. XI, Tome IX, No. iii,
Mai-Juin, 1917.

Mr. H. Pognon contributes a paper on "Notes lexicographiques et textes assyriens inédits", and M. E. Fossey

one on "Etudes assyriens". M. F. Nau has one on "Révélations et Légendes, Méthodins, Elément, Andronicus", and M. A. Moret one on "Le lotus et la naissance des dieux en Egypte".

9. ASIATIC REVIEW.

The principal features are the "Potentialities of Russo-Indian Trade Relations", by Baron A. Heyking; "The Social Evolution of India," by the Rev. T. Davis; and "India and the Future", by Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E.

10. JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. N.S., Vol. XIII, Pts. iii-v, 1917.

The first of these numbers contains a list of "Riddles current in the District of Sylhet, in Eastern Bengal", transliterated into Devanāgarī characters, and translated with notes by Sarat Chandra Mitra from the collection published in the *Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (vol. xx), by Babu Dwārkanāth Chaudhuri; three articles by Maulavi 'Ābdu'l Walī, "'Ālam Khān's Mosque at Kalwa," "Madāran and Mubārak-Manzil, in the District of Hugli," and "The Tōpkhana Mosque at Santipūr", give interesting archæological and epigraphical details of the places mentioned; "Some Traditions about Sultan Alaaddin Husain Shah and Notes on some Arabic Inscriptions from Murshidabad," by G. D. Sarkar, in which, after giving stories current in Bengal about the rise of Husain Shah from the position of cowherd and other tales in connexion with incidents of his life, the writer appends texts and translations of inscriptions from mosques at Kheraul, Babargram, and Suti, in Baliaghatta and near the Sheker Dighi tank, with plates illustrating the inscriptions. The Numismatic Supplement, No. xxix, gives descriptions of "Novelties in Gupta Coins", (1) Chandragupta II, new variety of conch type, (2) Kumāragupta I, peacock type, var. β, (3) lion-slayer type, new variety; "Three Interesting Sāssānian Drachmes," one of Kobād I, the others of

Hormazd IV ; and "A Silver Coin of the Sāssānian King Khorezād-Khusrau," all of which are illustrated.

The second number includes "The Antiquities of Burdwan" by Maulavī 'Ābdul Wadī, containing particulars of the life of the saint Pir Bahrām, a Chaghtāi Turk from Bokhara, with inscriptions from his mausoleum, an account of the death and supposed tombs of Quṭbu'd-Dīn and Shir Āfgan, with the like particulars concerning Khwāja Āfgan, and an inscription from the Jāmi' mosque ; "A Progress Report on the Work done during the year 1916 in connexion with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana," by Dr. L. P. Tessitori, in which, after indicating the general scheme laid down and reporting on the work done, the writer adds a list of MSS. received, and then proceeds to give a report in detail of the places visited, with the archæological discoveries resulting from the tour.

The third number, among articles of botanic and chemical interest, includes "The Dramas of Bhasa : a literary study", by A. M. Meerwarth, being a lecture delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, with the object, as the writer tells us, of drawing "the attention of non-Sanskritists to an unknown poet of the first magnitude", whose dramas, recently discovered and published in the "Trivandrum Sanskrit Series", are attributed by the discoverer, Mr. Ganapati Sastri, to Bhasa, who lived prior to Buddha ; an opinion in which Mr. Meerwarth thinks it is yet early to concur.

11. INDIAN ANTIQUARY. Vol. XLVI, Pt. DLXXXII, May, 1917.

The April number will be issued later. In this Mr. Bhimrao R. Anbedkar puts forward a novel theory of the origin of caste, holding that "the problem of Caste ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two classes within it". Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah has "Some

remarks supplementing the Manasmṛiti in the light of some recently published Texts", and Mr. J. Rangachari continues his History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura.

Parts DLXXXIII, DLXXXIV.

In these two numbers is contained Sir Aurel Stein's account of "A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia", reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society; "The History of the Nāik Kingdom of Madura" is continued by V. Rangachari giving a sketch of the reign and high character of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, his death at the time of the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb; the regency of Naṅgammāl, the Queen-Dowager, her toleration of Jesuit missionaries, and diplomatic dealings with the Mughals. Following the portion of this article in the first number comes a description by Nanigopal Majumdar of an inscription found at Hārākā in the district of Bārābanki, U.P., consisting of twenty-two lines of Sanskrit verse in a Gupta alphabet of the fifth or sixth century A.D. and commemorating the rebuilding of a ruined temple of Śiva by Suryavarman, son of Īśānavarman, of the Mankhari Dynasty. The remainder of the number includes an obituary notice of the late John Faithfull Fleet, by L. D. Barnett, with an account of Mr. Fleet's connexion with the *Indian Antiquary* by Sir Richard C. Temple. The second number, besides the contributions already mentioned, contains "The Kadamba Prakrit Inscription of Malavatti", by Dr. A. Venkata-subbiah.

12. JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I, Pt. i, September, 1917.

This is the journal of a Society lately founded in these provinces, whose aims are the collecting and recording of archæological and ethnographical data. The chief articles are "Excavations at Garhwa", in which Sir George E. Knox, I.S.O., gives the results of his discoveries there so

long ago as 1873; "The Folklore of Kumaon, with reference to Folklore in general," by the Rev. E. S. Oakley; "The Shṛṅgāra-shataka of Bhartr̥hari, with an old commentary in Hindi written early in the seventeenth century," edited by R. P. Dewhurst, I.C.S., giving "a brief introduction to the text, which is an interesting specimen of Hindi prose and a brilliant example of Sanskrit poetry of the classical period". There are one or two minor articles, and "Notes and Queries" which are intended to be a great feature in the Journal and to supply the place of verbal discussion.

18. EPIGRAPHICA INDO-MOSLEMICA, 1913-14.

Contains plates, transcriptions, and translations of inscriptions as follows: Zafar Hasan, "Inscription found in the Adhchini Village, now preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archæology," recording in Persian Nasta'liq characters the statement that one Muhammad Mas'ūm had obtained an impression of the Prophet's hand. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi (Shams ul-Ulma), "A Copperplate Inscription of Khandesh," being a grant written in Persian and found near the Ellora Caves. Zafar Hasan, "Inscription originally in the Khāṣṣ Maḥall and now preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archæology," consisting of four lines of Persian poetry written in Nasta'liq characters, and recording the erection of the building called Khāṣṣ Maḥall. G. Yazdani, "The Inscriptions of the Turk Sultans of Delhi—Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Mas'ūd, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Ghiyāthu-d-dīn Balban, and Mu'izzu-d-dīn Kaiqubād," being a continuation of the contribution of Dr. J. Horovitz to the last number of the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, and dealing with the epigraphs of the successors of Sultān Iltutmish to the royal throne of Delhi down to the virtual end of the dynasty. The inscriptions are mostly in Arabic, the Naskh writing being used, but there is one of considerable

length in Sanskrit verse, belonging to the time of Sultan Ghyasu-d-Din Balban, which was known to several writers but lost during the Mutiny; it has now been presented to the Delhi Museum of Archæology. G. Yazdani, "Inscriptions in Golconda Fort." These commemorate sundry events in the history of Golconda, and are written in Arabic and Persian (various styles of writing being used), and also in Telugu.

14. JOURNAL OF THE STRAITS BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. No. lxxvii, December, 1917.

Includes a number of contributions by R. W. Winstedt on "The Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago", an interesting contribution to the history of the conversion of the Malayan races; "Place Names in the Hikayat Pasai"; "Malay Nursery Rhymes," an addition to the collection of the latter as given by Mr. Wilkinson on p. 73 of his *Life and Customs*; pt. iii of the series of "Papers on Malay Subjects"; "A Rice Ceremony," a curious rite of which Mr. Winstedt was an eye-witness; "Lexicographical Coincidences in Khasi and Malay," being a valuable contribution to the study of the affinity between languages of the group to which these two belong; "Changes in Malay Reduplicated Words"; and "Rules in Malay Chess". A "Memorandum on the Aborigines in the Jasin District of Malacca, dated 1892", by C. O. Blagden, is preceded by an editorial note stating that it is taken from an official file in the records at Malacca at the suggestion of Mr. L. E. Walferstan, the Resident. The remaining articles are of purely botanical interest.

15. TRANSACTIONS OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. VIII.

Contains an "Introduction to the Study of Buddhism in Corea", by the Right Rev. Mark Napier Trollope, D.D.,

Bishop in Corea; and "Corean Charms and Amulets", by Frederick Starr. Both articles are illustrated.

16. BULLETIN DE L'ACADEMIE MALGACHE. N.S., Tome I.

The Bulletin, which is henceforth to be issued in quarto to allow of the insertion of plates, contains articles on "Anthropométrie des Races du Sud-Est", by M. Rouquette; and "Le 'Ventana' ou Sort", by H. Rusillon, the former making research into the origin of the Malgaches, while the latter gives some of their ideas on destiny. The remaining articles are of interest chiefly to the naturalist. A supplement is issued with this number, viz. "Essai de Dictionnaire Betsileo", by the R. P. H. Dubois, being the continuation (letter C) of the same work in the Bulletins for the years 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1913.

17. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL
ARCHÆOLOGY. Vol. XXXIX, Pt. vii, December, 1917.

Contains a continuation of the Rev. W. T. Pilter's article on "The Manna of the Israelites", in which the writer demonstrates more or less satisfactorily that manna must have been composed of both forms of this food now known to desert places in Siberia, Asia Minor, etc., i.e. of *tarfa* gum, an exudation from the tamarisk shrub, and of an edible lichen. In this discussion sundry philological questions are involved. The remainder of the number consists of "Assyriological Notes" by Professor A. H. Sayce, on "The Cherubim", "Baal and Yahveh", "The God Kadmos", "The Nunnation in Arabic", which is traced through cuneiform texts and the names of deities to the third millennium B.C., "The Ephod," "Imperial Purple," which celebrated garment is derived from Assyrian usage, "The Hittite Code of Laws," etc.

Vol. XL, Pt. i, January, 1918.

Contains "An Unrecognized Egyptian Adverb", by Alan H. Gardiner; "The Covenant Ceremony among the

Hebrews," by E. J. Pilcher, an investigation of the rite of passing between the parts of a slaughtered animal; and "Additional Notes on the Sargon Text", by Professor A. H. Sayce.

18. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. N.S., Vol. VIII, No. iii,
January, 1918.

Contains "A Seventeenth Century Autobiography", by Professor Alexander Marx; "The Philosophy of Don Hasdai Crescas," by Dr. Meyer Waxman; "The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History," by Jacob Mann, M.A.; "A Fragment of the Visions of Ezekiel," by Dr. A. Marmorstein, being the text, with discussion thereon, of a fragmentary pseudepigraph discovered in a manuscript at the British Museum. "Critical Notices" conclude the number.

19. JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
Vol. XXXV, Pt. iv.

After sundry vicissitudes owing to the War, the final number of this volume is now issued. It contains "Studies in the Old Persian Inscriptions" and "An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia", by Charles C. Torrey; "Studies in Semitic Grammar," by Frank R. Blake; "The Home of Balaam," "The Conclusion of Esarhaddon's Broken Prism," and "Some Unexplained Cuneiform Words", by William F. Albright.

20. JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.
Vol. I, Nos. i, ii.

This is the first volume of the Journal of a new society, founded in Chicago, for the pursuit of scientific study in the Nearer Ancient Orient. The contributions in the first number include articles by: Paul Haupt, on Philology, "Sumerian *tu*, dove, and *nam*, swallow," and "Hebrew *az* = Ethiopic *enza*"; Samuel A. B. Mercer, "Emperor-worship in Egypt," in which the writer shows that the ancient Egyptian kings were worshipped as

gods not only after their death but during their lifetime; by the same writer, the text and translation of "The Anaphora of our Lord in the Ethopic Liturgy", one of thirteen *Anaphoras* used on various special occasions; Stephen Langdon, "Syllabar in the Metropolitan Museum."

The second number contains an article by Samuel A. B. Mercer on "Sumerian Morals", in which, after discussing this question, he concludes that though on a lower level as a nation than the Western world, as a people "their moral ideals were singularly high"; "Babylonian Patriotic Sayings," by John A. Maynard, being a bilingual text (No. 8 in Ebeling's "Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, religiösen Inhalts" (p. 12)), with translation of sayings in praise of Nippur and Babylon; two contributions to Semitic philology, by Paul Haupt, "The Disease of King Teuman of Elam" and "Syriac *siftā*, lip, and *šānpā*, end".

21. BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS BULLETIN. Vol. XV,
No. xci, October, 1917.

Contains the "Leslie Mason Collection of Musical Instruments", descriptions and illustrations of a selection of stringed and wind instruments from the above collection, which, recently presented to the Museum, includes specimens of all times and countries, Asiatic, American, and European.

No. xcii

Contains an illustrated article on "Ch'en Jung's Picture of Nine Dragons", a Taoist work of art dating from the thirteenth century, recently acquired by the Museum.

No. xciii

Contains an article on "Mughal Painting (Akbar and Jehangir)", by "A. K. C.", with illustrations.

22. THE MUSEUM JOURNAL (UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA). Vol. VII, No. iv; Vol. VIII, Nos. i, ii.

Contain a few articles of Asiatic import. "Two Early Chinese Buddhist Sculptures," by C. W. Bishop, is

a description of two famous carved pedestals, the first bearing a dated (A.D. 524) dedicatory inscription to a Governor of Wei Hsien under the great Wei dynasty, the second dating from somewhat later, "probably some time in the T'ang dynasty" (618-907). The reliefs represent scenes from Buddhist lore, mythical animals such as the Fêng-huang, and religious processions. "An Ancient Babylonian Map," by Stephen H. Langdon, describes a map, of an agricultural area near the city of Nippur, made about 1500 B.C. The next number has two articles by Dr. Langdon, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," which describes a fragment hitherto missing (No. xi) in the series of the Epic; and "A Ritual of Atonement for a Babylonian King" (Shamash-shum-ukin), from a tablet in the Museum. The ensuing number has one article by Dr. Langdon on "A Babylonian Tablet on the Interpretation of Dreams", belonging to about the fifteenth century B.C.

23. THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND. QUARTERLY
STATEMENT, January, 1918.

Contains an obituary notice of Professor Edward Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., by "S. A. C."; "Hygiene and Disease in Palestine in Modern and Biblical Times," by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman; "The Immoveable East," being sketches of the modern towns of Palestine, by Philip J. Baldensperger; "St. George for England," by Estelle Blythe; "Archæological Notes on Jewish Antiquities," by Joseph Offord.

24. SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS. Vol. I, No. i,
January, 1918.

This is a new scientific journal published quarterly in Khartoum, which seems likely to supply a long-felt want in this field of research. It is to be hoped, therefore, that it may meet with such encouragement as it merits. Commencing with an "Outline of the Ancient History of

the Sudan", by Professor J. Reisner, an authority on this subject, it includes contributions on "Arabic Nursery Rhymes", by S. Hillelson, obtained from boys at the Gordon College; "Nubian Elements in Darfur," an account, by H. A. MacMichael, of migrations and amalgamations of the tribes in this region; with shorter articles on subjects of naturalistic and administrative interest.

25. CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

Vol. III, Pt. ii, October, 1917.

Gives a full description of the caves, ruins, and inscriptions at Dimbulā-Gaha, by H. C. P. Bell, and an article on "The Inscription at Kitsirinevan Kelani Vihāra", by Messrs. Simon de Silva and W. F. Gunawardhana. The Rev. S. G. Perera continues his account of the Jesuits in Ceylon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sinhalese Folk-lore is dealt with by J. P. Lewis, and Kandyan Marriages by Edwin Bevan. Naturalists will find "Grimm's Laboratorium Ceylonicum", by T. Petch, interesting, and the Notes and Queries will be useful to research.

Part iii, January, 1918.

Contains "Place Names in Jaffna ending in 'pāy'", by S. W. Coomaraswamy; "Ceylon according to du Jarric," by the Rev. E. Gaspard, S.J.; "Sissiyānu Sissia Paramparāwa and other Laws relating to Buddhist Priests in Ceylon," by G. W. Woodhouse, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.; "An Old Tamil Poem on a Christian Shrine," by the Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.; "Archæological Research in the Egoda Pattuwa, Tamankaduwa," by H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (ret.); "Historical Records of the Society of Jesus. III. The Portuguese and the Dutch in Galla," by the Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J.; "Pilama Talawuwē, Mahā Adigār: his Political Intrigues, 1798-1803," by L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S. The number is illustrated, and concludes with the usual "Notes and Queries" and reviews.

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*For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
the April and October Numbers of the Journal.*

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
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AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

◌ं (Anusvāra) ṁ	◌ः (Aragraha) ḥ
◌ं (Anunāsika) ṁ	◌ँ (Udātta) ˆ
◌ः (Visarga) ḥ	◌ँ (Svarita) ˜
◌ं (Jihvāmūliya) ḥ	◌ँ (Anudātta) ˆ
◌ं (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	

II

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit;	ك k	آ ā
elsewhere َ or ِ	ل l	ی i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	و ū
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . . 3 or z	و . . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	ه h
ح h	ط t	ی ai
ح . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ ẓ	ؤ au
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ْ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS
ر r	ف f	hamza َ or ِ
ز z	ق q	silent t . . h
		letter not pro-
		nounced . . ّ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

<p>PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.</p>	<p>TURKISH ONLY</p>	<p>HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.</p>	<p>PAKHTŪ ONLY.</p>
پ p	ک when pro-	ت or پ . t	ٹ ts
چ . c or <u>ch</u>	nounced as	ڈ or ڊ . . d	ڄ ɟ
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>	g k	ڑ or ړ r	ښ ɳ
گ g	گ ġ		کش ksh

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TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT, ARABIC, AND ALLIED
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1918

IX

THE VALUE OF MONEY AT THE COURT OF AKBAR

BY W. H. MORELAND

IN the Journal for October, 1917 (p. 815), I discussed some of the material available for the study of wages and prices in the latter part of Akbar's reign, and offered the tentative conclusions that, while a much wider basis is desirable for a final judgment, (1) we may take the rupee to have been worth at the Imperial capital about seven times as much grain as in the years 1910-12, (2) on the same basis we may regard urban wages as having been worth somewhere about the same amount of grain at the two periods. I have since been enabled to extend the inquiry to certain other commodities, which make it possible to indicate provisionally and in general terms what money was actually worth to the population of the Imperial capital. The results apply directly only to this population, but they also have some bearing on the economic conditions prevailing over a wider area in Northern India. It is safe to say that, after allowing for seasonal fluctuations, local agricultural produce became cheaper, and consequently money became dearer, as the distance from the main urban centres increased, while imported goods became cheaper towards their source and

dearer in the opposite direction. We cannot as yet state the steepness of these gradients, but we can be sure of their existence in a general way, and subject to the effects of particular seasons or of hindrances to trade; and thus we can make some approach towards a comprehension of the market conditions prevailing over a large part of the country. The data now given must not be applied to tracts within easy reach of the seaboard; they refer primarily to the country between Agra and Lahore, and they are suggestive for the greater part of the plains from Bihar westwards.

As indicated in the previous paper, the prices for the earlier period are, with one or two exceptions, those considered to be reasonable by the officials of Akbar's Court; the comparison rests on the assumption that the judgment of these officials was not greatly at fault, and that the figures returned by them for incorporation in the *Āin-i-Akbari* were not very far from being substantially correct. For the later period I have relied as far as possible on *Prices and Wages in India* (thirty-second issue); in cases where this authority fails, I have obtained information from the responsible market authorities in Lucknow regarding the rates ruling in the years immediately before the outbreak of war. The value of Akbar's maund is taken at 55½ lb.

As in the previous paper, I have adopted the official ratio of 40 dams to the rupee, neglecting the temporary fluctuations resulting from the co-existence of two monetary standards. The composition of the rupee may for the purpose of this inquiry be treated as constant. Akbar's coin seems to have weighed somewhat less than the present standard of 180 grains, but it consisted of practically pure silver, while the rupee now in use contains 15 grains of alloy. The difference between the amount of silver in the two coins is so small as to be negligible in comparison with the very large variations in prices which the statistics

disclose. The question of composition was indeed irrelevant in the years preceding the War, when the rupee had become a token representing one-fifteenth of the sterling pound; the effects of this change are included in the movements of prices about to be discussed.

FOOD-GRAINS AND FLOUR

The comparison works out as follows:—

<i>Article.</i>	<i>Price in lbs. per rupee.</i>		<i>Factor.</i>
	<i>Then.</i>	<i>Now.</i>	
Wheat . . .	185	25.1	7.4
Gram . . .	277.5	37.4	7.4
Barley . . .	277.5	37.0	7.5
Juār . . .	222	33.7	6.6
Bājra . . .	277.5	29.4	9.4
Rice . . .	111	15.3	7.2 uncertain
Wheat-flour .	148	21.4	6.9

In this table the present prices are the average wholesale rates for Agra, Delhi, and Lahore for the years 1910-12, the latest "ordinary" years available. The figures for the first four articles are reproduced from my previous paper. As I there pointed out, the factors of comparison, obtained by dividing former by present rates, indicate that the three rabi grains held the same relative rank as now, while the divergence in the case of juār is too small to be regarded as significant. The rate for bājra diverges, it will be seen, in the opposite direction, but not to an extent which would necessitate a revision of the conclusion previously drawn. The case of the first five grains is thus clear, but rice is a more difficult subject. Abul Fazl gives rates for a wide range of varieties, while modern statistics refer only to two grades, "best" and "common", which are interpreted differently in different parts of the country. The figures given assume that the modern rates¹ for the lower grade apply locally to varieties ranking with *sāthī*, the cheapest

¹ These are retail rates, wholesale figures not being recorded for this part of the country.

mentioned in the *Āīn*, but the comparison is in any case uncertain.

Abul Fazl gives two rates for wheat-flour, for qualities which he names respectively '*maida* and *khaskah*. The *maida* used at Court was exceptionally fine, for he tells us that half the grain was discarded in milling, and such flour is not ordinarily on sale at the present day. The comparison is therefore made with the coarser grade.

The additional figures now given tend to confirm the conclusion already advanced, that, measured in food-grains, one of Akbar's rupees was worth at least seven times as much as a rupee of the present day.

ANIMAL FOOD-PRODUCTS

The following figures may be given under this head:—

<i>Article.</i>	<i>Price in lbs. per rupee.</i>		<i>Factor.</i>
	<i>Then.</i>	<i>Now.</i>	
Mutton. . . .	34.1	8.2	4.2
Milk	88.9	16.4	5.4
Ghī	21	1.8	11.6

The modern price of ghī is taken from *Prices and Wages*; the rates used for mutton and milk refer to the Lucknow wholesale market. These latter articles were, relatively to grain, rather dearer at Akbar's Court than now, though much cheaper relatively to money. Ghī on the other hand was comparatively cheap.

OILSEEDS

It is convenient to consider oilseeds at this point, as some of them yield an important element of food, which comes into competition with ghī. In the following figures the modern rates are taken from *Prices and Wages*.

<i>Article.</i>	<i>Price in lbs. per rupee.</i>		<i>Factor</i>
	<i>Then.</i>	<i>Now.</i>	
White til . . .	111	10.6	{10.4
Black til . . .	116.8		{11.0
Rape	185	16.0	11.5
Linseed . . .	999	9.9	22.4

The price of linseed was for some reason or other abnormally high in the years 1910-12, when only 10 lb. could be obtained for a rupee; in 1907-9 the quantity was 13·4 lb., and the price fell again to practically this level in 1913; the 'factor' for linseed therefore should probably be about 16 instead of 22·4. It is clear that oils and fats were cheap at Court relatively not merely to money but to grain.

FOOD ADJUNCTS AND RELISHES

Article.	Price in lbs. per rupee.		Factor.
	Then.	Now.	
Sugar (<i>shakar-i safed</i>) .	17·3	9·1	1·9
„ (<i>shakar-i surkh</i>) .	39·6	10·2	3·9
Salt	137·7	41·1	3·3
Cloves	0·9	2·0	0·45

The modern rates in this table are those of Lucknow. Sugar is a treacherous subject owing to possible variations in quality. Of the kinds quoted by Abul Fazl, I have selected the two grades of *shakar*, which are still familiar in the market as a fine grain or coarse powder, which is either white (*safed*) or definitely brown (*surkh*), the former of course commanding the higher price. On the assumption that the same qualities bore the same names in Akbar's time, brown sugar was, relatively to grain, distinctly dearer than now; white sugar was relatively much dearer, and the figures can be explained on the hypothesis that the complete art of refining was less commonly practised than now, so that really white sugar was a rarity. Unfortunately for this inquiry, gur—the sugar of the masses—was not used in the Imperial kitchens, and the absence of any quotation for it prevents us from drawing definite conclusions as to the position of the peasant who grew sugar-cane. This problem may be approached through the recorded assessment rates; if we assume that the relative productivity of the country near the Imperial capital has not changed materially in the

course of three centuries, these rates indicate that in the eyes of the revenue officers 10 lb. of wheat were equivalent to about 12 lb. of gur. In the years before 1914, 10 lb. of wheat would exchange for about 6·8 lb. of gur, and the resulting "factor" is about 13, putting gur on the same level as ghi and oilseeds, a cheap commodity for consumers and an unremunerative article for producers. The assumption, however, is by no means a certainty, and it is not safe to say more than that gur was at any rate not dearer in terms of wheat than at present, while brown sugar was probably dearer, and white sugar probably much dearer; this position would result naturally if sugar manufacture was not an important local industry, and as a matter of fact we know from the statements of travellers that sugar was commonly imported from Bengal.

The case of salt is simpler: it was clearly expensive relatively to grain, though cheap in terms of money. I have added the figures for cloves as indicating the cost of foreign spices, which were very largely used in Akbar's kitchen, and doubtless by everyone at Court who could afford them. They were more than double the present price in money, and therefore more than fourteen times the equivalent in grain.

CLOTHES

The materials under this head are very scanty. Abul Fazl gives, it is true, a long list of the stuffs purchased for the Imperial wardrobe, but for one reason or another his figures are of little use for comparative purposes. Most of the fabrics enumerated are luxury goods, and the quotations are naturally so wide as to be useless; a piece of *parmnarm*, for instance, might cost anything from 2 rupees to 20 muhrs, and various other cloths show similar variations. Again, most of the quotations are for the piece, and we are not told how many yards the piece

contained, while as a further complication we read that Akbar altered the width in which some stuffs were woven. I can offer a tentative comparison in the case of only three articles under this head, the assumptions being made in each case (a) that the cheapest quality now on the market is approximately similar to the cheapest quality sold in Akbar's time, and (b) that the width has not been altered in the interval. These assumptions are not very improbable, for conservatism is a dominant character of the Indian market in such matters, but the comparison rests on a much less stable foundation than that which has been drawn in the case of food grains. The modern rates given are those of the Lucknow market; Akbar's *gaz* is taken as 30·75 inches.

Article.	Price per rupee.			Factor.
	Unit.	Then.	Now.	
Cotton cloth (<i>chhīnt</i>) . .	yard	17·1	5·3	3·2
„ (<i>silāhati</i>) . .	„	17·1	3·2	5·3
Blanket	piece	4	0·8	5·0

These figures suggest that clothes were dear relatively to grain, but a wider basis is required before this conclusion can be asserted with confidence. Some light on this question can be obtained from the assessment rates recorded by Abul Fazl. Before 1914, 1 lb. of cotton fibre cost about 7 lb. of wheat, while the recorded rates suggest that in Akbar's time it cost about 10 lb. We may assume that since wages measured in grain have remained approximately the same, the price of clothes has varied with the price of the most important raw material, and the factor would in that case be a little over 5, or about the same as that for *silāhati*.

METALS

The case of copper is simple; the metal was bought for Akbar's mint at the rate of 1,044 dams per maund, or 2·1 lb. per rupee. The price in Lucknow about the year 1914 was 1·6 lb. per rupee, giving a factor of 1·3; valued

in grain, therefore, copper was in Akbar's time more than five times as dear as at present, and this rate must be taken as governing the price of brass and copper utensils.

Abul Fazl gives no similar quotation for iron, and we have to approach its value by the sanctioned rates for a few articles used in the Imperial stables. Here again, size and quality introduce elements of doubt. Horse-shoes, for instance, were allowed for at 10 dams the set, or 16 shoes per rupee; the present price in Lucknow works out at 21 shoes per rupee, giving a factor of 0·8, so that iron has on this showing actually become cheaper in money, and very much cheaper in grain, but the possibility that the weight of the shoes has altered prevents this conclusion from being definitely accepted. The same objection does not apply to the second available illustration, iron picket-pegs, because these were paid for by weight. They were allowed for at 18·5 lb. per rupee, and can now be got at the rate of 8 lb. in Lucknow. The corresponding factor is 2·3, so that, while the basis for an exact comparison is inadequate, it is clear that the cost of iron was very high when measured in grain, and not much cheaper than now when measured in money.

SUMMARY

We may say, then, that in the markets at Akbar's Court a rupee or other given coin had the following value as compared with the years before the outbreak of war:—

In buying food-grains . . .	7 times as much, or more.
„ mutton	4 times as much.
„ milk	5½ times as much.
„ ghī and oils	11 times as much, or more.
„ sugar	from 2 to 4 times as much.
„ salt	3 times as much, or more.
„ clothes	perhaps 5 times as much.
„ copper	slightly more than now.
„ iron	perhaps twice as much.
„ cloves	less than half as much as now.

In other words, and allowing roughly for the quantities of the various goods required by different classes, to the

very poorest classes a rupee was worth as much as seven rupees now: to the classes just above the line of extreme poverty, it was worth about six rupees, and to the middle and upper classes certainly about five rupees, possibly somewhat more, so long as they did not require imported luxuries, which were exceedingly costly compared with the produce of the country. We may say, therefore, that a servant on Rs. 2 p.m. was as well off about the year 1595 as one on Rs. 12 in 1914; that Rs. 400 to 500 would have been the equivalent pay for a senior Collector, Rs. 1,000 for a Chief Justice, and Rs. 2,000 for a provincial Governor; and for general comparisons we may take Akbar's rupee as worth about six rupees of the modern currency.

The position of the urban general labourer, getting 2 dams a day, requires separate notice. His food cost him about the same proportion of his wages as now, so that his surplus available for other forms of expenditure was proportionately the same, but actually it was only one-seventh of its present amount in coin, and though commodities were cheaper in money, he had much less money to spend on them. If we say that in his case dear salt and (perhaps) sugar were approximately compensated by cheaper oil or ghi, then he had about one-seventh of the money he now has to spend on other goods; relatively to his means, therefore, he paid about 50 per cent more for his clothes, three or four times as much for iron articles, and about five times as much as now for copper utensils, if he aspired to such costly possessions.

The position of the peasants dependent on the markets of the capital must also be considered separately. Their income consisted of agricultural produce, part of which they consumed, while the rest was sold or bartered to buy things like salt, clothes, utensils, and—most important of all—money to pay the revenue. The comparative position is most clearly shown by stating the quantities

of these goods which could be obtained for 185 lb. of wheat (the equivalent of one rupee in Akbar's time). The figures stand as follows:—

Article.	Unit.	Quantity obtainable.		Factor.
		Then.	Now.	
Salt	lb.	137.7	304.1	0.45
Cloth (<i>chint</i>) . . .	yds.	17.1	39.2	0.43
„ (<i>silāhātī</i>) . . .	„	17.1	23.7	0.72
Blanket	piece	4	5.9	0.68
Copper	lb.	2.1	9.6	0.22
Money	rupee	1.0	7.4	0.14

Thus the peasant who marketed chiefly food-grains paid more than double the present price for salt, perhaps 50 per cent more for clothes, five times the present price for copper, probably three or four times as much for iron, and more than seven times the present price for a rupee. If the peasant sold chiefly oilseeds, he was much worse off; to get a rupee he had to deliver about eleven times as much rape or til as in modern times, and the cost of other commodities was higher in proportion. We are not told the prices ruling for gur or for raw cotton; from the somewhat uncertain figures for the corresponding manufactured articles, we may infer that cotton at least paid the peasant better than food-grains, and if this inference applies also to some of the minor market crops for which price-data are wanting, the fact will furnish an explanation of the statement contained in some MSS. of the *Āīn*, and discussed on p. 19 of the *Journal* for January, 1918, that under the regulation-system of assessment the superior crops increased in area. Under that system it would have been hard to make a living by growing only grain and oilseeds, and the growth of superior crops would have been stimulated in consequence.

This estimate relates directly to the peasants living near the Court. The greater their distance from the market, the worse was their position in both buying and selling, though distance may have brought compensating advantages of various kinds.

CONCLUSIONS

If the prices recorded by Abul Fazl may be taken as indicating the approximate course of the markets of Northern India in the latter part of Akbar's reign, the following conclusions may be drawn :—

1. Money was worth about six times as much under Akbar as in the years before the war, if we measure its value in terms of country produce and neglect imported luxuries.

2. The difference benefited mainly the upper classes, who had large cash incomes, cheap supplies, and an ample surplus for expenditure on luxury or display.

3. Urban labourers could get food as at present, but could buy fewer or inferior clothes, and must usually have gone without metal utensils.

4. Peasants were much worse off than now in regard to all articles which they had to purchase.

X

PICTOGRAPHIC RECONNAISSANCES. PART II BEING DISCOVERIES, RECOVERIES, AND CON- JECTURAL RAIDS IN ARCHAIC CHINESE WRITING

By L. C. HOPKINS

(Continued from Part IV of the Journal, 1917.)

IT is one pleasing feature of the absence of logical method in these palæographic excursions and alarms, that interesting irrelevancies are more easily introduced and less severely regarded than where a stricter scheme has been pursued.

At least that is my hope in presenting the important summary of conclusions reached by Lo Chên-yü upon the true nature and mutual relations of the several varieties of ancient Chinese writing which preceded the actual type now current. These conclusions, being based on an analysis of the entirely new material provided by the Honan bone inscriptions, corroborate and strongly fortify the verdicts of two Chinese authorities who had considered these problems on the evidence previously available.

So much, then, by way of apology and introduction to the passage from pp. 73-4 of the 殷虛書契考釋 or *Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin*, which runs as follows:—

“Judging by the characters it is possible to identify, the proportion of those that tally with the Lesser Seal forms of Hsiü’s work [the *Shuo Wen*] is from 30 to 40 per cent. Further, there are a certain number that tally with Hsiü’s ‘occasional forms’ (或體, *huo t’i*), and others that tally with the modern script (今隸, *chin li*).

“On the other hand, the proportion of those that do not tally with the ancient or the *chou wen* [Greater Seal] forms is from 80 to 90 per cent. And of the few that do

agree with one or other of these two categories, more agree with the *chou wén* than with the ancient forms.

"From this fact we can tell that the Greater Seal is as old as the writing of the Shang and Chou dynasties (以是知大篆者蓋因商周文字之舊), and, also, that the Lesser Seal is as old as the Greater Seal. It is not true that the Greater Seal was invented (紉, *ch'uang*) by the Chief Recorder Chou, nor the Lesser Seal by the Minister Li Ssü.

"All that the Recorder Chou did was to publish the ancient forms as the *Chapters of the Recorder* (史篇, *shih p'ien*). These *Chapters of the Recorder* are the ancestor of all works on epigraphy [小學, lit. the Lesser Learning, the term applied to this branch of research], and they are a continuation and not a new departure (有因而無創者也).

"And all that the Minister [Li] Ssü did when he standardized the system of writing was merely to abrogate those characters that differed from the forms current in the State of Ts'in. It has never been proved that any characters inherited by the State of Ts'in through the several centuries that had elapsed, and dating back to the two Dynasties of Shang and Chou, were forced into desuetude. This explanation had indeed been formulated by Tuan of Chin-t'an [viz. 段玉裁, Tuan Yü-ts'ai], and by Ch'ien of Chia-ting [viz. 錢, whose personal name is unknown to me].

"The latter writes in his postface to the *Han Chien* (汗簡), 'Of the 9,000 odd characters of the *Shuo Wen*, ancient forms (古文) constitute the greater part. When it quotes the Classics, it always employs the *ku wén* forms. In the explanatory text, when it adduces *ku wén* or *chou wén* [ancient forms and Greater Seal] examples, these are variant forms of *ku wén* or *chou wén*, but the ancient forms are not limited to these few characters only.'

"In another passage Ch'ien writes, 'In later times people have wrongly pointed to the *Shuo Wen* as consisting of the Seal character used in the State of Ts'in, and have sought elsewhere for the so-called ancient forms, and these were not to be found.'

"Mr. Tuan's views are expounded in his commentary on the Preface to the *Shuo Wen*.

"The opinions of these two scholars, though open to certain criticisms, are yet marked by a fine discrimination and a conspicuous scholarship that are beyond rivalry (然其精思卓識不可及也)."

Lo Chên-yü then adds the following passage in corroboration of the opinions he has just estimated so highly: "Now that we possess the oracular sentences, these views acquire additional credibility. As regards the 'ancient forms' (古文) cited in Hsu's volumes, they are solely based on the Books recovered from the wall,¹ while the *chou wên* characters are taken from the *Chapters of the Recorder Chou*. In the first case the characters are of late Chou dynasty date; in the second, they are from a work of which more than half is lost. That such forms could not entirely tally with characters of the age of the Shang and Chou eras (商周間文字之舊), might indeed be reasonably expected.

"Coming to the Seal character [viz. 篆文, the Lesser Seal], this was in origin a development from the ancient *chou wên* forms, hence its predominating agreement with the characters of the oracular sentences. But from the period of the writing of Shang and Chou times to the lifetime of Hsü Shen, more than a thousand years had passed. There could not fail to be defects arising from alterations in the ensuing centuries. While in the

¹ Namely, the tablets containing the Book of History, the Record of Rites, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Analects, which had been hidden at the time of the Burning of the Books, in the wall of the Confucian mansion, and were rediscovered there circa B.C. 90.

descent of Hsü's work down to the present day, other two thousand years have elapsed, which also have not failed to beget errors due to recopying and revising. The result is that for students to rely exclusively on Hsü's volumes in order to find the veritable ancient forms, would be like getting hold of a man's great-great-great-grandsons to discover the jocularities of their great-great-great-grandfathers !

"Nevertheless, now that we are to-day able to investigate these veritable ancient forms, if we had not possessed Hsü's book to trace back to the earlier characters on ancient Bronzes, and from these latter to explore the oracular sentences, this task could hardly have been accomplished. From this point of view, then, it may indeed be affirmed that the recovery of the veritable ancient forms is attributable to the work of Hsü."

Yü 雨, rain, to rain. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 132-41.) This is not altogether apparent. Clearly the dots, varying in numbers and arrangement in different examples, represent the separate drops of rain, but how are we to regard the upper and surrounding lines, especially the frequent combinations $\overline{\text{m}}$ and m ?

The *Shuo Wen* analyses the Lesser Seal form (Fig. 142) as consisting of — , representing the sky, and m , representing clouds, the remainder being drops of water. But where else does m ever stand for clouds ? Hsü Shên also adds a very elaborate *ku wên* version (Fig. 143) never found on the Honan Bones.

Lin 霖, continuous rain. *Significance of the archaic form.* (Fig. 144.) This appears to be a genuine ancient example of a phonetic compound, being composed of 雨 *yü*, rain, and 林 *lin*, a forest, which presumably enters solely to indicate the sound.

Ling 霽, a gentle rain ; but used on the carved objects of the Honan find in the expressions *ling chung*, which would presumably at later dates be written 靈 鍾, magic

bell, 靈圭 *ling kuei*, magic tablet, 靈龜 *ling kuei*, magic tortoise, 靈璧 *ling pi*, magic disk. On the oldest Bronzes we find similarly the expression 靈終 *ling chung*, a happy or blessed end of life. Put in such uses modern texts, e.g. those of the *Shu King* and the *Odes*, have substituted 令 *ling*.

Significance of the archaic forms. (Figs. 145-9.) Apparently a phonetic compound, composed of *rain*, and two, or three, round, mouth-shaped, or triangular figures. In the latter case, in composition, the apex of the triangle is prolonged to a fine point, as in the character 臨 *lin*, to look down, in the Yü Caldron, 孟鼎 (Fig. 150). In the same character *lin*, in the Mao Kung Ting (Fig. 151), we have the triangles replaced by the mouth-shaped form, from which short lines ascend. On the Bones, Lo Chên-yü cites, p. 19, three examples, each having two, not three, mouth-shaped variants, but in my collection I have on H. 271 an instance of 霽, written with three triangles (Fig. 152). The ideal or primitive type of this triplicate symbol is, therefore, not a matter of certainty. The *Shuo Wen* account is that 𩇛 象雨零形, "the element 𩇛 depicts rain-drops." But the rain-drops are already depicted in the upper part, the symbol for rain, and Hsü's statement cannot be accepted. I suggest, in place of the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation, that the true original of these round, mouth-shaped, or triangular signs was the small globular or oval bell, attached sometimes alone, sometimes in sets, to various other objects, such as a horse's bridle, or the top of a banner-staff. These bell-attachments were called by different terms, one being 鈴 *ling*, as it is now found, which is probably only another way of writing the word *ling* under discussion.

Hsüeh 雪, snow. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 153-5.) Including the Lesser Seal, there are two types in existence, and it is noteworthy that of these, the modern form corresponds not to the Lesser Seal (Fig. 156),

but essentially to the archaic design shown on the Honan bones, which consists of *rain* and (apparently) two *right hands* (the modern form has only one hand), an effort to express, or at least to suggest, the congealed state of rain, which, as snow, can be held in the hands. But the type of the *Shuo Wen* is compounded on the contrary of *rain* and the character 彗 *sui*, now written 箒, a broom. The *Shuo Wen* states that this element is phonetic, but Chalmers seems likely to be right in thinking the whole Lesser Seal character is a suggestive compound and indicates "rain that can be brushed" (*Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 27).

It would be more satisfactory to have further and more clearly cut examples of the Bone types.

Tien 電, lightning. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 157-8.) If Lo Chên-yü is right, as I believe he is, in his equation of these forms, they consist of a combination of *water* with a very early form of 申 *shén*, which is held by Lo and others to depict *lightning*—"rain and lightning by turns preceding each other (相將也)," as Lo explains. We should notice that these Bone variants do not contain the element *rain*, but a combining-form of *water*. Lo includes a character which has two small circles in place of the water-drops (Fig. 159), and another which he thinks is probably a variant of 電 *tien* (Fig. 160), but he omits to notice what must be variants of this last, though the circles have become mouth-shaped signs (Figs. 161-2). To me all these forms containing circles or mouths appear a little doubtful as equivalents of 電 *tién*.

(For the origin of the character 申 *shén*, see that character discussed below.)

Chên 晨, the dawn. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 163-4.) This cannot yet be explained. The character consists of 扌 *chü*, to hold in the two hands held together (for which 掬 was afterwards

substituted), and 辰 *ch'én*, apparently as the phonetic. The modern scription of *dawn*, however, is 晨 *ch'én*, with 日 *jih*, the sun, in place of *chü*, and the combination seems much more natural in view of the sense. Nevertheless, the Lesser Seal form with *chü* is corroborated by the single example from the Bones. I suspect if we could discover the graphic idea in 辰 *ch'én*, we could trace this character for *dawn* also. At any rate, we can see that it was something tangible, and something that could be raised in the hands.


I 伊, (1) he; (2) forms part of a place-name; (3) and of a personal name or title. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 165-6.) Unknown. In this compound character neither element indicates the sound. It must therefore be a suggestive compound, but the constructive idea is as yet undisclosed. With the following character it forms the name (if it was a name and not a title) of I Vin, "Minister under Ch'êng T'ang, first Emperor of the Shang dynasty. . . . He was at once placed at the head of the administration, and took part in the campaign against the infamous tyrant Chieh Kuei which put an end to the Hsia dynasty and placed his master upon the throne."¹

It is curious that Lo Chên-yü has not recognized this historical name as commemorated on the Honan relics, though my examples are all taken from his facsimile texts. This failure is due to his having erroneously read 尹 *yin* as 父 *fu*, father, in nearly all cases. It is naturally gratifying to me as an Occidental student to have spotted the camouflage and to have dragged forth this once famous personage to a momentary resurrection.

Yin 尹, a leader, a ruler. *Significance of the archaic forms.* A hand pulling some object, perhaps a long rod, from one end. (Figs. 167-70.) Etymologically, this

¹ Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, p. 352.

syllable *yin* is probably the same word as that written 引 *yin*, to draw, stretch. It is interesting to find, besides I Yin, another personage mentioned as being addressed in prayer, and approached 'with offerings, under the designation Yin Yin 寅尹. He too is transcribed Yin Fu by Lo Chên-yü, Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 6.

Chou 晝, daylight. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 171-3. Lesser Seal, 174.) The brilliant light of the sun issuing in all directions, as indicated by the short lines round the orb. It seems perhaps rather strange that we should not have found  instead.

Lo writes on this character, "Depicts the figure of brilliant light shooting to the four quarters. In later times, the Lesser Seal lengthening the element '日', with which the character is composed, into 𠂔, and adding 聿 *yü* above it, the significance of the construction was quite obscured, and Hsü then classified the character under 畫 *hua*, to draw lines, and explained it as 與夜爲界 *yü yeh wei chieh*, 'bounded by the night.'"

We must admit that it is not the archaic but the Lesser Seal construction, with its intrusive and irrelevant 聿 *yü*, that needs a better explanation than it receives in the *Shuo Wen*.

Tsé 𠂔 or 𠂔 or 𠂔, slanting, sideways, past the meridian. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 175-8.) The sun sloping to the side, declining. A special application of the word *tsé*, slanting, on one side, to the sun's diurnal course. Hence the sun symbol 日 is added in the compound character as a specific sign to the generic element 𠂔 *tsé* or *tsi* (*chak* in Cantonese), the latter form being probably the earliest scription of what was afterwards written 側 *tsé*, side, slanting.

The difference should be noticed between the first two and the last two of the archaic shapes. In the former, the sideways kink in the human figure is actually drawn, in the latter the effect is more crudely reached by boldly

canting the axis of the same figure out of the perpendicular, but leaving it otherwise unmodified, so that it is, *in form*, actually 大 *ta*, great, though not in sense. Thus an ideographic result is conveyed direct to the mind by the significance of the abnormal posture.

Mu 莫, evening, for which 暮 is now written, the simpler form being reserved to write the negative *mu* or *mo*, not, and thus becoming a loan-character for its homophone. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 179-81.) The sun amidst trees, or sometimes amidst herbage, to suggest its apparent plunge into the forest at sundown. (The pictogram might equally well have served for sunrise, as in 東 *tung*, the east.)

Lo remarks that on the Bones the figures of 𣎵, quadrupled (read *mang*, jungle), and 𣎵, quadrupled (not in Kanghsi's Dictionary, though the Supplement gives compounds of 𣎵 *mu*, six times, and even eight times repeated), are not distinguished in combination as a rule, as, for example, with the character 囿 *yu*, a park, old forms of which contain, in place of 有 *yu*, sometimes 𣎵 and sometimes 𣎵, quadrupled in each case.

Hsien 𣎵, sunshine. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 182-3.) A compound character made up of 日 *jih*, the sun, and 見 *chien*, to perceive, with the alternative sense of appearing, and the sound *hsien*. The syllable is merely a special application of the word *hsien* to the appearance of the sun, and the addition of 日 to the character is the mark of that fact. We might describe such combinations as this as associations of an ideographic key (in this case, 日 *jih*, sun) and a phonetic clue (in this case, 見 *hsien*).

The word occurs in the *Odes*, in the passage 見𣎵曰消 *chien hsien yueh hsiao*, lit. "feeling the sunlight, there is a thaw".

On the Bones this character is always preceded by 卜 *pu*, to divine, showing that the need of fine weather

was among the prompting motives for the exercise of the diviners' science.

This figure, when you know it, seems to present no particular difficulty. Yet it 'is among those that Lo Chên-yü has not deciphered, and for years defied the late Mr. Chalfant and myself. We used to call it "the man in trouble with a white tie".





Ching 京, a capital city. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 184-7.) An architectural design exhibiting a tower with the characteristic pitch of roof, apparently erected over a city wall. The early figures closely resemble 高 *kao*, high. I do not appreciate the central vertical line in the lower part of the character, but the only difference in the archaic forms of 京 *ching* and 高 *kao* is that the latter has the sign 凵 in place of the vertical line of *ching*. Perhaps this mouth-shaped element in *kao* is an alteration from an original 凵, depicting the archway of a city gate.



Su 夙, early. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 188-91.) This is a character which in the course of its career has undergone a truly camouflagic metamorphosis. It is a human figure seated and holding what I suggest is a sleeping-mat. The action is intended to suggest the word *su*, early, by showing an awakened sleeper rolling up the mat on which he has passed the night hours. This interpretation goes further than Lo Chên-yü's, who has not explained the element which appears as 夕 *hsi* in the Lesser Seal and modern forms. Before bringing forward the reasons for my own view, let us hear Lo's comments in his note on the three examples he prints (the first of which I have been unable to find). He writes, "The *Shuo Wen* under 夙 [virtually Fig. 192, the Lesser Seal shape of 夙 *su*] cites as *ku wén* the two forms 夙 and 夙. The examples from the oracular sentences, which consist of 夕 *hsi* and 夙 *chi*, agree exactly with the Lesser Seal of Hsü's work. The Lesser

Seal 𠄎 is in both the oracular sentences and on the ancient Bronzes represented by 𠄎, which depicts a man at work (象執事形)." No doubt this is so, but it is to be wished that Lo had been less reticent as to the part played by the alleged 夕 *hsi*, evening, in the structure of the old character. And for this reason. It is beyond question that *hsi* (*tsik* in Cantonese) does mean "evening", and the *Shuo Wen* states that the character consists of "the moon half visible" (月半見). If the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation of the character 夕 *hsi* is correct, it follows that we have in the archaic, no less than in the Lesser Seal and modern forms, a picture of a kneeling figure holding the moon in his two outstretched hands. Now it has taken the human race a long time to reach the conclusion, and it has but partly reached it now, that, if I may repeat certain fearless and noble words of one who had recently viewed the tessellated pavement of an old Roman villa, "Them ancient Romans wasn't the desperate fools that some people try to make out." So with the ancient Chinese. Neither were they half-witted children to amuse themselves and bewilder their remote successors by designing characters of pure imbecility, such as this would be if it were true that it consists of a man holding the moon. But it cannot be true. What, I surmise, the man is holding is the figure, contracted and disguised, of a roll of matting, a word also pronounced *hsi* (*tsik* in Cantonese), and an exact homophone in sound, tone, and series, of *hsi*, evening. This word is now written 席, a character composed of quite other elements.

But this analysis of 夙 *su*, early, being in part new, must be made good by positive and, if possible, convincing arguments. I shall try to furnish them. Direct proofs from the Bone inscriptions are wanting. We have not hitherto identified the archaic shapes either of 夕 *hsi*, evening, or of 席 *hsi*, mat (the latter at least not beyond

cavil), on these relics. The argument must be of a cumulative nature.

In the first place, the *Shuo Wen* cites as a *ku wén* shape of 席 *hsi* the form ; in which I believe we have in the cylindrical object the crude outline of a roll of matting. And this becomes much more apparent when we compare it with the various forms , , and  occurring in the interesting compounds shown in Figs. 194-6. These Lo Chên-yü supposes to represent the two outstretched hands holding a mat, and with somewhat less certainty (at least to me) equates with the modern and quite differently constructed character 謝 *hsieh*, to thank. I also doubt if Lo is right in deeming this figure of a mat to be the old form of 席 *hsi*. I suspect strongly it is that of a different character, but I must reserve the proof for another occasion.

It will perhaps be objected that the half-moon shaped object held in the hands of the figure in these ancient versions of 夙 *su* is not reminiscent of even the two-barred cylinder of the *Shuo Wen*'s *ku wén* form of 席 *hsi*, still less of the more complex forms cited by Lo. But there is slight weight in this criticism, as the case of the character 肉 *jou*, flesh, suffices to show. This latter character is written in the Lesser Seal , but wherever its combining-form occurs on the Bones (it has not been found alone) it is a mouth-shaped figure with either one cross-bar or none at all. This will be seen by the figures illustrating the following entry, 祭 *tsi*. What happened with 肉 *jou*, therefore, may easily have happened with the mat character, which would thus become  in the Lesser Seal, and 夕 *hsi* in the modern form—illusion and moonshine!

The right-angled outline partly enclosing the mat figure in the *Shuo Wen*'s ancient form remains at present unexplained, unless indeed it is a contraction of the two outstretched arms shown in the figures.

The student is thus offered a choice between the orthodox analysis, involving an absurdity, or a hypothesis based on a commonplace but rational interpretation of the design.

Tsi or *chi*, 祭, to offer sacrifice. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 197–209.) A worshipper's hand proffering flesh and wine to the Spirits.

Lo has the following note: "The variants of this character are very numerous, but all of them depict a hand holding wine and flesh before the Spirits. The figure ㄥ¹ depicts flesh, with ㄣ *yu*, the right hand, holding it. The number of dots varies. All depict wine. Sometimes 丌 *shih*, to manifest, is omitted, and sometimes ㄣ *yu*, right hand, also. The Lesser Seal [Fig. 210] consists of the hand holding flesh without the wine, as do the examples on the old Bronzes."

I ought to point out that the archaic examples show that, at any rate in many cases, the figures of 夕 *hsi*, evening, and 肉 *jou*, flesh, became in practice indistinguishable, both being occasionally ㄣ. Hence it would be hard to disprove *on graphic considerations alone* that 夙 *su* (the previous entry) does not consist of a figure holding flesh in its hands.

To 多, many, much, plenty. This character can be appropriately considered here in view of what has just been said. It is well to observe that my interpretation of the true origin of the character is new, and not based upon, nor even suggested by, any earlier author known to me. Before stating it, it will be best to hear what the *Shuo Wen* has to say. The author's entry under his Lesser Seal form 𠂔 is, 重也從重夕夕者相釋也故爲多 *ch'ung yeh ts'ung ch'ung hsi hsi ché hsiang i yeh ku wei to*, i.e. "In piles (or accumulated); composed

¹ It is so printed here, but, as will be seen in the examples on the Plate, the mouth of the curve is in most cases closed by a bar.

of 夕 *hsi*, repeated vertically; *hsi*, evening, means (or implies) in turn drawing out; hence they constitute many". This is the clearest rendering of the passage I can make. But I am not so greatly concerned to understand the precise bearing of the words *hsi ché hsiang i yeh*, because I do not believe that 多 *to* consists of the repetition of 夕 *hsi*, evening, at all. Instead, I submit the following:—

Significance of the archaic forms. (Figs. 211–15.) Slices of meat usually placed one above the other, to suggest plenty or abundance in general, by the familiar instance of heaped up, unrationed food, in particular. Such I feel sure is the simple explanation of this character, misconceived analytically since the early times of the Han era at any rate. We shall find confirmation of this view in the older forms of the succeeding character. The remarkable variants, Figs. 214–15, should be noted, and their approximation to the *Shuo Wen's* 𠄎 *wén* form, Fig. 217. They are overlooked by Lo, and are good examples of successful camouflage, for they are practically indistinguishable from the old scription of 從 *ts'ung*, to follow.

Tsu 俎, a stand for meat at feasts or worship. But judging by the contexts on the Bones, this character must also have a verbal force, and as it seems always used in connexion with acts of worship I suggest that though in *form* it answers to 俎 *tsu*, as identified by Lo Chên-yü, yet in *function* it corresponds rather to 胙 *tsu* and *tso*, to offer meat in sacrifice.

Significance of the archaic forms. (Figs. 218–24.) Flesh placed on the successive tiers of a stand (like the modern cake-trays) in sacrificial worship. The archaic examples, which are found also on ancient Bronzes, where they had been judged to be the oldest-known phases of the character 宜 *i*, in its sense of sacrificing to Earth, consist of a vertical duplication of the form 𠄎, where

on each tier of a kind of storied offering-stand is seen a piece of flesh. Lo writes on this, "The *Shuo Wen* explains the [Lesser Seal 俎] form as 'the table of offerings of the *Record of Rites* (禮俎也). Composed of half the character 肉 *jou*, flesh, upon 且 *tsu* [now usually read *ts'ieh* in a different sense], a stand for offerings'. The words 'half the character 肉' refer to the strokes 𠂇, which, however [in the Lesser Seal], are at the side, not upon the 且 *tsu*. In the oracular sentences, Fig. 218 precisely represents flesh deposited on the stand, and similar forms occur on the ancient Bronzes [see Figs. 225-6]. Previous authorities have erroneously transcribed all these as 宜 *i*."

Chu and *chou* 祝, to invoke either a blessing or a curse. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 228-30.) A human figure in the symbolic attitude of prayer, kneeling with upward-facing mouth, and in some instances with hands directed downwards making obeisance before the Spirits. Perhaps Lo Chên-yü is right in seeing in the dots of some examples the libation of wine to the same Spirits. He thinks we should not take the combination 𠂇 in Fig. 229 as a mere variant of 𠂇 *shih*, to manifest, but as made up of two elements, 𠂇, a common variant of 𠂇 *shih*, and the four drops, as representing wine. Against this, in so far at least as Lo seems to ignore the sign representing any particular word, is the occurrence of 𠂇 twice on H. 28 in my collection, as an independent character in connexion with some sacrificial worship. Is it possible that this hitherto unknown sign really represents the syllable *ch'i*, the Spirit of the Earth? This, by the way, is the first sound attributed to 𠂇 in Kanghsi's Dictionary, and as *shih* and *ch'i* or *l'i* cannot possibly be variations from one original sound, and their meanings have no kinship either, it looks as though two once separate characters had been erroneously blended in one.

It is easy to see in the outline of a worshipping figure an appropriate element in a character standing for a word that means invocation. What is not so easy to understand is why this same element 兄, when alone, should represent the word *hsiung*, elder brother. But that problem must stand over.

The character 壹 *i*, exceptionally *yin*, and the meaning of the phrase 壹壹, now written 氤氲 or 綢緞 or 烟燭, all pronounced *yin yün*.

In a recent paper in this Journal dealing with the Chinese Numerals and their Notational systems, I had occasion to discuss the character 壹 *i*, and explained that it was "the outline of a lidded vase, on the body of which is added the character 吉 *chi*, good luck". The explanation ended with the words, "Why the addition of the character 吉 *chi*, good luck, was made, is a more difficult point. It opens up more than one curious and interesting inquiry, but they are beyond the scope of this paper." I propose now to follow these points up, and believe I shall make good with additional material what I could only hint at before.

There are in the *Shuo Wen* two characters which in the modern writing of Kanghsi's Dictionary are printed 壹 and 壹, but in the Lesser Seal script of the earlier work appear in the more pictographic shapes of Figs. 231 and 232. It is the peculiar way in which Hsü Shên has catalogued and explained these forms that is responsible for the imperfect and misunderstood accounts of them handed down in all Chinese dictionaries. And it is due to the insight of one of the most recent of Hsü's editors, Wang Yün, 王筠, that their real history has come to light, and a truer appreciation of the philosophic sense of the phrase *yin-yün* is thereby reached.

A student of the *Shuo Wen* who should regard the Lesser Seal shapes of 壹 and 壹 with a considering eye, will not fail to observe that they form a complementary

and contrasted pair of figures, but he may not remark that while the author appears to define the latter character by the dissyllabic phrase 壹壹也 *yin yün yeh*, he places the second character, *yün*, first in his dictionary (the last character under his 395th radical), and immediately follows it by the first member of the phrase, making this his 396th radical. He thus reverses the natural order of the words of the phrase, so as to conform to the artificial scheme of arranging his radicals. Thus also he has greatly darkened counsel.

For there is a natural order of the words 壹壹, though to the modern reader they appear to be *i yün*, and to convey no recognized meaning. We shall see in a moment by Hsü Shên's own words that they have a most definite meaning, but that it involves our attributing the sound *yin*, not *i*, to the first character. This sound is given in Kanghsi's Dictionary, though not mentioned in those of Giles or Couvreur. Kanghsi adds, "interchanged with 細 and 氤."

Here is the text of the *Shuo Wen* under 壹 *yün*: 壹壹也從凶從壺壺不得泄凶也易曰天地壹壹, that is, "[Yün] means *yin-yün*; composed with 凶 *hsiung*, ill-luck, and 壺 *hu*, a bottle; no leakage (or evaporation) of ill-luck from the bottle. The *Book of Changes* speaks of 'the *yin-yün* of Heaven and Earth'."

Now the present text of the *Book of Changes* does not contain 壹壹, but 細 縕 *yin-yün*, and other editions of the classic write 氤 氲 and 烟 燭 for the same sounds. In all these we have to do with the same two words, but dressed in different graphic garments, and are driven to the conclusion that the earlier sound of 壹 *i* (*yét* in Cantonese) was *yin* (*yén* in Cantonese).

Postponing the consideration of this quotation from the *Book of Changes*, and other points, let us see what Hsü has to say under the other, the first character of the phrase *yin-yün*, viz. 壹.

The passage runs, 壹 (*in orig. in Lesser Seal shape*) 專壹也從壹吉聲 [*Yin*] *chuan i yeh ts'ung hu chi shéng*, = “[*Yin* or *I*] means single and pure; composed with *hu*, a bottle, and *chi* for the phonetic.”

We have, then, if we place them in their natural order and in immediate sequence, the following words (neglecting the rest of Hsü's notes as irrelevant to this point), as the explanation of the term *yin-yün*, 專壹也 壹壹也 *chuan i yeh yin yün yeh*. Still the light does not break. But how if we turn this round? How if we invert the two parts of the above sentence, and read the explanations in the order in which they actually stand in the text of the *Shuo Wen*? In that case we should have *yin yün yeh* (under the last entry-character of the 395th radical), *chuan i yeh* (under the first character of the 396th radical), that is, by combining the two, we get 壹壹也專壹也 *yin yün yeh chuan i yeh*, namely, “The term *yin-yün* means *chuan-i*, single and pure.”

Now these two terms *yin-yün* and *chuan i* are certainly not, in current usage, synonymous and “inter-available”, as such a restoration of the text should lead us to expect. The latter term is common enough, though now usually written 專一 *chuan i*. Giles renders it “concentration upon one; specially; particularly”. Eitel, “undivided attention.” Couvreur, “S'appliquer tout entier à une chose.” These several explanations are virtually identical. But there must have been some simpler and more physical sense borne by the phrase.

But let us first examine two definitions of the chameleon-like dissyllable *yin-yün* taken from the *Liu Shu Ku* 六書故, of the later part of the Sung dynasty. The author, speaking of the old form of 氣 *ch'i*, says that 象氣絪縕騰起 *hsiang ch'i yin-yün t'eng ch'i*, “it depicts vapour in dense volume rising upwards.” And under 縕 *yün* he says, 絪縕絲絮襪厚絲密 *yin-*

yün ssü hsi nung hou mien mi, “*yin-yün*, floss-silk densely compact.”

These diverse applications of the term *yin-yün* show that the words embody a general notion or concept, expressing itself through separate applicational facets, but comprising the ideas of compression, compactness, condensation, concentration. And it must have been in this last application of the phrase that some prehistoric but ingenious artist saw his chance of designing a pair of characters that would meet the need of *illustrating* a generalized idea of so wide a scope and so elusive a texture. Two covered vases or flagons were therefore drawn distinguished only by the differentiating symbols 吉 *chi*, good luck, and 凶 *hsiung*, ill luck. These two vessels would typify and suggest *concentration* generally, by the particular instance of a strong liquor giving out fumes or odours pent up in a confining vessel. And doubtless the full force of the design would be the better seen because the two characters would occur in immediate sequence in writing down the expression *yin-yün* itself. Such was the ingenious solution of a considerable difficulty.

But there is more. This notion of concentration is a common element, and the only one, in the ideas expressed by the two phrases *yin-yün* and *chuan i*, and through it alone can be justified the proposed treatment or “restoration” of the *Shuo Wen*’s text, previously indicated, “*yin-yün* means *chuan i*,” that is, “*yin-yün* means concentration.” In that special application alone can the synonymism of the two terms be supported.

And now we have reached the point where I may fitly bring to the reader’s notice a remarkable passage from the *Shuo Wen Chü Tou*,¹ or *Punctuated Shuo Wen*, of the editor Wang Yün. It is contained in the appended

¹ The 說文句讀 by 王筠.

"Additions and Corrections" to the editor's notes on the text, and will be found on pp. 1-2 of *chüan* 20 of this appendix. It runs as follows:—

"The words *yin-yün* form a syllabic couplet having the same terminals (壹壹者疊韻連語也). Judging by the general rule of the *Shuo Wen*, the character 壹 ought to be followed by the words 壹壹專壹也, '*Yin-yün* means *chuan i*'; and the character 壹 by the words, 壹壹也, '*Yün* means *yin-yün*.'

"By an exception in this case, the two syllables are placed under two separate radicals [the 395th and 396th], while the [explanatory] texts are linked together (而文相銜接). Accordingly, the term and its explanation are separated from each other and divided between the two characters. Under *yün* is placed only the term [名目 *ming-mu*, viz. *yin-yün*], under *yin* [壹, except in this phrase, now always read *i*] only the explanation [訓義 *hsün i*, viz. *chuan i*]. Hence the words *chuan i* are not the explanation of the single word 壹 [as has always been supposed hitherto]."

Wang Yün now proceeds to quote in support a second case where an analogous plan of arrangement and explanation has been followed by the *Shuo Wen*.

"Similarly, the character 磊 *lei*, under the radical 石 *shih*, stone, ought to be followed by the words. 磊 柯 衆 石 貌 *lei-lo chung shih mao*, '*Lei-lo* is descriptive of stones in numbers'; and the character 柯 *lo* by the words 磊 柯 *lei lo*, '*[Lo]* means *lei-lo*.' But as 磊 *lei* has to bring up the rear of the characters under the radical 石 *shih*, stone [in accordance with the *Shuo Wen*'s rule that such triplicated forms of a radical are placed last of the list], the term [viz. *lei-lo*] is placed under 柯 *lo*, and the explanation [viz. *chung shih mao*, or, descriptive of stones in numbers] under 磊 *lei*. The rule in the two cases [of *yin-yün* and *lei-lo*] is exactly

the same, and in both is a modification of the general rule."¹

After this corroborative illustration in support of his argument, Wang Yün proceeds to his conclusion.

"Now the term *yin-yün* expresses the emanation from the blissful union of Heaven and Earth (夫壹壹者天地訢合之氣也). The emanation of Heaven being male, and that of Earth female, they are not in the beginning blended into an absolute unity (本不相合以成專壹). Only when Earth's emanation ascending, and Heaven's emanation descending, they unite in bliss and mutual alliance, firmly knit in an intimate conjunction, and they no more distinguish which of them is male and which is female,—this is Absolute Unity (惟當地氣上騰天氣下降訢合相扶固結交密不復分其孰爲陰孰爲陽斯專壹也). Accordingly when Confucius compared with the mystical communion of Heaven and Earth the physical union of man and woman, he did so that by taking what men knew he might cause them to apprehend what they could not know.

"Tuan [Yü-ts'ai] writes,² 'The primordial substance was without distinction, the principles of good and evil not differentiated; hence the characters [壹 *yin* and 壹 *yün*] are Suggestive Compounds, composed [respectively] of 吉 *chi* and 凶 *hsiung* within a vase; and the combination of both words in a couplet of alliterative initials and

¹ The general rule (通例 *t'ung li*) meant here is that followed by the *Shuo Wen* in treating what are called 連語 *lien yü*, lit. "connected words", which for want of a better I translate by the term "dissyllabic phrase". These *lien-yü* seem to the Chinese to have a more intimate mutual relation than any other couplets of words. The *Shuo Wen*'s rule for *lien yü* is to give under the first syllable the full phrase, followed by the words of explanation of this phrase. Under the second syllable it inserts the full phrase only. Many of these dissyllabic phrases are alliterative.

² In his edition of the *Shuo Wen*, under the character 壹 *yün*.

identical terminals is, in truth, a combination of two characters in one character.¹

"Only Mou-t'ang² could have understood and expressed this truth. Unfortunately, in not transferring this explanation to the character 壹 [instead of under 壹 where Tuan inserts it], he appears not to have had an inkling of Hsü's own ideas [as expounded above by Wang Yün]. Hence, applying the general rule as to *chuan chu* characters, he alters the characters 專 壹 to 轉 壹 *chuan i*.³ If this were really correct, the text [under 壹] ought to be 轉 也 *chuan yeh*, not the dissyllabic phrase 轉 壹 *chuan i*. For my part," adds Wang in conclusion, "at the time I compiled the *Interpretative Method of the Shuo Wen*, I was equally unaware of this principle [as explained in the previous pages], and was led into numerous errors in consequence. Now that I have been fortunate enough to understand it, if I have not abridged the length of my text, it is in order to emphasize the elucidation of the point."

Some readers will not fail to remark in this suggestive passage a striking parallelism with the theological doctrine

¹ I understand this passage to mean that the force of the inspiring idea of the characters for *yin* and *yün* is only appreciated by viewing them together, as a pair, since each member of this pair has one, and lacks the other, of the correlative and differentiating signs 吉 *chi* and 凶 *hsiung*, good and evil, both of which are essential to the concrete illustration of the philosophic idea supposed to be expressed in the words *yin-yün*, and divided, as it were, between the two corresponding characters.

² Namely, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, for whom Wang Yün frequently exhibits his admiration.

³ This reference to the "general rule of *chuan chu* characters" requires some explanation. According to the most modern view among Chinese scholars (from which I venture entirely to dissent), this long discussed class among the Six Scripts or Liu Shu, 六書, consists of pairs of characters which in the *Shuo Wen* occur with reciprocal explanations, and are therefore synonymous. Thus the character 菱 *ling*, the water-caltrop (*Trapa*), is explained by 菱 *ch'i*, and vice versa, and the two are considered to be *chuan chu* (轉注).

expressed in the English Marriage Service regarding "holy Matrimony; which is an honourable estate . . . signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church". And again, "O God, who hast consecrated the state of Matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his Church."

So, on the one hand, Confucius, according to Wang Yün, used the physical union of the sexes to exemplify the transcendental blending of Heaven and Earth, in much the same spirit as the authors of the Prayer Book illustrated the relation between Christ ascended and His Church below by the consecrated state of Matrimony.

But all this time there lies lurking in wait for us a difficulty which up to this point I have neither mentioned nor met. It is a linguistic and phonetic difficulty, and the answer I shall suggest as the solution is a radical one, and perhaps will not be accepted at first by all students of Chinese, unless indeed, unknown to me, it has been anticipated.

The point is this. Wang Yün's ingenious theory put forward above brings into prominence the double sound of the character 壹, which is *yin* in the phrase *yin-yün*, but *i* (*yét* in Cantonese) in all other cases, including the phrase *chuan-i*. Otherwise and more technically put, the character is usually in the "entering tone", where this tone exists, but in *yin-yün*, by exception, it has the "even tone". How can this be? How can the *same word* be pronounced, for example, in Cantonese *yét* in one case and *yén* in the other? Or if, conversely, the character possesses this double pronunciation, have we not really two words involved?

This entry is already so long that I propose to postpone my answer to the latter part of the next character.

Yin (*yén* in Cantonese) 印, to impress with a seal; an impression of a seal; a seal.

Yi (*yik* in Cantonese) 抑, to press down, force down.

The history of these two characters, and the phonetic career of the two syllables, as they now are, though descending from a single original unit of the spoken language, are among the most remarkable in this branch of study with which I am acquainted, and that on several accounts. An examination of the phonetic relations of the two syllables involves the true nature of what is called the "entering tone" or 入聲 *ju shéng*, with consequential far-reaching implications. The retracing of the written forms discloses unexpected surprises in the sphere of graphic evolution and corruption. It will be convenient to follow the latter branch of inquiry first, and to anticipate the results by indicating provisionally the *Significance of the archaic form*. This is a controlling hand forcing down a man on to his knees—an illustrative example of the general sense of pressing down, whether in a physical or metaphorical application. The oldest form of 抑 *i*, on the other hand, which, as written in the *Shuo Wen*, cannot be traced further back than that work, is merely the reversed form of a variant of 印 *yin*.

The first observation to be made about the modern character 印 *yin* is that it does not descend, as do most modern characters, from the Lesser Seal form, Fig. 233. The *Shuo Wen*, at any rate as it stands at present, contains no second form, though the existence of a second form is not only implied in its next entry, as we shall see, but examples of it are on record dating from Han dynasty times. One such example is Fig. 234, and from this type our modern 印 descends. The variation of the two types, however, is inconsiderable, and consists only in the relative position of the two halves to each other. The Lesser Seal version preserved by the *Shuo Wen* is found, when we have learned to recognize it, both on the Honan relics and on ancient bronzes, and is shown in Figs. 235-8. But it should be noted that in none of

these instances does the character bear the meaning of a seal, or to use a seal. Seals in ancient times before the Ts'in dynasty were not known as *yin*, but as 璽 *hsi*.

Next to be examined comes 抑 *i*, a sign that has had a varied career. Kanghsi's Dictionary sums up its latest transformations in effect as follows: the present scription is an abridgment (and a regrettable and misleading one I may add) of 𢵿, which itself is the *li*, or modern clerkly guise of the Lesser Seal popular form, Fig. 239, an augmented variant of the normal Lesser Seal form, Fig. 240, which last the *Shuo Wen* says is 反印 *fan yin*, "the reverse of 印 *yin*." And so it is, but not of the character *yin* now appearing in the *Shuo Wen*'s text, and being its 339th radical.

Having thus traced the two characters, as characters, we ought to hear what the *Shuo Wen* has to say about their structure.

Under 印 *yin*, Hsü Shên writes, "The token of authority held by official persons: composed with 爪 *chao*, hand palm downwards, and 卩 *tsieh*, token of authority [so at least explained by the *Shuo Wen*], 執正所持信也從爪卩."

Under 抑 *i*, in its Lesser Seal guise, Fig. 240, the explanation is, "To press: composed with 印 *yin* reversed." Then, adding the form Fig. 239, he writes, "vulgarly written with 手 *shou*, hand," 按也從反印俗從手.

Such are the texts of the explanations of the two characters.

In a previous paper in this Journal ¹ I referred to the refutation by Lo Chên-yü of the old belief, based on the *Shuo Wen*'s dictum, that the character now written 卩, and held to be the original scription of 節 *tsieh*, depicted a token of authority, whereas it was really in its ancient shape the outline of a kneeling human figure. Lo

¹ JRAS., October, 1917, pp. 804-5.

remarks with reason that in consequence of this complete misapprehension on the part of Hsü Shên all the analyses of characters under the *Shuo Wen*'s 338th radical are erroneous.


Equally so is the treatment of the 339th radical, with which we are now dealing. This character does not consist of a hand above a seal, as Hsü Shên supposed, but of a hand over a kneeling man—a distinction which makes a lot of difference.

Lo Chên-yü's note on Fig. 238 (Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 51) is so lucid and convincing that I cannot do better than translate it in full, with the exception of the references to the authorities, which he attaches as notes to the several definitions of the senses cited by him.

After quoting the whole of the *Shuo Wen*'s text on the characters 印 *yin* and 抑 *i* (both of which we have discussed a few lines above), Lo continues:—

“In the oracular sentences the character (Fig. 238) is composed of 爪 *chao*, hand palm downward, and 跪 *chi*, to kneel,¹ and depicts the action of pressing a man down with the hand (以手抑人) and causing him to kneel. Its significance is that of the character 抑 *i* in Hsü's work, but the shape is that of 印 *yin*, seal, in the same book. The definitions (訓 *hsün*) of 抑 *i* include 按 *an*, to press, 屈 *ch'ü*, to bend, 枉 *wang*, to twist, 止 *chih*, to stop, which tally exactly with the form of the character. By extension of meaning it is explained as 安 *an*, quiet, 治 *chih*, to control, 慎密 *shên mi*, circumspect, together with all general terms for deferential (及凡謙抑之稱).

“My own belief” (adds Lo) “is that the two characters 印 *yin* and 抑 *i* of Hsü's work were anciently one

¹ Sic. But on the previous page of his Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 51, Lo had observed that Hsü Shên “was not aware that the figure  depicted a man kneeling, and is the character 人 *jén* [this last statement, put without qualification, I doubt, for reasons I shall give in the future]. All Hsü's analyses under 卩 are erroneous”.

character; that the 印信 *yin hsin*, or seal, of later times was known by the ancients as 璽節 *hsi tsieh*; and that there was at first no such term as *yin*. However, in the oracular sentences, as well as on the ancient Bronzes, this character [viz. Fig. 238] already appears.

"A passage in the vessel known as the 曾伯 鬻簠 *Tséng Po Li Fu* runs 克狄淮夷印變繁邑 *K'o ti huai i ^{yin} hsiéh fan i*,¹ 'defeated and drove back the I tribes of the River Huai, and restored order and peace to the city of Fan.' As 抑 *i* is also a synonym of 安 *an*, quiet, or to pacify, and of 治 *chih*, to control, the characters 印變 *yin* or *i hsiéh*, are equivalent to 安和 *an ho*, to pacify. And since the original acceptance of 印 was 按抑 *an i*, to press down, when in later times government functionaries exhibited their authority by means of their seals, then the character 印 of the phrase 按印 *an i* [i.e. of the modern 按抑] was borrowed to represent them [viz. the special sense of seal]. The reversed form, used for 抑, probably appeared in a later period, so as to make a distinction between the latter [the original verbal use] and the word *yin* in 印信 *yin hsin*, seal-token. In the *ku wén*, or ancient script, reversed forms are very common, yet in the oracular sentences and on the Bronzes the character 印 is always written normally (正書), never once in reversed form, as in Hsü's work, so that it is clear that 印 *yin* and 抑 *i* used not to be two characters and had not two meanings."

While I accept the above account completely, there is one point of obscurity which Lo Chên-yü ignores, either

¹ The passage is so important that I have made a copy of the facsimile text from the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wen*, 牆古錄金文, vol. viii, p. 12, see Fig. 241. It should be noticed that what Lo transcribes as two characters 繁邑 *fan i*, appears to be a single character in the original. Observe also that the word 狄 *ti* does not here mean the non-Chinese tribes so named, but = "to drive back", as in the Odes, see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 619.

because it does not seem such to him, or because, if it does, he is not prepared to solve it. In any case, it remains to be faced. I refer to the phonetic difficulty, which can be stated thus. Assuming the correctness of Lo's hypothesis that the characters 印 and 抑 were originally one, and assuming also that there was equally one *word* involved, how is it that now there are not merely two characters, but two sounds, *yin* and *i* (in Cantonese *yén* and *yik*)? If we can find a satisfactory answer to this question we can by parity of reasoning answer the analogous query at the end of the previous entry.

The solution about to be proposed depends upon the nature and origin of the Chinese "tone" technically known as the *ju shéng*, variously rendered by the "entering", "re-entering", or "retracted tone", and more recently by French scholars by the term "implosive".

It is the peculiarity of this intonation that, besides its special tonal quality, it is distinguished by a concomitant change in the *articulation* of the syllables affected, a change not exhibited in any other of the tones. Thus, a syllable which ends in the even, rising, or falling tones, in a bilabial nasal (or *m*), changes in the entering tone to a labial, unvoiced stop (or *p*). Similarly, a syllable terminating normally in a dental nasal (or *n*) changes that letter, in the *ju shéng*, to a dental voiceless stop (or *t*); and a word having normally a final palatal nasal (or *ng*) terminates in the entering tone in a guttural voiceless stop (or *k*). And these lines of change are strictly maintained: *m* does not become *t* or *k*, nor *n* change to *p* or *k*, nor do we find *ng* becoming *p* or *t*.

These phonetic changes in the entering tone can be described as resulting from the occlusion of the nasal passages. They are the same enforced and deplorable degradations of utterance as are brought about by a heavy cold in the head. Not that I mean to affirm

that any such, let us call it, catarrhal metastasis produced the *ju shêng* terminations in the Chinese language. But some other modifying influence on the utterance, operating along the same lines, must have done so.

And such an efficient cause seems to be found in the characteristic compression, abruptness, and jerkiness of this intonation or inflexion of the voice. Sharp decisiveness, abrupt emphasis, are hostile to the tendency towards prolongation observable in nasal finals.

In brief, I attribute to this emphatic abruptness of utterance the suppression of original *m*, *n*, and *ng* finals, and their replacement by the corresponding stops *p*, *t*, and *k*. Moreover, on this point I can call as a witness on my behalf that high authority on these subjects, Tuan Yü-ts'ai, who under 抑 *i* remarks, "He who uses the seal must make it face downward. So when speaking slowly we say *yin*, when rapidly we say *i* [in the North, or *yik* in the South], 故緩言之曰印急言之曰抑." This expresses in other words what I have just said.

So also the author of the 六書故 *Liu Shu Ku* to the same effect. He spells *yin* normally, 於 刃 *yü jén* = *yén*, but adds 按之之謂印於棘切 *an-chih chih wei yik*, *yü-chik ts'ieh*, that is, "used verbally as to press down, pronounced *yik*."

Moreover, to add a touch of present-day actuality to the foregoing hypothesis, we may gather instruction on these points in quarters where clear and incisive instruction is most robustly furnished—from the mouth, namely, of a modern drill instructor. With certain recollections in mind, I asked a friend with a correct ear and a gift of mimicry, who knew nothing of the reason for my request, to write me what he really heard when an instructor gave the command "Order arms". His reply was to the effect that the mode of delivery varies. Commonly it is "Order—*arrh* or *harrh*". But a drill-sergeant of a regiment of the Guards, who, as in other matters, so in

this, have their own way of doing things, delivered the command distinctly as "Order—*hipe*". Neglecting an intrusive *h* and a vanished *s*, we have *ipe* (or *aip*) as the resultant form of the word "arms" under the violent stress imposed by military energy. Here, then, we meet the same linguistic phenomenon of a labial nasal giving place to a labial voiceless stop. Q.E.D.

It follows from this reasoning that most, if not all,¹ Chinese syllables now ending in *p*, *t*, or *k* must once have ended in *m*, *n*, or *ng* in that long-ago era when as yet the Tones were not.

And at this point, having looped the loop of our disquisition on entering tones in general, we can attack the particular solution of the phonetic perplexity arising from the seeming double sound of the syllable represented by the character 印 *alias* 抑. In accordance with the above rule, *i*, or *yik* in Cantonese, must once have been *ying*, and this, it would seem, and not as now in both Pekinese and Cantonese *yin* and *yén* respectively, ought to be the sound of 印, a seal. *Ying* is still its pronunciation in the dialects of Yangchow and Ningpo, while *eing* and *ing* in Foochow and *yang* in Wenchow all have the palatal and not the dental nasal termination. However, here caution is advisable. Tuan observes that in ancient times 印 and 抑 were in his twelfth rhyme category, having final *t* for the entering tone and *n* for the other tones, but that the modern sound of the latter syllable is *yik* (於 棘 切).

We may sum up all these facts and arguments by concluding that the character shown in Fig. 236 represented a word once pronounced *ying*, or perhaps *yin*, and meaning "to press down".

And the same arguments lead to a like conclusion in

¹ There is an exception to the rule, formed by certain entering tone syllables attributed by Tuan Yü-ts'ai to non-entering tone syllables terminating in vowels, such as his 1st, 3rd, 7th, 8th, 12th, 15th, and 16th groups. The reasons for these exceptions seem obscure.

the case of the syllables *yín* and *i* (*yén* and *yét* in Cantonese), which we considered in the preceding entry. For similar reasons, the character 壹 must once have been pronounced *yín*, and the later sound *i* (or *yét*) will have been acquired as an incidental consequence of the evolution of the new entering tone. And the evidence of the passage cited by the *Shuo Wen* from the *Book of Changes* seems to prove that when that passage was written in the form that appears in the *Shuo Wen* the process of that evolution could not have been completed in the particular instance of 壹 at any rate.

I 邑, a city, in ancient times a territory or feudal state. *Significance of the archaic forms* (Figs. 242-5.) A compound consisting of an upper part sometimes round, sometimes rectangular, square, or oblong, representing an inclosed place, surmounting the figure of a kneeling or seated man. But it may be that this kneeling posture is not here intended to be significant, but is merely due to a desire for vertical compression in writing. In any case, the conceptional design seems to suggest a place where men dwell.

The Lesser Seal form, Fig. 246, should be noticed, as well as its erroneous analysis in the *Shuo Wen*, where the lower element is said to be 卩 *tsieh* (as now wrongly pronounced), which Hsü Shên, as we have already seen, misconceived as a representation of a token of authority or seal, whereas it is really "the figure of a man kneeling (象人跪形)", as Lo says (p. 20). The latter evidently believes it to be the origin of the form 卩, which has always been treated as a modified form of the character 人 *jén*, man, thus distorted when bearing above it another element in a compound character. But although I agree that this kneeling figure is the origin of 卩, I can no longer hold this last to be, in fact, identical with 人 *jén*, man. But that interesting point we cannot now investigate.

Shén 申, (1) to stretch, straighten; (2) the name of one of the Cycle-signs, the 9th of the Twelve Branches. *Significance of the archaic forms.* (Figs. 247-55.) I should say by way of premise that the history of this character, and of the remarkable alternative pictogram, Figs. 250-5, which was the far commoner representative of the Cycle-sign in the most ancient writing, is most interesting but intricate. The chance occurrence of a single character on a cowry in my own collection enables me to disentangle the confusion in which is embedded the true origin of these two unrelated forms more fully, I hope, than was hitherto possible, even with the new material available to Lo Chên-yü. It will conduce to the reader's convenience if I state shortly what I shall endeavour to prove.

My thesis is that there were in very ancient times two homophonous syllables, one a word meaning "to stretch", the other meaning perhaps "lightning", or probably any display of light-rays in unusual modes such as halos or rainbows. These two syllables now pronounced *shén* may have had the same etymological origin, in which case the two senses of "stretching" and "lightning" must be merely diverse applications of a single word. But as the phonetic values of stretching (*shén*) and lightning (*tien*) differ at present in all the dialects, we cannot safely assume for them an archaic identity of sound, as certain Chinese scholars, among them Lo Chên-yü, appear tacitly to do. We must suppose in that case, therefore, that the lightning-flash sign represented either (1) some other word for lightning than *tien*, or (2) a word that was appropriately symbolized by that figure.

The graphic expressions, or characters, of these two syllables were in their archaic phases of totally unlike aspects. The sign for stretching or straightening is shown in Figs. 247-9. It consists of a vertical line symmetrically held by two opposing hands, one on the upper left side, one on the lower right.

The other sign appears in several variants in Figs. 250-5, and has been generally regarded as representing a flash of lightning. This duplication of forms is not found in the Lesser Seal, nor in modern writing, where only a single slightly varying type exists, normally 申 *shén*, but in a few instances such as 電 *tien*, lightning, 奄 *yen*, to cover up, having the vertical line curved to the right below.

The question therefore arises, from which of the two ancient types do the Lesser Seal and modern forms derive?

It would naturally be supposed that between signs so different in origin and so remote in intention as those above described there could be no confusion, and that the modern character, however modified or developed, would point plainly back to one or other of them, but would not waver between both. And yet there is the greatest difficulty in deciding which is the parent of the current form, owing to the existence of certain variants, some indisputable, some alleged, which seem to be intermediate and to bear traits of both archaic types.

These variants are (1) Fig. 256, cited by the *Shuo Wen* as the *chou wén* form of 申 *shén*, and appearing also in that work in the *ku wén* form of 電 *tien*, lightning, but not so far found elsewhere, though a character cited by Wu Ta-ch'êng in his second edition, sect. 14, p. 12, from an "ancient seal", Fig. 257, differs but little; and (2) Figs. 258-60, if these forms have been correctly identified with 申.

As regards the first variant, it certainly appears, like the archaic form in Figs. 247-9, to consist of two hands, symmetrically disposed, on either side of a crank or spanner-shaped object, and not, be it noted, of a straight vertical line. It should also be noticed that the hands do not have the wrist in one case above, in one below, as in the archaic character for 申 *shén*, to stretch, shown in

Figs. 247-9, but the wrist is above in both hands. This distinction may be material, as we shall shortly see. But unless we deem the change from a straight to a crank-shaped line to be too violent, we might view the *Shuo Wen*'s so-called *chou wen* form as the descendant of the archaic character, Figs. 247-9, *shén*, to stretch.

Examining next the second variant, Figs. 258-60, a straight vertical line, perhaps previously spindle-shaped (to which the cross points back, as in 十 *shih*, ten, earlier 卩), held by two opposite hands, both wrist upwards, we might reasonably see in it a variant development from the same archaic form, Fig. 256. And from such a variant development the Lesser Seal does not differ in essentials. Accordingly, it might be argued that we can logically trace the modern 申 *shén* back to the archaic 𠂔.

But here I ought to mention Lo Chên-yü's opinion. Lo denies that this second type of variant should be equated with 申. On p. 18 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'uo Shih* he contends that, despite Wu Ta-ch'êng's belief that two examples of Figs. 258-9 found on Bronzes are to be identified with the *Shuo Wen*'s Lesser Seal form, he disagrees with him on that point. He holds that as Fig. 258 depicts the two hands grasping a pestle, 𠂔 *ch'u*, although we cannot tell what word the character in question represents, nevertheless the significance is the same as the element 𠂔 [now written 夫] in the Lesser Seal form of 春 *ch'ung*, to pound with pestle or rammer. I am not convinced that Lo is right.

Now let us hear the argument of the opposing counsel claiming a judicial declaration that the descent of 申 *shén* is from 𠂔, alleged by the *Shuo Wen* and the most recent Chinese authorities to represent a flash of lightning.

It is common ground that the modern 申 is from the Lesser Seal 𠂔. But the discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein, among many other things, have brought to light a wooden

pentagonal slip of Han date, which has preserved a specimen of Lesser Seal writing exemplified in a series of the first ten couplets of the Cycle of Sixty, including the ninth, 王 申 *jén shén*. And if we turn to No. 697, on plate xx of Chavannes' *Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein*, we detect that the true script of 申 *shén* was not as it is now printed in the *Shuo Wen*, but 𠂔, a form which also accounts for the curved line of the lower part of 奄 *yen* and 電 *tien*.

The argument would then proceed, 申 being acknowledged to derive from the Lesser Seal, now printed 𠂔, and 𠂔 having emerged as the authentic form of the Lesser Seal, we are justified by parity of reasoning in inferring a past form 𠂔.¹ Both the actual (𠂔) and the hypothetical forms (𠂔) might and probably would be handier and quicker signs to write than Fig. 257, which last we have seen actually existed.

Finally, this last scription may, without much difficulty, have resulted from such known forms as 𠂔 or 𠂔 (H. 334 and H. 346), the alleged lightning symbol.

Such are the competing and irreconcilable claims to the ancestry of 申 *shén*. They seem to me, so far as the evidence goes, almost equally balanced. However, Wang Yün 王筠, who of course knew nothing of the new material provided by the inscriptions of the Honan find, had no doubt on the subject. He says in his edition of the *Shuo Wen*, s.v. 申, "By a first modification 𠂔 became 𠂔, by a second this became 𠂔."

But however this may be, one thing is certain. There were in the earliest-known Chinese script two ways of writing the cycle character 申 *shén*, and one of them was

¹ Chalfant has, in fact, catalogued a variant 𠂔 from the Honan bones almost identical with this hypothetical form.

a form that must have been designed to represent the word *shén*, meaning "to stretch". What is most curious is that this form, if converted, *without intermediate modifications*, to a modern contour, would become 爭. But this character is *chéng*, to struggle. And yet the present character 爭 *chéng* is *not* derived from that ancient sign for *shén*, to stretch!

I must leave this singular paradox to be explained on another occasion, for I have not space in the present paper.

T'o 它. The primary meaning of this syllable is not at first sight obvious. We find in use the senses of "other", "he" (viz. "that-other", as in the obsolescent vernacular English "t'other"), "otherwise", "astray", and, according to the *Shuo Wen*, "a snake," which from its description must be the cobra. But, judging from the meanings of the various other words pronounced *t'o* containing this character, it is a fair presumption that the etymological sense of the syllable *t'o*, written as above, is "burden". This appears in 它 *t'o*, hunch-back, 駝 or 佗 *t'o*, camel (in full 囊 佗 *t'o-t'o*), "sack-burdened" or "sack-backed", with clear allusion to the camel's hump; 拏 or 拖 *t'o*, to be burdened with, to drag behind one; 佗 *t'o*, to bear on the back, also, to burden with, to impose a responsibility or penalty, as, for instance, in the *Odes*, 舍彼有罪 予之佗矣 *shé pi yu tsui yü chih t'o i*, "He lets alone the guilty and imputes guilt to me."¹

Now the cobra, as is well known, possesses elongated anterior ribs, "and by raising and bringing forward these, the neck can be expanded at will into a broad disk or hood. . . . When seeking its prey it glides slowly along the ground, holding the anterior third of its body aloft, with its hood distended, on the alert for anything that may come in its way. 'This attitude,' says Sir J.

¹ Legge's *The Chinese Classics*, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 339.

Fayrer, 'is very striking, and few objects are more calculated to inspire awe than a large cobra when, with its hood erect, hissing loudly, and his eyes glaring, he prepares to strike.'"¹

And struck the early Chinese evidently were, some actually, to their own undoing, by the cobra's fangs, others, more fortunate, metaphorically only, by the menacing attitude of this deadly serpent. Their imaginations, however, did not picture it as assuming a "hood", but as carrying a "burden"; and such is, I submit, the true meaning of its name *t'o*.

The documentary evidence in the *Shuo Wen* is interesting and curious, and, as I hope to prove from the new material of the Honan relics, partly misunderstood by the Han dynasty author.

Under the Lesser Seal form 虺 *t'o*, Hsü Shên inserts the following text, 虫也從虫而長象冤曲垂尾形上古患它故相問無它乎, "A creeping thing; composed with the character 虫 lengthened; depicts the bent shape and drooping tail. In the highest antiquity men dwelt in the grass lands and suffered from serpents. Hence they would inquire of one another, 'No snakes, eh?'" Almost immediately after this Hsü adds the Lesser Seal form of 蛇 [*shé*], with the note, "它或從虫 *t'o* is sometimes composed with 虫."

On this I may remark, first, that the Lesser Seal shape is a fair representation, somewhat schematized, of the cobra's inflated hood, perhaps including the "spectacle-mark" upon it. The words *yüan ch'ü* (冤曲), "bent shape," perhaps refer to the angle made to the rest of the body when the creature raises its head and hood. The expression 垂尾 *ch'ui wei*, which I have rendered by "drooping tail", is paraphrased by Tuan Yü-ts'ai by 曳尾, *i wei*, trailing tail. These are minor matters of

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. vi, p. 613.

detail. More material is the last sentence and more curious. Was Hsü Shên when he wrote it repeating some old-time tradition still current at the beginning of Han times? Or have we in it an ancient and already obsolescent phrase, plus a piece of pure mythology to furnish an explanation for it? That such a phrase did exist we have now the evidence of the Honan bone inscriptions to prove. Figs. 261 and 262 are examples of its use, as are Figs. 263 and 264 of the closely similar 不它 *p'u t'o*. I subjoin here transcriptions of these in modern Chinese and translations:—

Fig. 261: 辛酉卜 [?] 貞今日王步于臺亡它
hsin yu pu [?] *chéng chin jih wang pu yü shun wu t'o*,
 “On the day *hsin-yu* took an omen as to [?]. Inquired whether the king should to-day go on foot to Shun. No ill consequence.”

Fig. 262, above: 戊寅子卜有它 *wu yin tzŭ pu*
yu t'o, “On the day *wu yin* the [? royal] son took an omen whether there would be some ill consequence.”
 Below: 戊寅子卜亡它 *wu yin tzŭ pu wu t'o*, “On the day *wu yin* the [? royal] son took an omen whether there would be no ill consequence.” Observe the rather cumbrous mode of expressing “would or would not be” by separate inquiries. The words *tzŭ pu* are fairly common on the Bones. I have assumed that they refer to the heir to the throne.

Fig. 263, above: 貞南庚它 *chéng nan kêng t'o*,
 “Inquired whether Nan Kêng imputes blame.” Below:
 貞南庚不它 *chéng nan kêng pu t'o*, “Inquired whether Nan Kêng does not impute blame.” Nan Kêng is computed to have reigned from B.C. 1433 to 1408.

Fig. 264, above: 貞祖辛它我 *chéng tsu hsín t'o*
wo, “Inquired whether Tsu Hsin blames me.” Below:
 貞祖辛不我它 *chéng tsu hsín pu wo t'o*, “Inquired whether Tsu Hsin does not me blame.” Tsu Hsin reigned B.C. 1506–1490.

The curious idiom, now obsolete, should be noticed, by which after the negative 不 *pu*, not, there is an inversion of the ordinary order of verb and object to object and verb. Two examples of the same inversion are referred to by Legge in his *Shoo King*,¹ one of them being 今予惟不爾殺 *shin yü wei pu erh sha*, "Now I have not put you to death."

The exact import of the formula *wu t'o* or *pu t'o* is not quite clear, but it appears to have some such meaning as "no ill consequence", no resulting "load" of care, or imputed "burden" of guilt. At any rate, the passages on the Bones show that "No snakes, eh?", although in certain hard-drinking circles such mutual inquiries might have point and pertinence, was not the meaning of the phrase in Shang dynasty times, and we are justified in suspecting that the residence in the highest antiquity among the grass lands of Tsaidam of serpent-plagued ancestors is but the *mise en scène* of an ætiological drama by some mediaeval Chinese fabulist with a picturesque imagination.

Not that I mean to deny that there *was* such a word as *t'o* having the meaning of "cobra". The *Book of Odes* is there to prove it,² at least if we can trust the *Shuo Wen*'s final statement that the word *t'o* 它 was sometimes written 蛇.

This statement, however, lands us in a phonetic perplexity. If the character 蛇 is a mere variant of 它 why is it at present never so pronounced? Why does it have the sound *shé* or various other shades of sibilant initial in the various dialects, but never an initial dental consonant, whether *t*, *t'*, or *d*? I write under correction

¹ *The Chinese Classics*, vol. iii, pt. ii, Index, p. 647.

² Thus in the lines 吉夢維何維熊維羆維虺維蛇, *chi méng wei ho, wei hsiung wei p'o, wei hui wei t'o*, "What dreams are lucky? Of brown bears and black bears, of vipers and cobras." And there are other examples in the *Odes*.




on this point, but I believe I am speaking by the book in saying that *t'o* and *shé*, though words of similar meaning, cannot be the offspring of a common parent syllable, nor consequently regarded as mere variations of sound. To be quite explicit, *t'o* and *shé* cannot ever have been the same word. The explanation, then, of the actual phonetic discrepancy must be otherwise accounted for, and I put it forward as a tentative hypothesis that the old word *t'o*, meaning "serpent", having become obsolete in that sense, its variant script 蛇 was "borrowed" for the syllable *shé* with kindred meaning, which perhaps was used in some other dialect or region as the ordinary term for "snake".

Let us now hear what Lo Chên-yü has written under the entry 它, of which he cites six examples (Figs. 265-70). After quoting the *Shuo Wen's* entry, which we have already discussed, he proceeds:—

"In the oracular sentences the character is formed with 止 *chih* (i.e. 足 *tsu*, foot.—*Lo's note*) and 它 *t'o*, serpent, below, to which is sometimes added 彳 *ch'ih* [also, like 止, indicating movement]. The wording of the relative texts has 亡 𧈧, *wu t'o*, no harm, or 不 𧈧 *pu t'o*, not harmful; probably this character is 它 *t'o* [as written later]. In high antiquity they inquired of each other 'No snakes, eh?' And in the oracular sentences, when divination is made respecting sacrifices to ancestors, they still used the traditional words *pu t'o* and *wu t'o*, which had probably been handed down as a general term, 'no objection,' 殆相沿以爲無事故之通稱矣. (In the oracular sentences the single word 它 *t'o* also occurs, and must mean that there is some objection, and sacrifice cannot be made.—*Lo's note*.) It further appears that 它 *t'o* and 出 *hui* were probably one and the same character, which later writers erroneously split into two; and in addition joined these two into the compound 蛇 *shé*, a multiplication of forms still more unjustified.

And when Hsü Shên, besides his radical 虫 *hui* [the 471st], made 它 *t'o* an independent radical [the 475th], he did not fail to pass on the error."

On Lo's valuable note I should like to add a few sentences of comment. The occurrence of the word 不 *pü* before *t'o* noted by Lo shows that *t'o* must in such cases be rendered strictly as an adjective or a verb, and, quite apart from any other arguments, that it cannot be understood as "snake".

As to the identity of the old forms of 它 *t'o* and 虫 *hui*, contended for by Lo, I advise caution. He believes he has found two instances of 虫 *hui* on the Bones and gives the references. But in the first of these I am confident he has misread as 虫 a form that is certainly 衣 *i* (or possibly 卒 *tsu*), the name of a previously unrecorded sacrifice, on which he gives us an excellent note on pp. 103-4. The second supposed example occurs in a detached position on a small fragment with such an obscure and scanty context that no argument can be based on it. But there does remain a duplicated character written  and  and , which he transcribes, perhaps rightly, as 𧈧 *kun* or *k'un*, insects. In two of these three instances the word intended (whether *kun* or some other) is the object of a specific sacrifice. Were insects perhaps propitiated by sacrifice in early times? Or are these triangular-headed creatures poisonous viperine snakes, and, if so, is some other word than *kun* involved?

At last, then, we come to the

Significance of the archaic forms (Figs. 265-70). Apparently the archaic type, which differs much from the Lesser Seal, is of the class known by Chinese scholars as Suggestive Compounds (會意 *hui i*). It seems to be made up of the pictogram of a serpent and the old form of 止 *chih*, to stop (but used in combination, ideographically, to suggest motion in general), which is itself

the figure of a footprint. The constructive idea, therefore, seems to be a *serpent in motion*. It is consequently *not* a mere picture of a snake, as the Lesser Seal form is, but a composition suggesting *sé*rpentine motion. It will be noticed that the footprint is placed above the snake's head. This, though not quite exceptional, is a less common position than at the foot of a character, and I think now, though I did not at first, has not any special significance. Among the figures is one (No. 268) in which the element 彳, in addition to 止, takes part, also suggesting motion. These compounds would correspond to a modern character, 迤 or 逦 *t'o*, occurring in the classical phrase 委迤 or 逶迤 *wei t'o*, which really means (despite sophistical Chinese commentators) "moving obliquely, serpentine motion, zigzag".

Let me bring this paper to a conclusion with a quaint and piquant character which has not yet been identified with any modern equivalent, so that we cannot tell what word is indicated, nor consequently what the precise sense may be. But forming one of a large number of such unspotted camouflaged characters, and the general artistic intention of its designers being clear, while Lo's note upon it is valuable and stimulating, I trust I may be excused for inserting it. The figures (Nos. 271-6) when scrutinized show, as explained by Lo Chên-yü,¹ an arm grasping an inverted bird in the presence of Spirits, sometimes using two hands, sometimes one.

The *Chou Li* or *Rites of Chou* contain a section under the title of 鷄人 *Chi Jén*, or Poulterer, where it is laid down that this official had to provide the cocks destined for sacrifice, whose blood was sprinkled in the ancestral hall and upon the vessels in it. Lo, who does not refer to this passage, says, "The *Shuo Wen*, under the character 轄 *han*, adduces the Sacrifices in the Suburbs, of the

¹ Y.H.S.K.K.S., p. 67.

State of Lu, where a red cock was killed, and a prayer offered in the words, 'By this red-winged Chanticleer, do away with the guilt of the Marquis of Lu,' 以斯翰音赤羽去魯侯之咎. The *Iéng Su T'ung* also states that in the Autumn Sacrifice in the Suburbs a red cock was used, and the phrase (red cock) agrees with the *Shuo Wen*'s. Judging by the character in these oracles, the rite of sacrificing with a cock did not originate with the Sacrifice in the Suburbs of the State of Lu."

What was the *word* behind this pictogram, and how would it be written now?

LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE II

Abbreviations

H. = Hopkins Collection.

C.K.L.C.W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wen* 櫝古錄金文.

C.Y.K.J.P. = *Choyokaku Ji Kan* 朝陽閣字鑑.

I.S.T.P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.

S.W. = *Shuo Wén*.

S.W.K.C.P. = *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* 說文古籀補.

T.Y.T.K. = *T'ieh Yün Tsang Kuei* 鐵雲藏龜.

Y.H.S.K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契.

Y.H.S.K.T.H. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua* 殷虛書契菁華.

132. Y.H.S.K., iii, 17.

133. " iii, 19.

134. " ii, 35.

135. " iv, 9.

136. " iii, 17.

137. " i, 8.

138. " ii, 11.

139. " iii, 19.

140. " iii, 18.

141. " iii, 16.

142. S.W., Lesser Seal.

143. " *Ku wén*.

144. Y.H.S.K., iv, 9.

145. " iv, 24.

146. " iv, 24.

147. " iv, 24.

148. S.W.K.C.P., ii, 65.

149. " 2nd ed., xi, 6.

150. " " xviii, 3.

151. " " xviii, 3.

152. H., 271.

153. Y.H.S.K., vi, 1.

154. " vi, 1.

155. H., 667.

156. S.W., *Ku wên*.
 157. Y.H.S.K., iii, 19.
 158. " iv, 10.
 159. " 2nd part, 下, p. 1.
 160. " iv, 11.
 161. " vii, 26.
 162. " vii, 26.
 163. " iv, 10.
 164. C.Y.K.J.K., xvi, 6.
 165. Y.H.S.K.T.H., p. 11.
 166. Y.H.S.K., 2nd part, 上, p. 22.
 167. " " "
 168. " vii, 43.
 169. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 170. *Collection of Chinese Bronze Antiques*, pl. vii.
 171. Y.H.S.K., iv, 8.
 172. " iv, 8.
 173. *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin*, fig. 1651.
 174. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 175. Y.H.S.K., iv, 8.
 176. " iv, 9.
 177. " vii, 43.
 178. T.Y.T.K., p. 110.
 179. Y.H.S.K., iv, 9.
 180. S.W.K.C.P., i, 3.
 181. " i, 5.
 182. Y.H.S.K., 2nd part, 下, p. 33.
 183. H., 3.
 184. Y.H.S.K., iv, 10.
 185. " iv, 31.
 186. T.Y.T.K., p. 93.
 187. S.W.K.C.P., i, 29.
 188. C.K.L.C.W., viii, 58.
 189. " ix, 33.
 190. Y.H.S.K., vi, 15.
 191. " vi, 16.
 192. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 193. " *Ku wên*.
 194. Y.H.S.K., v, 23.
 195. " iv, 4.
 196. Y.H.S.K., v, 23.
 197. " ii, 38.
 198. " i, 2.
 199. " iv, 19.
 200. " iv, 19.
 201. " iv, 19.
 202. " iv, 19.
 203. " iv, 19.
 204. " i, 19.
 205. " i, 19.
 206. " i, 4.
 207. " i, 5.
 208. " i, 41.
 209. " iv, 16.
 210. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 211. Y.H.S.K., ii, 25.
 212. " i, 27.
 213. " i, 23.
 214. H., 816 and 800.
 215. H., 758, and Y.H.S.K., v, 33.
 216. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 217. " *Ku wên*.
 218. Y.H.S.K., v, 37.
 219. " vi, 37.
 220. " vii, 17.
 221. " vii, 20.
 222. " i, 39.
 223. Y.H.S.K.T.H.
 224. H., 753.
 225. Cited by Lo as from the
 貉子 𠄎 Bronze.
 226. Cited by Lo from another
 Bronze.
 227. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 228. Y.H.S.K., vii, 31.
 229. " iv, 18.
 230. " iv, 18.
 231. S.W., Lesser Seal.
 232. " "
 233. " "
 234. C.Y.K.J.K., iv, 14.
 235. C.K.L.C.W., viii, 11, 12.

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| 236. Bronze sword, British
Museum, W.G. 1179. | 255. H., 878 and 884. |
| 237. H., 243. | 256. S.W., <i>Chou wen</i> . |
| 238. Y.H.S.K., iv, 46. | 257. S.W.K.C.F., 2nd ed., xiv, 12. |
| 239. S.W., "popular form." | 258. " " xiv, 12. |
| 240. " Lesser Seal. | 259. " " xiv, 12. |
| 241. C.K.L.C.W., viii, 12. | 260. Chalfant's List, No. 1779. |
| 242. Y.H.S.K., iv, 15. | 261. Y.H.S.K., ii, 26. |
| 243. " iv, 10. | 262. " viii, 11. |
| 244. H., 621. | 263. " i, 13. |
| 245. H., 611. | 264. " i, 11. |
| 246. S.W., Lesser Seal. | 265. " i, 11. |
| 247. H., Cowrie, B. | 266. " ii, 24. |
| 248. S.W.K.C.P., ii, 91. | 267. " iv, 5. |
| 249. Yin Wen Ts'un, 殷文存,
in I.S.T.P., No. 10. | 268. " iii, 28. |
| 250. Y.H.S.K., ii, 27. | 269. " viii, 11. |
| 251. T.Y.T.K., p. 105. | 270. " viii, 11. |
| 252. Y.H.S.K., iii, 17. | 271. " vi, 18. |
| 253. " i, 5. | 272. T.Y.T.K., p. 248. |
| 254. S.W.C.K.P. (in combination),
ii, 57. | 273. Y.H.S.K., iv, 7. |
| | 274. " i, 9. |
| | 275. " i, 20. |
| | 276. " v, 1. |
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XI

THE BABYLONIAN CONCEPTION OF THE LOGOS,

By S. LANGDON

IN Greek philosophy the word λόγος, which by derivation and usage meant speech, discourse, spoken word, assumed at an early period in the history of Greek thought the meaning reason, thought, mind. It is so employed, apparently, first by Heraclitus of the Ionian school at Ephesus. There seems to be in the region of purely Greek thought and religion no conception of λόγος or uttered word of the gods which could have suggested its identification with universal reason, first principle and cause of all things as variously employed in Greek philosophy. Rumour was called *Ῥοσσα Διὸς ἄγγελος*, "Rumour the messenger of Zeus,"¹ who goes about stirring up strife. And she is the messenger or dame rumour, *Ῥοσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος*, who hastens swiftly with evil news,² the Fama of Roman mythology. We must suppose, if the Ionian philosophers identified Word with cosmic reason and first principle, that they were induced and influenced by some well-known semi-philosophical use of the term "Word of the gods" as the personification of divine agency. It is wholly inconceivable that the Greek language permitted a sudden transformation of one of its most ancient and perfectly understood words without adequate cause. The etymology and ordinary meaning of λόγος afford no remote suggestion of a divine agent, a first principle. The philosophers certainly did not seize upon it arbitrarily for the most important term in the expression of their thought. Many words for reason, mind, wisdom already existed. Moreover, the transformation first occurs on Asiatic soil apparently

¹ *Iliad*, 2. 93.

² *Odyssey*, 24. 413.

about the second half of the sixth century. In this period the Assyrian empire quickly descended from its position as a world power and disappeared with the fall of Nineveh. The Neo-Babylonian empire, still in more or less uncertain control of Western Asia, now becomes the great cultural influence in this region. The world's first cosmopolitan age now arrived, and I think we may assume that the Greeks were fairly well acquainted with the principles of Babylonian science and speculation in the seventh century. Thales, an Asiatic Greek, generally regarded as the founder of the Ionian school, clearly owed much to Babylonian astronomy. He is said to have predicted the sun's eclipse in 585 B.C., which indicates that he had learned the principle of the eighteen year cycle discovered by the Babylonians probably before that time. The moon's node crosses the sun's orbit at about the same position regularly in eighteen years, a discovery which it seems impossible to attribute to Greece in that period in view of the backward state of their astronomy. Moreover, Thales assumed water as the first principle from which all things were generated, and there is much in Babylonian cosmology to lead us to suppose that they regarded water as the uncreated first principle. Heraclitus, a younger contemporary of Thales, assumed fire as the first principle and identified it with the cosmic logos or cosmic reason. Undoubtedly Thales made the same identification with water. Thales' is said to have derived his first principle from an old Aryan myth that the earth floats upon an infinite ocean, but it is most probable that the Babylonians held a sort of materialistic pantheism based on water. According to Berossus Oannes was god of the sea, the Sumerian Ea, or *Adós* of Damascius, and he rose from the waters of the Indian Ocean to reveal all knowledge unto men. And as to first principles, Oannes taught that "There was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness and an abyss

of waters". On the other hand, Damascius states that the Babylonians pass over the first principle like all the rest of the Barbarians and begin with two, Tauthe and Apason. These two primordial¹ deities, Tiamat, mother of the salt sea, and Apsû¹ the father, the lower ocean of sweet water, both represent water; according to the Babylonian Epic of Creation they existed before heaven and earth and their waters were confounded in one. And the opening lines of this epic state that Tauthe or Tiamat was the form or first principle² which gave birth to all.

A Sumerian version of Creation, accompanied by a Semitic translation, is even more explicit in deriving all things from water, or at any rate in assuming water as the uncreated first principle—

"The *apsû* was not made, Eridu was not built.

The pure house, house of the gods, its temple³ was not made.

All the lands were sea."⁴

Here the vast primordial mother ocean precedes the *apsû* or nether world sea of fresh water.⁵ The theory of Thales may have come from Babylonia as well as the entire Ionian materialistic pantheism which laid the foundation of our European philosophy. The Babylonians, and the Sumerians who preceded them, did not construct this first principle into a strict metaphysical theory; the Greeks went their own way in these matters. Nevertheless the Babylonian Epic of Creation does contain a certain amount of abstract thinking at this point, as has

¹ *Apsû*, ocean which flows beneath the earth, is of Sumerian origin. *ab-zu*, and means "sea of wisdom".

² *Mummu*; see on the philosophical use of this term the discussion below.

³ i.e. the temple of Eridu.

⁴ Text in *Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum*, xiii, 35-7. The lines cited are obv. 8-10.

⁵ Hence Tiamat is the *ummu Hubur pātīkat kalama*, Mother Hubur (the salt-water stream surrounding the earth), fashioner of all things; see King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, 16. 113; 24. 19; 50. 81.

been long recognized by Assyriologists. The primordial ocean is called the *mummu* or "form" which gave birth to all things, and in the same passage *mummu* becomes the god *Mummu* and the messenger of Apsū, here designated as father of all the gods; these gods descended in emanations from the primordial water deities of chaos to the deities of Heaven, Earth, and Civilization. *Mummu* is the *Mōymis* described by Damascius. This Greek writer says that the Babylonians regarded *mummu* or "form" as the only begotten son of Apsū and Tiamat; in the opinion of Damascius *Mummu* is the intelligible world. There is no doubt about the philosophical import of this word in Babylonian.¹ *Mummu* does mean the concept of things, the universal reason born of the first principle water, and is in a measure related to the logos of Greek philosophy. According to the first book of the Babylonian Epic of Creation strife arose between the ancient deities of chaos Apsū and Tiamat and their children the gods of the ordered world. In this combat *Mummu* or the cosmic idea strangely enough acts as the counsellor of the primordial water deities. We are dealing surely with illogical myth here, for in the last book of this same epic Marduk, son of the water god, is identified with *Mummu*. According to their legend of creation written by poets under the influence of the cult of Marduk, god of the city Babylon, Marduk championed the gods of order, smote Tiamat, the water mother, and from her body constructed heaven and earth. Here again myth suppresses their philosophy. In reality they seem to have argued that earth, sea, and sky, or the deities of these elements, descended through emanations from chaotic ocean or water. They are the tangible material results of the operation of reason or form, *Mummu*

¹ See Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 303; Böhl, *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*, 1916, 266, where the derivation of *mummu* from *המ*, to speak, is defended.

working with the primordial water. In the issue of this pantheistic materialism the cosmic reason *Mummu* was identified with Enki or Ea, god of the sea, more especially god of the *apsū* or lower world of sweet water. Since water is the first principle and more or less identified with form or reason, water in Babylonian religion was universally held to be the seat of wisdom. Ea, god of water, is the Babylonian deity of all wisdom, patron of the arts, of mysticism, of learning and culture generally. In the schools of Babylonia and Assyria they taught that Ea was Mummu, the Babylonian logos. *Ea mummu bān kala*, "Ea the *mummu* creator of all things," says the inscribed memorial stone of Merodachbaladan, Cassite king of the twelfth century. Also the son of Ea, the wise Nebo god of letters, is identified with *mummu*. A hymn to Nebuchadnezzar says that Nebo was the "[Beloved of] Ea and *mummu* who fashions the things created".¹

In the evolution of Babylonian mythology this son of Ea, Nebo the patron of letters, is more or less overshadowed by the intrusion of a new god Marduk. Babylonian religious systems and mythology were compelled to make place for this ambitious deity of Babylon, a city which came into prominence only with the rise of the great Amorite dynasty which chose Babylon for its capital. In searching for a suitable position in the pantheon for their city god, the priests of this now most powerful of all cults attached him to the court of the water god, and he becomes the son of Ea. In turn Nebo becomes the son of Marduk at the hands of these troublesome theologians, who insisted upon disturbing the entire structure of Sumerian theology. The Semitic version of creation was written under these influences.

¹ PSBA. 1898, p. 156, 14. Read [*iu* . . . *na-ram iu*] *Nin-igi-azag mu-um-mu ba-an bi-nu-tu* . . . : *mummu* here refers to the god Nebo, supplied at the beginning of the line.

Marduk, originally a deity of light, here constructs the intelligible world, and in the seventh book of the epic he too is described as the *mummu bān* [ka-la?], "Form (or reason) which creates all things."¹ A Babylonian commentary on the seven tablets of creation supplies a lost line of the seventh tablet in which Marduk is called *mummu irpētu uttakšibamma*, "Mummu who gathers the storm clouds unto himself." This native grammarian adds the note *mummu* = *rigmu*, "Mummu means loud cry."²

For the moment I pass over this indication of the original meaning of the word *mummu*. As a title of the creator god Marduk it has its philosophical sense. *Mummu* means form, idea, reason, the mental activity of the creative first principle. And in Sumerian theology Marduk, therefore, becomes the son of the water god Ea, the patron of wisdom. The point to be retained in mind here is that the water deities, Ea and his son Nebo, were both identified with this Babylonian principle. Deny it to be metaphysical, refuse to define it as logos or cosmic reason, nevertheless the Babylonians certainly did have a fairly clear teaching along the lines which we Europeans designate as metaphysical. In my opinion the identification of Marduk with this principle does not belong to the original system. When any deity attained at the hands of the theologians the role of a creator god he was naturally identified with this creative mental principle. For the personification of this principle we must study the attributes of the water deity Ea and his son Nebo.

Orthodoxy appears to have strangled Babylonian philosophy, and hence *mummu* never attained a position in the pantheon. The commentary which contained the original Sumerian word for this principle is broken on

¹ K. 13761, rev. 3, in King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, 164, and i, 102. See also commentary K. 4406, rev. i, 27-30, in vol. ii, pl. lv. Marduk is more correctly called *mar mumme*, "the son of Mummu," i.e. Ea, in Craig, *Religious Texts*, i, p. 31, 33.

² CT. 13, S. 747, rev. 10.

the Sumerian side, so that here also only the Semitic word remains.¹ The deities Ea and Nebo are both of Sumerian origin. Although *Nabû*, "the revealer," is a Semitic title, it is not original, being only the translation of the ancient Sumerian name *ša*,² to reveal, announce. In estimating the character and extent of Babylonian abstract thinking we are always in difficulty about this matter of the relative contributions of Sumerian and Semitic culture. The idea of the cosmic-form-principle is known as yet only from Semitic sources. The word *mummu* is certainly Semitic. If the Sumerians contributed this idea there are no certain sources to prove it, and their tendency to personify ideas would have obscured the idea at an early period. So also the Semitic Babylonians obscured this valuable germ of philosophy by identifying it with the very concrete figures Ea and Nebo. The Babylonian develops these deities of wisdom on strictly orthodox lines. They become patrons of the mystic powers of incantation, especially Ea and his foster-son Marduk. They figure as sources of practical wisdom and the arts rather than as an abstract formative principle. Perhaps the failure to construct a system of philosophy was due to a consistent method of eradicating all views not in keeping with their orthodox fatalism. At any rate, we hear of no Babylonian thinkers who were persecuted for their views, or who ventured to write on any aspect of philosophy except ethics. One writer ventures a few sceptical phrases about the value of divination and magic. Of the method of divining the future by observing the flight of birds he scoffingly remarks: "A bird speaks and its oracle [is proclaimed (?)]

¹ I refer to B.M. 82-3-23, 151, published in King, *op. laud.*, ii, pl. liv. Here we have obviously a commentary on S. 747, rev. 10, as Dr. King has also written. For *ummu* of the commentary read probably [mu]-um-mu.

² Written *ag* = *nabû*. On the root *šd*, *sd*, *sû*, to proclaim, prophesy, see the writer's *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 235.

and then its body is divided." In view of the extraordinary influence exercised in Babylonia by the seers and prophets our sage must have been a bit hardy in writing the following: "The giving of the king is the making gracious of the prophet." The inference here is that money can secure a favourable answer from the seers. Of wearing amulets and relics for protection he passes the remark, "A ring does not give protection."

In all Babylonian literature we meet only here with any independence of mind. Surely in view of their splendid achievements in astronomy, mathematics, and philology we cannot deny them the ability to have developed this germ of metaphysics into a consistent philosophical system. The problem of the relation of mind to matter is already raised or should have been raised by the principle of the creative form. We know that the Sumerians regarded the reality of all things to exist in its *gar* (Semitic *usurtu*) or form. This they identified with the name of the thing, and saw in its name the idea or form. Their philosophical system, however, is crude. Things exist only when god or the gods think of their forms. Sensible objects come into being because a divine being, ultimately the creative logos, has conceived their ideas. These, however, are made known to man by revelation, and if I understand rightly their texts and traditions, this revelation was made by the water god before the flood. Since then no new wisdom has been or can be attained by the mind of man. You see that this view leads to the assumption that the secret wisdom of all things is deposited with the various orders of the priesthood. All knowledge is more or less a mystery to a Babylonian. It never seems to have occurred to him that the divine mind is shared by himself and makes possible his comprehension of the forms of things. This doctrine of revelation, of mystic monopoly of wisdom, led straight to a priest-ridden orthodoxy.

For this reason the doctrine of creative form remained largely undeveloped among them. Nevertheless it lay unconscious in the mentality of all Babylonian scholars and does not fail to reveal itself casually in their writings. The god Nebo, whom we recall to have been identified with the *mummu*, is also designated as "He without whom no counsel in heaven is issued".¹ He is the Hermes or Mercury of classical philology, whom the later Stoics also identified with the *logos* or cosmic reason of Greek philosophy. Hermes, said the allegorizing school of Stoics, is the *Logos* whom the gods sent unto us out of heaven.² Also Nebo of Babylonia appears frequently as the "far-famed messenger who conducts the totality of laws".³ He represents in this mythology the spirit of wisdom of the post-Exilic Hebrew. Babylonian did not possess a very clear philosophical vocabulary, in consequence of which the Assyriologists still find great difficulty in rendering well-known words which occur in a philosophical sense. For example, there is the troublesome word *riksu*, which ordinarily means a rope, band, turban, but also the sum total of a large number of objects. When Nebo is called the "band of all things",⁴ we obviously have to do with an abstract use of the word, and in my opinion the scribe here is struggling with a language inadequate to his thought. He really wishes to connect the god of wisdom with the creative cosmic reason. When the word obtained this philosophic sense it naturally proceeded to become a word for totality. Again we have the most troublesome of all words in Babylonian, *markasu*, from the same root as

¹ *Ša baluṣṣu ina šamé la iššakam milku*, i, Raw. 35, No. 2. 6.

² See Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, i, 122.

³ *Sukkallu šīru ḥāmim kullat parṣē*, iv, Raw. 14, No. 3, obv. 1f, and I Raw. 35, No. 2. 3. See also the writer's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 154, 30, where read *sukkal-zid*, "the faithful messenger," and Zimmern, *Altsumerische Kullieder*, 12, iii, 10.

⁴ *Rikis kalama*, Sum. *dūr-dūr-ur*, "He that binds into one," v, Raw. 43, 30.

riksu. This word commonly means rope, ship's hawser, bar of a door, and also turban. Now when we find a god called the *markas* of the earth,¹ or "he who sustains the *markas* of heaven and earth",² what can the "rope of earth" or the "rope of heaven and earth" possibly mean? We ordinarily render "bar or band of earth", "bar or band of heaven and earth" without a vague idea of its real import. When the gods Ea or Nebo, who were identified with "creative form", are called the "rope of heaven and earth", we have most certainly a philosophic term before us. Here again, I believe, the scribes are imputing an abstract sense to the word. They endeavour to express the idea of the universal creative form. The word then came to mean guide, leader; even temples are called the *markas* of heaven and earth, probably because they were built in imitation of cosmic ideas. The seven stages of Babylonian towers, at least in the later period, are known to have corresponded to the seven planetary spheres (including the moon). Originally these seven stages corresponded perhaps to the seven regions of the earth. In any case, heaven and earth were the patterns for many features of Babylonian temples. They were, therefore, reproductions in miniature of the ideas or forms of the universe. So when we find the temple of the Assyrian god Ašur called Eharsagkurkurra, the band of heaven and earth, we cannot dismiss this term with an unintelligible phrase. We have mythology and philosophy sadly united in such expressions. The Assyrians really mean to say the form or pattern of heaven and earth.³ You will, I believe, appreciate the



¹ Said of Ea, RA. 12. 83, 48; of Adad, SBP. 66. 8.

² *Mukil markas šamé u iršitim*, said of Nebo, King, *Magic*, 22, obv. 39; of Ninurta, King, *Annals*, 255, 2; i, Raw. 29, 3.

³ The word then came to mean a model or perfect construction and was used of cities and palaces; see the literature in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 12. 82, n. 1.

almost unsolvable difficulties with which the Assyriologists have had to contend in fixing the meanings of these cosmological and semi-metaphysical terms. When deities are described as the band of heaven and earth, or the term is extended to temples and even cities, scholars have been forced to conjure up most curious explanations. For example, the well-known German Assyriologist Jensen, essaying to elucidate this term, writes as follows: "We must remember that the Babylonians conceived heaven and earth to bend over the waters and were consequently supposed to swim on the ocean. The gods were therefore thought of as posts on which heaven and earth were anchored."¹

I think the improbability of this explanation is self-evident. In fact, the evidence for the metaphysical use of the words for "band, rope" in Sumerian and Babylonian is extensive. I mean, of course, when these terms are employed to define the character of the water deity Ea and his son Nebo. Ea, the god of wisdom, is defined

¹ Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 495. A Sumerian loan-word *tarkullû*, ordinary translation of the Sumerian *dim-gal*, "great band," has followed the analogy of *markasu* in the development of Sumero-Babylonian thought. The god Ea is called *dimgal-abzu*, "the band of the sea" (Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadische Königs-inschriften*, 40, iv, 31; 132, xii, 16). The goddess *Gunura*, a form of *Ninâ*, goddess of irrigation and closely associated with the water god Ea, as his daughter, has also the title *dim-gal kalam-ma = tarkulli mâtim* (Langdon, SBP. 160, 13). Hence the word *dimgul*, cognate of *dimgal*, and generally written   (ship's cable), also took on this sense. As such it is employed of Enlil, who is *umun gû dimgul = bêl tarkulli ri-[ik-si]*, "Lord the band of the universe." Here *tarkullu*, like *markasu*, has the meaning "support, guide", a sense developed from the philosophical import of the word when employed of the water deity Ea and his daughter *Gunura*. Then *dim-gal* is employed of *Ishtar*, who is *dim-gal (= tarkullu)* of Babylon, "supporter of Babylon" (SBP. 191, 65). Like *markasu* the term is then applied to temples. This use of the term is as yet documented only in Sumerian. *Eninnû*, temple of *Ningirsu* at *Lagash*, has the title *dim-gal-kalam-ma*, "support of the Land" (SAK. 122, i, 1). See also 114, xxiii, 16, *é-ninnû dim-gal mu-gin*, "Eninnu as the support (of the Land) I established." See for the same application of the word 112, xxii, 11.

in one commentary as the god of the "binding band".¹ When the dragon of Chaos, Tiamat, the mother of the primeval salt-water ocean, is described as "Mother Hubur, she who fashioned all things", we have surely before us a trace of this ancient theory. The Babylonians or their predecessors believed water to have been the uncreated first matter, and in it resided the creative form or cosmic reason. It has been argued that Tiamat or Chaos is here described as the fashioner of all things because the Babylonians reasoned from analogy with the life-giving waters of the Euphrates.² But Tiamat never has any connexion with natural rivers in Sumero-Babylonian mythology, and the Hubur is known to be the world-encircling stream of salt water. Mother Hubur can be explained only by conceding to these ancients a certain amount of philosophical speculation.

In epitomizing the argument the result of our investigation, then, is that the Babylonians designated creative form by the word *mummu*. This they identified with the water deity Tiamat and later with the god of fresh water Ea. As the cosmic reason the water deity was designated band, uniting principle (*markasu*, *tarkullu*). Let me return briefly to the original meaning of the word *mummu*. It has been the subject of many suggestions.³ The commentary already referred to explains the word by *rig'nu*, roar, loud cry. Another commentary on the same passage says that [*m*]ummu is filled with rain-clouds and gives food to the people.⁴

¹ CT. 25. 48, 15, ^a *Azag-gi-banda(da) = ^{tu}E-a ša tar-dim-me* [cf. CT. 24. 9, 41 = 24. 23, 31, where this title is explained by *dupšar aširti*, scribe of the sanctuary, hence a god of letters]. In K. 4210 (= CT. 25. 43), l. 10, read perhaps [^aDim-]gal = ^a *E-a*.

² King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, p. xciv.

³ See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Lexicon*, 552-3. Recently Böhl in OLZ. 1916, 266, connected *mummu* with the logos of Greek philosophy and derived the word from מַמָּה, whence (according to Böhl) is derived the Babylonian word *amātu*, "word."

⁴ So the sense must be reconstructed from B.M. 82-3-23, 151.

A parallel passage has almost an identical statement concerning Adad, the rain and thunder god.¹ The word, therefore, clearly means rumble of thunder or the voice of god, as the ancients supposed, more particularly the voice of the rain god.² The word is apparently connected with the ordinary *amātu*, "word, speech," in Babylonian. We have here precisely the same philological state of affairs as in the Greek. "Word" came to mean reason or form. In Babylonian and Sumerian the reason for the choice of the term is clear; *mummu* was the voice of the rain god.

On the other hand, the Sumerians, and after them the Semites, personified the ordinary expression for "word" at an early period.³ Sumerian *enem* or word is treated everywhere in Sumerian liturgies as the wrath of God. The Semites borrowed these liturgies and employed them with interlinear translation; *enem* is simply rendered by the Semitic *amātu*, "word." The great gods punish mankind by sending forth the wrathful word, which is often called a storm or spirit of wrath (*ud* = *īmu*). In a Sumerian liturgy which the writer recently discovered in Philadelphia the word of the earth god Enlil has two attendants—

Enlil utters the spirit of wrath and the people wail.

The spirit of wrath prosperity from the Land destroyed, and the people wail.

¹ Adad is *nādin te'uti ana pu-hur (?) ilāni*, K. 100, 13 (in the writer's *Tammuz and Ishtar*).

² The Semitic derivation is probably **המה** in Babylonian *'amāmu*, bellow. The connexion of the ordinary word *amātu* with this root is uncertain. Ungnad, ZA. 17, 356, derived *amātu* from **חנה**, Aramaic **חנה** to inform, which is certainly erroneous in view of the word *ḥa'-u-ti*, revelation (Craig, RT. 23, 28), a form indicating *h*, not *h* in the root. For the present it seems necessary to assume **המה**, bellow, cry, for this word also.

³ The oldest known hymn mentioning the word of Marduk is translated in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1912, 156.

The spirit of wrath from Sumer has taken peace, and the people wail.

The "Messenger of Wrath" and the "Assisting Spirit" into his hand he entrusted.

He has uttered the spirit of wrath which exterminates the Land, and the people wail.

Enlil sent Gibil (the fire) as its helper.

The great spirit of wrath of the heaven god was uttered, and the people wail.

The mighty spirit of wrath from on high he ordered forth, and the people wail.

The spoken word of the gods is an avenging angel about whom the liturgies repeat endless mournful dirges. When the word descends upon the world—

It is an on-rushing storm which none can oppose.

It terrifies the heavens and causes the earth to shake.

Of the word of Enlil a liturgy says—

His word hastens forth from Ekur¹; his word is a storm which is produced in the bosom.

His word is a spirit of rage; his word is the burden of the storm.²

This very materialistic and realistic conception of the word appears to have influenced the Hebrews in no little measure. The most striking parallel is one in which we cannot fail to see Babylonian influence. It occurs in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (18, 15) in the description of God's punishment of the Egyptians—

Thine all powerful word leaped from heaven down from the royal throne,

A stern warrior into the midst of the doomed land,

Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment,

And standing filled all things with death.³

¹ Name of Enlil's temple in Nippur.

² Langdon, SBP. 72, 1-4.

³ See Holmes in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia*, i, 585.

Although written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew of the late period, the passage clearly reveals Babylonian views in diction and content.

According to Sumerian liturgy the word of the god returns to his place or to its divine possessor only after the divinities are appeased. For example, a song to a deified king of the twenty-third century describes the peace that came to the land because the word had returned to heaven. The avenging angel, or word of the heaven god, rested in heaven and hastened not forth.

On high he (the heaven god) spoke and the word returned to its place.

In heaven it is and may it not hasten forth.¹

Irresistibly a passage of the post-Exilic Isaiah is recalled by these Babylonian lines—

So shall my word be which goeth up from my mouth; it returneth not unto me void.

For it shall have done that which I desired,

And shall have accomplished that for which I sent it.²

The Hebrew, of course, has here a more noble idea of this divine agent which comes to deliver the chosen people. But outwardly the parallel is striking. And we recall a passage from the same period in the 147th Psalm—

He sendeth his commandment upon the earth;

His word runneth very swiftly.

Further comparisons with Hebrew ideas lie primarily beyond the scope of this essay. I leave the application of these results to future investigation. The relation of the post-Exilic conception of personified wisdom to the Babylonian *mummu* or creative form should be the subject of a special work. You are reminded, however,

¹ Zimmern, *Altsumerische Kultlieder*, 199, i, 15f. The text will be found edited and translated by the writer in PSBA. 1918 (in press).

² Isaiah lv, 11.

that the Babylonian god Ea, who was identified primarily with their creative form, was the god of wisdom, the mental conceiver of all things. Surely the Alexandrian author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* was under the influence of this teaching when he wrote—

Oh God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy,
Who madest all things by thy word;
And by thy wisdom thou didst form man.¹

Our study so far as Sumero-Babylonian culture is concerned concludes with the following results. The Babylonians regarded water as the uncreated first principle, and in it resides the cosmic reason or creative form. The word chosen to designate this creative form was originally voice, loud cry. On the other hand, they held a less speculative view of the word, the personification of the command of any great god, more especially and possibly originally the heaven god (Anu). This personified word is invariably regarded as an agent of destruction, the command issued by an angered god. Finally, let me return briefly to Thales of Miletus and the Ionian philosophers. Thales posited water as the first principle. Since he is known to have travelled widely in Asia at the end of the seventh century, it is not improbable that he borrowed his entire materialistic pantheism there. No fragments of his works remain, and we do not know whether he identified water with λόγος or even used this Greek word in that sense. His younger contemporary, Heraclitus of Ephesus, posited fire as the first principle, and identified it with λόγος or reason. From purely Greek sources it seems possible to explain how λόγος came to mean reason. Animals which are able to employ words are λογικοί, speech users, rational beings. The word conveys thought, hence is thought itself. This

¹ Holmes, "The Wisdom of Solomon," in Charles, op. laud., i, 549, ch. ix, 1f.

method of reasoning is as old as Homer ; Hera sends by the swift Iris the message to Poseidon—

Εἰ δ' ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐπέσσ' ἐπιπείσεται ἀλλ' ἀλογήσει

If he obey not my words, but be unreasonable.

Here ἀλογέω, to be speechless, means not to have reason! Word, therefore, came to mean reason apparently in the Greek language itself, but it certainly was not the ordinary word nor the adequate word for a metaphysical term before the Ionian philosophers identified it with cosmic reason. This identification, if not borrowed directly from Babylonia, was at least hastened by that influence.

XII

THE CHRONOLOGY AND GENEALOGY OF THE MUHAMMADAN KINGS OF KASHMIR

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

MR. STANLEY LANE-POOLE, on p. 311 of his most valuable work *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, has the following note after his list of the kings of Mālwa: "The list of the kings of Kashmīr should follow here; but their chronology is so uncertain that an accurate table can hardly be constructed. See my *Catalogue of the Coins of the Muhammadan States of India*, xlvii, 68." It is evident, therefore, that the coins of this dynasty do not furnish us with sufficient materials for the construction of a complete chronological list of the kings of Kashmīr, and Mr. C. J. Rodgers, writing in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (lxv, pt. i, p. 225, 1896), says of them: "They are not of much value, as I have shown elsewhere, for the assistance they render in fixing the chronology." I have, therefore, the less reason to regret my inability, far removed as I am from museums and libraries, to consult specimens and catalogues of these coins, and I propose, with the slender materials at my disposal, to make an attempt to solve some of the difficulties of this interesting question and to construct a tentative list of the kings of Kashmīr which may at least form the basis of further investigation by those more fortunately situated than I am. My materials consist chiefly of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Colonel Jarrett's excellent translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, and Firishṭah's history (Bombay text of 1830). The last-named can hardly be regarded as an independent authority, for Firishṭah, in his account of this dynasty, is little more than a copyist of Niẓām-al-dīn Aḥmad, to whose *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he has added little, but I have found his history

useful for the reconstruction of various corrupt and defective passages in the text of my copy of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, which is not one of the happiest efforts of the Newal Kishore Press of Lucknow.

The accepted date for the establishment in Kashmīr, as minister to the Rāja Sinha Deva, of Shāh Mirzā, the Muhammadan adventurer who afterwards seized the throne under the title of Shams-al-dīn and established a Muhammadan dynasty in that country, is A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315). The date of his seizing the throne, after defeating and capturing Rānī Kota Deva, the widow of Rāja Udyana Deva, is not expressly stated, but he died in A.H. 750 (A.D. 1349) after a reign of three years, or, according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, two years eleven months and twenty-five days, so that A.H. 747 (A.D. 1346) may be accepted as the date of his establishment on the throne.

Shāh Mirzā left four sons, Jamshīd, 'Alī Shīr, Shīrā-shāmak, and Hindāl, of whom the eldest succeeded him, but retained the throne no longer than one year and two months, and was dethroned by his brother 'Alī Shīr, whose accession, under the title of 'Alā-al-dīn, may thus be placed in A.H. 751 (A.D. 1350). The period of one year and ten months given in Colonel Jarrett's translation of the *Āīn* for the duration of Jamshīd's reign is probably a misreading.

'Alā-al-dīn reigned for twelve years eight months and thirteen days, and was succeeded by his next brother, Shīrāshāmak. This name, if it is correctly given by Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad and Firishtah, was a childish nickname meaning "the little milk-drinker", and the prince's real name was doubtless Shihāb-al-dīn, by which he was known after his succession to the throne. The date of his accession, if we attempt to determine it by adding the duration given for 'Alā-al-dīn's reign to the year in which the latter ascended the throne, will be A.H. 763 (A.D. 1361-2) or A.H. 764 (A.D. 1362-3), but this

date is too late by three or four years, as appears from certain events which occurred at the beginning of his reign. He is said to have defeated the Jām of Sind and to have established such a reputation as a warrior that the inhabitants of Qandahār and Ghaznī lived in dread of him; and then to have undertaken an expedition to the north—with what object is not clear—and to have penetrated the passes of the Hindū Kush, but to have been forced to return owing to the difficulties of the road. After his return he formed a cantonment on the banks of the Satlaj, and the Rāja of Nagarkoṭ (Kāngra), who was returning homewards after pillaging some of the districts of the empire of Dihlī, met him and made submission to him. This expression, in a Muḥammadan history of Kashmīr, means no more than that the two monarchs met in a friendly manner and did not fight, but the date of the meeting is important, and can, I believe, be ascertained, at least approximately. In 1361 Firūz Shāh of Dihlī assembled his army for an expedition to Daulatābād, the town in which the *amīrs* of the Dakan had risen in rebellion against his cousin and predecessor, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, and had severed from Dihlī the rich provinces of the south, but for some reason unexplained in the histories of his reign Firūz suddenly abandoned his intention of marching against Daulatābād and turned his arms against Kāngra. It is certain that he would not have abandoned so important an enterprise as the expedition to Daulatābād without good reason, and there can be little doubt that he had received grave provocation from the Rāja of Nagarkoṭ, and that the provocation consisted in this impudent raid into imperial territory. The meeting between the Rāja of Nagarkoṭ and Shihāb-al-dīn may thus be placed in A.D. 1361, so that it would have been impossible for Shihāb-al-dīn, if he did not ascend the throne until A.H. 763 or 764, to carry out two distinct military enterprises and afterwards

meet the Rājā in A.D. 1361 on the banks of the Satlaj, and we must seek an earlier date for his accession. We have, fortunately, other materials, which enable us to fix a more probable date than A.H. 763 or 764 for this event. Shihāb-al-dīn reigned for twenty years and was succeeded by his brother Hindāl, who ascended the throne under the title of Qutb-al-dīn and reigned for fifteen years and five months. The date of Hindāl's death is given by Firishtah (ii, 651) and perhaps also by Nizām-al-dīn Ahmad, though it does not appear in my imperfect copy of the *Tabaqāt*, as A.H. 796. Subtracting thirty-five years and five months, the sum of the two reigns, from this date we get A.H. 760 (A.D. 1359), and perhaps this may be accepted for the present as the date of Shihāb-al-dīn's accession. In this case his death must be placed in A.H. 780 (A.D. 1378-9) and Firishtāh's date (A.H. 796 = A.D. 1393-4) retained for the death of his brother and successor, Qutb-al-dīn Hindāl.

Hindāl was succeeded by his son, the bigot Sikandar, surnamed *Butshikan*, or the Iconoclast. The name by which he was known before his accession is given as Sakā, Sakār, or Sankār, probably a childish corruption of Sikandar. The events of the early years of his reign provide us with still further justification for selecting the earliest possible dates for his accession and that of his two predecessors. Sikandar was a child when he succeeded, and his succession to the throne was secured through the influence of his mother, Sūrah, an energetic lady who managed the affairs of the kingdom with a high hand, for in order to secure an undisturbed succession for her son she put to death her daughter and her daughter's husband. We know from the independent evidence of the *Zafarnāmah* of Maulānā Sharaf-al-dīn 'Alī Yazdī that Sikandar entered into relations with Taimūr-i-Lang on the occasion of the conqueror's retirement from India, after the capture of Dihli, in the early spring of A.D. 1399,

and as it is nowhere indicated that the negotiations were conducted by a regent or guardian on behalf of Sikandar, and Sikandar himself set out to meet Taimūr and was only prevented by a misunderstanding from appearing before him personally in his camp, we must conclude that Sikandar was now of full age and was himself managing the affairs of his kingdom. It is therefore more probable that he succeeded in A.H. 796 than in A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395-6), the date obtained by adding the figures for the duration of the reigns of his two predecessors to the later date for the accession of Shihāb-al-dīn.

Sikandar reigned for twenty-two years and nine months, and A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416) may be accepted as the date of his death. He was succeeded by his eldest son, 'Alī Shāh, the duration of whose reign is given as six years and nine months, which would place his deposition in A.H. 826 (A.D. 1423). but here again we have more trustworthy materials for establishing the date than the addition of the recorded duration of reigns to the date assigned for an accession. On the death of Sinha Bhat, the converted Brāhman who had, as minister of the kingdom, stimulated Sikandar's zeal against the misbelievers and had continued the same policy under his son, 'Alī Shāh resolved to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah, leaving his brother Shāhī Khān in charge of his kingdom. Whether he actually abdicated in his brother's favour or whether he merely left him in charge of the kingdom as regent is uncertain, but the Rāja of Jammū, who was 'Alī Shāh's father-in-law, induced him to forego his quixotic design of abandoning his kingdom, and, in conjunction with the Rāja of Rājāorī, provided him with a force to enable him to expel his brother. Shāhī Khān, on his brother's approach, fled from Kashmīr and took refuge with Jasrat the Khokar, a chieftain who, with his brother Shaikhā, had incurred the wrath of Taimūr by harassing his army instead of fulfilling his promise to help him, and had

accordingly been carried off into captivity in Samarqand, whence he had escaped after Taimūr's death in A.H. 807 (A.D. 1404-5). Jasrat, who had regained his power and influence in the Northern Panjāb, espoused Shāhī Khān's cause and marched with him towards Srinagar, and 'Alī Shāh marched to repel the invaders, and, in his haste to meet them, foolishly exhausted his army by a long forced march. Shāhī Khān and his ally, on learning the condition of their enemy, at once attacked him in the hills near the Tattakutī Pass and gained a complete victory. 'Alī Shāh's fate is uncertain. According to one account he escaped, but according to others, more probable, he was captured by Jasrat's troops. In either case he is no more heard of, and Shāhī Khān, with Jasrat's help, ascended the throne under the title of Zain-al-Ābidīn. According to the history of the Sayyid emperors of Dihlī, the battle between the two brothers was fought in the month of Jamādī-al-awwal, A.H. 823 (May-June, 1420), and we may confidently accept this date as that of the accession of Zain-al-Ābidīn, for immediately afterwards we find Jasrat, with his assistance, beginning a course of aggression against the dominions of Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī. Zain-al-Ābidīn, the Akbar of Kashmīr, is said to have reigned for fifty-two years, and we may assume that the duration of his reign is correctly stated and that he died in Jamādī-al-awwal, 875 (November-December, 1470), for this date agrees with that of the accession of his son and successor, Hājī Khān, as determined by legends on coins.¹ Zain-al-Ābidīn's age at the time of his death is given by Firishtah (ii, 665) as 68 (lunar) years, so that at the time when Jasrat the Khokar helped him to ascend the throne he was a youth of 16.

¹ See JASB. lxx, pt. i, p. 225, 1896. This is one of only three instances in which I have found legends on Kashmīr coins helpful.

Hāji Khān ascended the throne three days after his father's death under the title of Haidar Shāh. He is wrongly styled in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (ii, 579) "Hāji" Haidar Shāh. Hāji Khān was his personal name, and should not be prefixed to the name which he bore as king as though it were the title appropriated to those who have performed the pilgrimage to the sacred cities of Islām. After a reign of one year and two months he slipped when he was drunk on the polished floor of a hall and died of the injuries which he received in Rajab, 876 (December, 1471–January, 1472). This date, obtained by adding the duration of his reign to the date ascertained as that of his succession, is corroborated by legends on the coins of his son and successor, Hasan Shāh, the duration of whose reign is unknown to Nizām-al-din Ahmad and Firishtah, so that we are obliged to ascertain the date of the accession of his son, Muḥammad Shāh, by means other than the simple process of adding the duration of Hasan's reign to the date of his accession. The next king the date of whose accession may be satisfactorily determined by contemporary events is Ibrāhīm Shāh, who was a refugee at the court of the Lodi emperors of Dihlī, and, on the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi by Bābur at Pānīpat on Rajab 6, 932 (April 18, 1526), returned to Kashmīr and was immediately enthroned in the place of Muḥammad Shāh, then occupying the throne for the third time. Ibrāhīm Shāh's accession may be placed late in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1526), and the sum of the reigns which intervened between Muḥammad Shāh's first accession and the accession of Ibrāhīm Shāh is thirty-eight years. This, subtracted from A.D. 932, the date determined as that of Ibrāhīm's accession, gives A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) as the year of Hasan Shāh's death and Muḥammad Shāh's first accession. The duration of Muḥammad Shāh's first reign is said to have been ten years and seven months

but as the date of his deposition is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* as A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) we may presume that "ten years and seven months" is a scribe's error for ten months and seven days. Muḥammad was succeeded by his father's cousin german, Fath Shāh, who was deposed after a reign of nine years, that is to say in A.H. 903 (A.D. 1497-8), when Muḥammad was restored, but reigned for only nine months and nine days, until late in A.H. 903 or early in A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498), when Fath Shāh was restored and reigned for one year and one month until A.H. 904-5 (A.D. 1499), when Muḥammad was again restored. The duration of Muḥammad Shāh's third reign is said to have been fifteen years eleven months and eleven days, or nearly sixteen years, but as he was succeeded by Ibrāhīm Shāh, the date of whose accession, as already determined, was A.H. 932 (A.D. 1526), its duration was actually between twenty-seven and twenty-eight years.

The reign of Ibrāhīm lasted only for eight months and some days when, according to Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad's and Firishtah's chronicles of Kashmīr, he was defeated and overthrown by a force sent by Bābur, under Shaiikh 'Alī Baig, Muḥammad Khān, and Maḥmūd Khān. This event is not mentioned in histories of the reign of Bābur, but from the chronicles of Kashmīr it would appear that Abdāl Mākari, a discontented *amīr* of Kashmīr, had sought help from Bābur against Kājī Chak, who had helped to depose Muḥammad Shāh and place Ibrāhīm on the throne, and against Ibrāhīm himself, who had been a protégé of the Lodis, and that Bābur had assisted him in the manner described. It seems highly improbable that Bābur, who required all his troops to establish himself in his newly conquered empire, should have spared a large force for the conquest of Kashmīr, but Kashmīr had been for some time past the prey of factions, and it is possible that Bābur gave permission

to some of his amīrs in the Panjāb or at Kābul to supply such a force as would suffice to destroy the balance between two contending parties and to place on the throne of Kashmīr a prince who might be regarded as a nominee of his own.

In a battle fought in A.H. 933 (A.D. 1527) in the pargana of Bānkil, Ibrāhīm Shāh's army was utterly defeated and Ibrāhīm himself either slain or forced to flee, for of his fate nothing is known and he is never heard of again. Abdāl Mākari's candidate for the throne was a prince named Nāzuk, who thus succeeded in A.H. 933, but did not long retain the throne. The duration of his first reign is given in my copy of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* as twenty years, but this is impossible, for one of the best-ascertained dates which we have in the history of Kashmīr is that of its conquest by Mirzā Ḥaidar the Mughul, who captured Srinagar and began to reign there on Rajab 22, 947 (November 22, 1540). The Bombay text of *Firishtah* clumsily expresses the duration of Nāzuk Shāh's first reign as "twenty years and twenty months", an expression which must almost necessarily be a misreading, for no writer would describe such a period otherwise than as "twenty-one years and eight months"; but this misreading in *Firishtah* suggests the correct meaning, which will enable us to correct the *Ṭabaqāt* also. A careless copyist, one of the class well known to students of Persian MSS. and lithographed editions, might very well substitute "years" for "months", and a second representative of the same class, seeing "years" in one MS. and "months" in another, might easily solve the difficulty for himself by writing both. I believe, then, that the correct reading is "twenty months", an expression which might very well be used for the sake of brevity instead of "one year and eight months", and my reason for selecting this reading is that it enables us to arrange the reigns during

this period of confusion in such a manner that they fit in with the few known dates at our disposal. Assuming, then, that Nāzūk Shāh occupied the throne on this occasion for a year and eight months, we arrive at the conclusion that Muḥammad Shāh, who had taken refuge in Loharkot and was brought thence and restored by Abdāl Mākari, ascended the throne for the fourth time in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1529). The approximate correctness of this date is established by Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad's statement that the death of Bābur, which occurred on Jamādī-al-awwal 5, 937 (December 25, 1530), occurred shortly after Muḥammad Shāh's third restoration.

The duration of Muḥammad Shāh's fourth reign is not given, and both Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad and his plagiarist, Firishtah, conclude their notices of it by recording that he reigned for fifty years, a term which must necessarily be referred to the period which had elapsed since his first enthronement, placed by me in A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485), for it is certain that this much-harassed *roi fainéant*, who closed his fourth reign by a death which was possibly as welcome to him as to his chroniclers, did not reign for fifty years after his third restoration. The date of his death is not given, but it appears from the chronicle of his reign to have occurred in A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534-5), and if this date be accepted we are enabled to apply a check to the date assigned by me to his first elevation to the throne, viz. A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485). Subtracting fifty years from A.H. 941 we get A.H. 891 (A.D. 1486), which is sufficiently near to the date already given for his first accession to render it unnecessary to revise the calculation by which that date was determined.

There is yet another event which will help to fix the date of Muḥammad Shāh's death. At the close of his reign, evidently in the year before his death, the appearance of two comets is recorded. The year in which this phenomenon occurred is given by Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad as

A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532-3), and the date can thus be verified by astronomical records, to which I have at present no access.

Muhammad Shāh was succeeded by his son Shams-al-dīn, the account of whose reign is most unsatisfactory. No duration is given, and Nizām-al-dīn Ahmad, after recording a few events, remarks, "This is all that has been found in the history of Kashmīr regarding Sulṭān Shāms-al-dīn." We are not told whether the reign came to an end by the king's death or by his deposition, but as he never again appears on the scene it is probable that he died. Fortunately we have satisfactory data for determining the duration of the reign, for he was succeeded by Nāzuk Shāh, the king of that name who had already reigned once and who now reigned for only five or six months, at the end of which period he was expelled by Mirzā Haidar the Mughul, who, as has already been stated, occupied Srinagar on Rajab 22, 947 (November 22, 1540), so that Shams-al-dīn ceased to reign and Nāzuk succeeded him early in that year, either in Ṣafar or Rabī'al-awwal (June or July, 1540).

My authorities for the date of Mirzā Haidar's occupation of Kashmīr are Nizām-al-dīn Ahmad and Bud'oni, and the date could probably be verified from the *Albar-nāmah*. Mirzā Haidar, the son of Muhammad Husain, who was the son of Bābur's maternal aunt, was a poet and the author of the well-known history, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*. He invaded Kashmīr, with Khwāja Kalān Baig, under the auspices of Humāyūn, who was now at Lāhor, having been expelled from Hindūstān by Shīr Khān Sūr, and Kāmran Mirzā, Humāyūn's brother, and at the invitation of a party among the amīrs of Kashmīr. The duration of Mirzā Haidar's reign in Kashmīr is always given as ten years, but as it is certain that he was slain in A.H. 958 (A.D. 1551) he actually occupied the throne for ten years and some months.

After Mirzā Haidar's death Nāzuk Shāh was again restored, and, according to my copy of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, reigned on this occasion for only two months, but the variant in *Firishtah*, ten months, is probably the correct reading. He was finally deposed in A.H. 959, before Shawwāl 1 (September 20, 1552), which date is given for an event which occurred early in the reign of his successor, Ibrāhīm Shāh, who, as we shall see hereafter, was probably his son. This Ibrāhīm must not be confounded with the former Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, who, as has been seen, disappeared entirely in A.H. 933. Ibrāhīm II is said to have reigned for only five months, but as a severe earthquake which occurred in Kashmīr in A.H. 962 (A.D. 1555) is mentioned among the events of his reign it is clear that he was not deposed until that year, when Ismā'il Shāh, described as his brother, was raised to the throne. He reigned for two years and died late in the year A.H. 964 (A.D. 1557), when he was succeeded by his son Iḥabīb Shāh, the last of his line. The kings of the line of Shāh Mirzā had long been mere puppets in the hands of rival families in Kashmīr, and as each faction obtained power it dethroned the reigning monarch and placed its own candidate on the throne. Hitherto it had always been considered necessary that the throne should be filled by some scion of the old royal line, but by the year A.H. 968 (A.D. 1561) the Chak clan had obtained complete predominance in the state and had so consolidated their power that Ghāzī Khān Chak, the virtual ruler of the kingdom, was able to dethrone and imprison Iḥabīb Shāh and to ascend the throne under the title of Ghāzī Shāh.

Ghāzī Shāh was a leper, and owing partly to the incapacity caused by his disease and partly to the embitterment of his temper from the same cause, which rendered him obnoxious to his people, he decided in A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-4) that he was no longer fit to reign

and abdicated in favour of his brother Husain, who ascended the throne under the title of Naṣir-al-dīn. The date of his accession is one of the few corroborated by legends on coins. Naṣir-al-dīn Husain Shāh fell sick in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70) and quarrelled with his brother 'Alī, who dethroned him, and Husain died shortly afterwards. 'Alī Shāh died in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578-9) and was succeeded by his son Yūsuf Shāh, whose reign was disturbed both by intestine feuds and by foreign interference. Sayyid Mubārak Khān, a usurper, seized the throne in A.H. 986 (A.D. 1579) and was deposed in the following year, when another usurper, Lohar Chak, of Yūsuf's own clan, seized the throne, but was deposed by Yūsuf in the same year (A.H. 987 = A.D. 1580).

Missions were interchanged more than once between Yūsuf Shāh and Akbar, who was resolved to annex Kashmīr to his empire, and in A.D. 1584 Yūsuf sent his son Ya'qūb to Akbar's court. Late in 1585 Akbar sent an expedition under his kinsman Shāhrukh Mirzā and Rāja Bhagwān Dās to conquer Kashmīr, and Yūsuf Shāh, after preparing to oppose the invaders, abandoned his intention and agreed to pay tribute to Akbar. Leaving his son Ya'qūb, who had returned to Kashmīr, as his regent, he joined the imperial troops and was escorted to Akbar's court, where he was presented on April 7, 1586. Akbar, who had been resolved to reduce Kashmīr to the status of a province of the empire, and had had no intention of allowing it to retain even the measure of independence enjoyed by a tributary state, was much displeased with his officers for having so readily accepted Yūsuf's submission and for not having conquered the country, and refused to ratify their treaty with Yūsuf, whom he perfidiously detained as a prisoner at his court, so that Ya'qūb continued to reign in Kashmīr. In A.D. 1587 Akbar sent another expedition, under Muhammad Qāsim Khān, Mir-i-Baḥr, into Kashmīr, and Ya'qūb, who was

prepared to defend his throne, was prevented from doing so by the wholesale desertion of his amīrs to the imperial camp, and by a rebellion which enabled Muḥammad Qāsim Khān to occupy the capital without opposition. Ya'qūb fled to the hills, and, after evading the pursuit of the imperial officers for two years, surrendered himself and was carried to Akbar, before whom he made his submission on August 8, 1589. Yūsuf, Ya'qūb's father, had already entered Akbar's service in the humble position, for one who had occupied a throne, of a commander of 500 horse with a *jāgīr* in Bihār.

The genealogy of the kings of Kashmīr is little less complicated than their chronology. The earlier kings of the first dynasty offer little difficulty, but it is not easy to trace the parentage of the puppets who were enthroned, deposed, and again enthroned in rapid succession by conflicting factions. Shāh Mirzā, Shams-al-dīn, the founder of the dynasty, had four sons, Jamshīd, 'Alī Shīr, Shīrāshāmak, and Hindāl, who followed him on the throne in the order of their birth. Of these the third son had two sons, Hasan Khān and 'Alī Khān, of whom nothing further is known. Hindāl, the fourth son, had two sons, Sikandar, who succeeded him and carried on the line, and Haibat Khān, who was poisoned. Sikandar had three sons, Mir Khān, who succeeded him under the title of 'Alī Shāh and died apparently childless, Shāhī Khān, who succeeded 'Alī Shāh under the title of Zain-al-Ābidīn, and Muḥammad Khān, who had a son named Haidar Khān, neither of whom figures in history. Zain-al-Ābidīn had three sons, of whom the youngest, Bahrām Khān, was blinded and died in prison and had a son, Yūsuf Khān, who was poisoned. Zain-al-Ābidīn's two elder sons were Ādam Khān and Hājī Khān, of whom the latter succeeded his father under the title of Haidar Shāh. The eldest son never succeeded to the throne, but had a son, Faṭḥ Khān, who reigned twice, and had a son,

Iskandar Khān, who was blinded. It is probable, too, that Nāzuk Shāh, who reigned three times, from 1527 to 1529, in 1540, and from 1551 to 1552, was a son of Fath Shāh. He is so described in the heading to his first reign in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, but his parentage is not beyond doubt. Firishtah (ii, 675) styles him the son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh, but it was this Ibrāhīm Shāh who was defeated in 1527 by the Mughul amirs Shaikh 'Alī Baig, Muḥammad Khān, and Maḥmūd Khān, assisting the Kashmīrī amīr Abdāl Mākārī, whose candidate for the throne was Nāzuk, and it is more probable that Nāzuk belonged to the rival branch of the royal family and was the son of Fath Shāh than that he was the son of Ibrāhīm in the camp of his father's enemies, but the question is still full of difficulty. Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad says, at the end of his account of the reign of Shams-al-dīn Shāh (A.D. 1534-40), "after him his son, Nāzuk Shāh, sat on the throne," and this statement is repeated by Firishtah (ii, 678), though he has already described Nāzuk Shāh as the son of Ibrāhīm and expressly states that Nāzuk's reign in 1540 was his second, so that we have no fewer than three fathers assigned to Nāzuk Shāh, one of whom, Ibrāhīm, may be definitely eliminated. We might surmount the difficulty by assuming that there were two Nāzuks, one the son of Fath Shāh and the other the son of Shams-al-dīn, but against this assumption we have Firishtah's headings to the reigns of A.D. 1540 and A.D. 1551-2, which he describes as the second and third reigns of Nāzuk Shāh. This difficulty is not of much importance, for Firishtah is slipshod and inaccurate; but I hesitate to assume that the uncommon name of Nāzuk was repeated in the royal family of Kashmīr, and prefer to regard Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad's statement that Shams-al-dīn was succeeded by "his son" Nāzuk either as a careless slip on the part of the author, who may have almost mechanically described

a king as the son of his predecessor, or as an interpolation by a careless scribe. In either case Firishtah's repetition of the error would be of no consequence.

Zain-al-'Ābidīn's second son, Ilājī Khān, who succeeded him under the title of Haidar Shāh, had a son named Hasan Khān, who succeeded him under the title of Hasan Shāh, and Hasan had two sons, Muḥammad, who succeeded him, and reigned no less than four times, and Husain Khān, of whom nothing more is heard. Muḥammad Shāh had two sons, Ibrāhīm, who reigned from 1526 to 1527, and Shāms-al-dīn, who reigned from 1534 to 1540. Shāms-al-dīn seems to have left no son, for the supposition that Nāzuk was his son has been rejected. Nāzuk appears to have had two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il, both of whom ascended the throne, but the question of their parentage is not free from difficulties. Both Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad and Firishtah say that the Ibrāhīm who was the son of Muḥammad Shāh and who reigned from 1526 to 1527 and was then defeated by the Mughul amīrs, disappeared completely and that his fate is unknown, but both afterwards contradict themselves by stating that the Ibrāhīm who reigned in 1552 was the son of Muḥammad, thereby clearly suggesting his identity with the Ibrāhīm who had disappeared. Firishtah further contradicts himself by stating in a heading (ii, 685) that the reign of 1552 was Ibrāhīm's *third* reign, a manifest inaccuracy, though he immediately afterwards describes this Ibrāhīm as the son of Nāzuk Shāh. Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad, though he commits himself once to the statement that this Ibrāhīm was the son of Muḥammad Shāh, describes him elsewhere as the brother of Nāzuk Shāh and the brother of Ismā'il Shāh. There is no reason for believing that he was the brother of Nāzuk, but there is every probability that he was the brother of Ismā'il and therefore the son of Nāzuk, as stated by Firishtah, who seems, in this instance, to have preserved for us the correct reading. The conclusion,

therefore, at which I have arrived is that there were two Ibrāhims, one the son of Muḥammad Shāh and the other, the son of Nāzūk Shāh. Ibrāhīm II, who reigned from 1552 to 1555, seems to have left no son, and was succeeded by his brother Ismā'il, who reigned from 1555 to 1557 and was succeeded by his son Ḥabīb Shāh, with whom the dynasty came to an end in A.D. 1561.

The genealogy of the short-lived Chak dynasty presents fewer difficulties than that of the house of Shāh Mirzā, for the only question which arises is the paternity of Ghāzī Khān Chak, its founder. The founder of the fortunes of the Chak clan in Kashmīr was Kājī Chak, who was kingmaker during the reigns of some of the later kings of the older line. During the third reign of Nāzūk Shāh, and just after the downfall and death of Mirzā Ḥaidar, Shankar Chak, son of Kājī Chak, who, in the partition of the spoil which ensued on the expulsion of the Mughuls, had received no fief, quarrelled with Ghāzī Chak, who originally owed his position in the clan largely to his being commonly accepted as a son of Kājī Chak, whereas he was not in fact his son, but the son of the wife of Ḥasan Chak, the brother of Kājī. Kājī married his brother's widow during her pregnancy, Ghāzī being born two or three months after the marriage, so that he was known to be the son of Ḥasan. Kājī's action, though a breach of the Islamic law, amounted in fact to an acknowledgment or an adoption of Ghāzī Khān as his son, and by the time when Shankar attempted to question Ghāzī's paternity the latter's predominance in the clan was so assured that the attempt failed, despite the common knowledge that Ghāzī was, in fact, the son of Ḥasan. Ḥusain and 'Alī, the two brothers who ascended the throne in succession after Ghāzī, were almost certainly younger than Ghāzī, and were therefore perhaps the sons of Ḥasan Chak's widow by her second husband, Kājī Chak, and the half-brothers of Ghāzī Khān. 'Alī was

succeeded by his son Yūsuf, and Yūsuf by his son Ya'qūb, the last of the Chak dynasty.

In the appended tables I have followed the example of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in placing the *Hijrah* dates on the left and the Christian dates on the right of the columns of names.

1. FIRST MUHAMMADAN DYNASTY OF KASHMĪR

A.H.		A.D.
747.	1. Shāh Mirzā, <u>Shams-al-dīn</u>	1346
750.	2. Jamshīd	1349
751.	3. 'Alī Shūr, 'Alā-al-dīn	1350
760.	4. Shīrashāmak, <u>Shihāb-al-dīn</u>	1359
780.	5. Hindāl, Qutb-al-dīn	1378
796.	6. Sīkandar, Butshikan	1393-4
819.	7. Mīr Khān, 'Alī Shāh	1416
823.	8. Shāhī Khān, Zain-al-'Ābidīn	1420
Jumādī 1, 875.	9. Hājī Khān, Haidar Shāh	Nov.-Dec. 1470
Rajab, 876.	10. Hasan Shāh	Dec. 1471 or Jan. 1472
894.	11. Muhammad Shāh	1489
894.	12. Fath Shāh	1489
903.	11. Muhammad Shāh, <i>restored</i>	1497-8
903-4.	12. Fath Shāh, <i>restored</i>	1498
904-5.	11. Muhammad Shāh, <i>again restored</i> . .	1499
932.	13. Ibrāhīm Shāh 1	1526
933.	14. Nazuk Shāh	1527
935.	11. Muhammad Shāh, <i>again restored</i> . .	1529
Safar or 941.	15. Shams-al-dīn Shah II	1534-5
Rabi' 1, 947.	14. Nāzuk Shāh, <i>restored</i>	June July, 1540
Rajab 22, 947.	16. Mirzā Haidar, <i>usurper</i>	Nov. 22, 1541
958.	14. Nazuk Shāh, <i>again restored</i>	1551
959.	17. Ibrāhīm Shāh II	1552
962.	18. Ismā'il Shāh	1555
964.	19. Habib Shāh	1557
-968.		-1561

2. CHAK DYNASTY

968.	1. Ghūzī Shāh	1561
971.	2. Naṣīr-al-dīn Husain Shāh	1563-4
977.	3. 'Alī Shāh	1569-70
986.	4. Yūsuf Shāh	1578-9
993.	5. Ya'qūb Shāh	1585
-997.		-1589

[MUGHUL EMPERORS]

XIII

INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTLE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYLLOGISM IN INDIAN LOGIC

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1. *Tarka-sāstra of Gotama (about 550 B.C.)*

THE Nyāya-sūtra, which is supposed to be the earliest work extant on Nyāya philosophy, treats of four distinct subjects, viz., (1) the art of debate (*tarka*), (2) the means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*), (3) the doctrine of syllogism (*avayava*), and (4) the examination of contemporaneous philosophical doctrines (*anṛya-mata-parīkṣā*). The first subject, ample references to which are met with in the old Brahmanic, Buddhistic, and Jaina works, seems to have been first handled by a sage named Gotama or Gautama, who is reputed to have flourished in Mithilā (North Behar) about 550 B.C. The second subject, which is also referred to in old books, was associated with the art of debate at a very early stage. These two subjects, combined together, constitute the *Tarka - sāstra* (the philosophy of reasoning), popularly known as *Gautami vidyā* (the Gotamide learning).¹

2. *The Nyāya-sūtra of Akṣapāda (about 150 A.D.)*

The third subject, the doctrine of the Syllogism, does not appear to have been known in India a considerable time before the Christian era. The fourth subject refers to numerous philosophical doctrines that were propounded from time to time up to the second century A.D.² Gotama's

¹ For Gotama or Gautama as the founder of *Tarka-sāstra*, see *Naiṣadhacarita*, bk. xvii, verse 75; *Padma-purāṇa*, *Uttara-khaṇḍa*, ch. 263; and *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Kālikā-khaṇḍa*, ch. xvii.

² Some philosophical doctrines of the third and fourth centuries A.D. were incorporated into the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Akṣapāda by Vātsyāyana, the first commentator (about 400 A.D.), through the introduction of certain sūtras of his own making fathered upon Akṣapāda.

Tarka-śāstra, after these two subjects had been introduced into it, became, about the second century A.D., designated as the Nyāya-sūtra—the aphorisms on logic. The term “Nyāya” in the sense of logic, occurs in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva, adhyāya 1, verse 67; adhyāya 70, verses 42–4; and Sānti-parva, adhyāya 210, verse 22); Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3rd pt., adhyāya 6); Matsya-purāṇa (3, 2); Padma-purāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 263); Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā (1, 3), etc., in passages which are presumed to have been written after the second century A.D. We are not surprised to find that the Mahābhārata mentions even a syllogism,¹ called a speech of five parts, in which Nārada is said to have been an expert, when we consider that the Great Epic refers also to the voracious Romans called Romaka,² who, according to it, “came adorned with helmets and clad in endless garments to pay tributes” to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his coronation at Delhi. It is quite possible that the passage which refers to the syllogism was written after the intercourse of Rome with India had commenced, and possibly after the second century A.D.

In the early commentaries³ on the Nyāya-sūtra, the author of the sūtra is distinctly named as Akṣapāda, while in the Padma-purāṇa⁴ and other works Gotama or Gautama is credited with the authorship of the sūtra. Ananta-yajvan,⁵ in his commentary on the Pitrmedha-sūtra, observes that Gautama and Akṣapāda were the same person, while the Nyāya-kośa⁶ mentions a legend to account for the name as applied according to it to

¹ Pañcāvayava - yuktasya vākyasya guṇa - doṣavit (Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, adhyāya 51, verse 5).

² Auṣṇikānantavāsānīśca Romakān puruṣādakān (Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, adhyāya 51, verse 16).

³ Vide the concluding verse of the Nyāya-bhāṣya (about 400 A.D.), the opening verse of the Nyāya-vārttika (about 630 A.D.), and the opening lines of the Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyā-ṭikā (about 976 A.D.).

⁴ Padma-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 263.

⁵ Vide Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 85.

⁶ Nyāya-kośa, 2nd ed., Bombay.

Gautama. As no credible evidence has been adduced in either case, I consider the identification as fanciful, and maintain that Gotama or Gautama was quite different from Akṣapāda, but that both of them contributed to the production of the Nyāya-sūtra, one at its early stage and the other in its final form. Indeed, Akṣapāda, unlike Gotama or Gautama, is reported in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa¹ to have been a son of Somaśarmā, who resided at Prabhāsa, near Brōach, in Kathiawar, on the sea-coast.

3. *When was the Syllogism first used in India?*

- Though Akṣapāda introduced into the Nyāya-sūtra the doctrine of the syllogism, he was by no means the first promulgator of the doctrine—nay, not even its first disseminator. The doctrine² was carried to great perfection in Greece by Aristotle in the fourth century B.C. (384-322 B.C.). That it was known even in India prior to Akṣapāda is apparent from a notice of the same in the Carakā-saṁhitā,³ about 78 A.D. In fact, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact date at which the syllogistic reasoning was first used in India. It is also a problem of enormous difficulty to determine whether there is any genetical connexion between the syllogism as propounded in the Indian Logic and that propounded in the Greek Logic. Of the four subjects treated in the

¹ The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, published under the name of Vāyu-purāṇa by A. S. B., adhyāya 23, verses 201-3.

² Seeing that the Greek word "Syllogismos" and the Sanskrit word "Sāṁkhyā" or "Sūāṁkhyā" are identical in signification, one may say that Aristotle derived his doctrine of the Syllogism from the Sāṁkhyā Philosophy of Kapila. But the Sāṁkhyā Philosophy is not known to have dealt with the doctrine of the Syllogism at all.

³ Concerning the date of the Carakā-saṁhitā see *Journal Asiatique*, tom. viii, pp. 447-51, 1896, where M. Sylvain Lévi maintains on the authority of Chinese books that Caraka, the author of the Carakā-saṁhitā, lived at the Court of Kaniska [in Jālandhara, Punjab]. I provisionally take the date of Kaniska to be 78 A.D.

Nyāya-sūtra already referred to, the first, second, and fourth are undoubtedly of Indian origin. As to the third subject (syllogism), some scholars say that it, too, is of indigenous growth, as it forms a part of inference, a kind of *pramāṇa*, which originated in India. But on investigation into the history of the development of inference and the syllogism we find that in origin they were altogether distinct, though ultimately there was an amalgamation between them.

4. *No connexion between an Inference and a Syllogism at their early stage.*

The notice of inference (*anumāna*) in old books such as the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra (3, 1, 9 and 9, 2, 1) and the Caraka-saṃhitā (Sūtra-sthāna, ch. xi, and Vimāna-sthāna, ch. viii) is very meagre. The Nyāya-sūtra (1, 1, 5), which gives a more comprehensive account, defines inference as knowledge which is preceded by perception and as being of three kinds, viz.: 1, (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) like the prior (*pūrvavat*), e.g. on seeing clouds one infers that there will be rain; 2, (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) like the posterior (*śeṣavat*), e.g. on seeing a river swollen one infers that there was rain; and 3, (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) commonly seen (*sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*), e.g. on seeing an animal possessing horns one infers that it also possesses a tail. The inference, as illustrated here from the Nyāya-sūtra, was in essence a guess or conjecture which was neither a source of absolutely valid knowledge nor in any way connected with a syllogism. In order, therefore, to ascertain whether there is any genetical connexion between the syllogism of Indian Logic and that of the Greek Logic, I shall analyse here the two syllogisms side by side, with occasional references to the rules controlling them.

5. *The Syllogism in Indian Logic conforms to the logical rules of Aristotle*

A. Caraka-saṁhitā (78 A.D.)

A. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.)

a. *Demonstration and Counter-demonstration*

a. *Demonstrative and Refutative Enthymemes*

The Caraka-saṁhitā (Vimāna-sthāna, ch. viii), which contains the earliest information available on syllogism, analyses a demonstration (*sthāpanā*) and a counter-demonstration (*pratiṣṭhāpanā*) as follows:—

Demonstration (sthāpanā)

1. Proposition (*pratijñā*).

The soul is eternal.

2. Reason (*hetu*). Because it is non-produced.

3. Example (*dṛṣṭānta*). That which is non-produced is eternal, as ether.

4. Application (*upanaya*). The soul is non-produced.

5. Conclusion (*nigamana*). Therefore the soul is eternal.

Counter-demonstration (pratiṣṭhāpanā)

1. The soul is non-eternal.

2. Because it is cognized by the senses.

3. That which is cognized by the senses is non-eternal, as a pot.

4. The soul is cognized by the senses.

5. Therefore the soul is non-eternal.

The Caraka-saṁhitā, which

Aristotle, in his Rhetoric (bk. ii, p. 194, Welldon's ed.), speaks of two species of enthymemes, viz. demonstrative and refutative, which correspond respectively to the demonstration and counter-demonstration of the Caraka-saṁhitā. The demonstrative enthymeme of Aristotle, like the demonstration of the Caraka-saṁhitā, consists in drawing conclusions from admitted propositions, while the refutative enthymeme of Aristotle, like the counter-demonstration of the Caraka-saṁhitā, consists in drawing conclusions which are inconsistent with those of one's adversary.

The enthymeme is defined by Aristotle (in his Rhetoric, bk. i, p. 16, Welldon's ed.) as a syllogism with its constituent parts fewer than those of a normal syllogism, that is, a syllogism of which the major premise, minor premise, or the conclusion is suppressed as being well known to the audience, who can supply the same of their own accord.

The demonstration in the

analyses demonstration and counter-demonstration into five members, does not give any clear definition of those members. "Dṛṣṭānta," which in the old Tarka-śāstra signified an instance familiar to the learned and the fool alike, was adopted to designate the third member, although in its old sense it did not indicate the principle of connexion (between the middle term and the major term) involved in the member.

Caraka-saṁhitā is obviously a combination of an enthymeme which comprises the first two parts of the demonstration and an example which comprises the last three parts of it. This is quite in conformity with the rule of Aristotle, who (in his Rhetoric, bk. ii, p. 184, Well-don's ed.) observes that an example may be used as a supplement to an enthymeme to serve the purpose of a testimony which is invariably persuasive. This rule may be illustrated as follows:—

Enthymeme

1. The soul is eternal.
2. Because it is non-produced.

Example

3. That which is non-produced is eternal, as ether.
4. The soul is non-produced.
5. Therefore the soul is eternal.

B. Akṣapāda (about 150 A.D.)¹

b. *Analysis into five members*
(*Avayava*)

Akṣapāda in his Nyāya-sūtra (1, 1, 32) mentions the five parts of a demonstration under the name of *avayava* (members) as follows:—

1. Proposition (*pratijñā*). This hill is full of fire.
2. Reason (*hetu*). Because it is full of smoke.

B. Aristotle

Analysis of syllogism and demonstration (analytics)

The term *avayava*, used by Akṣapāda to signify parts or members of a syllogism or demonstration, corresponds to the term *analytics*, which refers to the section of the *Organon* in which Aristotle analyses the syllogism and demonstration into their principles (*vide* O. F.

¹ Concerning the age of Akṣapāda *vide* introduction to Daśapadārthī, translated by Mr. Ui and edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (in the press).

3. Example (*udāharāṇa*).
That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

4. Application (*upanaya*).
This hill is full of smoke.

5. Conclusion (*nigamana*).
Therefore, this hill is full of fire.

Owen's translations of the *Organon*, Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. i, p. 80).

c. Example (*udāharāṇa*)

Akṣapāda calls the example an *udāharāṇa*, which he divides into two kinds, viz. affirmative (*sādharmya*) and negative (*vaidharmya*). An affirmative example is defined in the Nyāya-sūtra (1, 1, 36) as a familiar instance, which, being similar to the minor term, possesses the property of that term as co-present (with the reason). A negative example is defined (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 37) as a familiar instance, which is contrary to what has been stated in the case of the affirmative example, that is, in which there is an absence of the property implying an absence of the reason. The definition may be illustrated as follows:—

Affirmative Example

1. The hill is full of fire.
2. Because it is full of smoke.
3. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen (affirmative conclusion).
1. The hill is not smoky.

c. Example (*paradeigma*)

The affirmative example (*sādharmya udāharāṇa*), as defined by Akṣapāda, corresponds exactly to the example (*paradeigma*), as explained by Aristotle (in his Prior Analytics, bk. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 232). An example, according to Aristotle, occurs when the major term is shown to be present with the middle, through something similar to the minor; but it is necessary to know that the middle is with the minor, and the major with what is similar, e.g.:—

1. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.
2. The hill is full of smoke.
3. Therefore the hill is full of fire.

The negative example and negative reason expounded by Akṣapāda (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 35, 37) possess apparently no counterparts in the *Organon* (Prior Analytics) of Aristotle. From the illustration of the example and reason (affirmative

2. Because it is non-fiery.

3. That which is non-fiery is not smoky, as a lake (negative conclusion).

Negative Example

1. The hill is full of fire.

2. Because it is full of smoke.

3. That which is not full of fire is not full of smoke, as a lake.

The reason (*hetu*), as expounded by Akṣapāda (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 34, 35), is of two kinds, viz. affirmative and negative. An affirmative reason is the means which, through its homogeneity or connexion with the example, establishes what is to be established, while a negative reason is the means which, through its heterogeneity or separation from the example, establishes what is to be established. The definitions may be illustrated as follows:—

Affirmative Reason

1. The hill is full of fire.

2. Because it is full of smoke.

3. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

Negative Reason

1. The hill is not full of smoke.

2. Because it is not full of fire.

3. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

and negative) given by Akṣapāda it appears that he admitted the universal affirmative conclusion in what is called by Aristotle the "first figure" and the universal negative conclusion in the first and second figures. Now, if a conclusion in the first figure is to be negative, the major premise must be negative, and, if a conclusion in the second figure is to be negative, the minor premise must be negative (*vide* Prior Analytics, bk. i, chs. iv, v, pp. 85-94). Considering that the major and minor premises of Aristotle correspond respectively to the example and reason of Akṣapāda, it becomes absolutely necessary to admit a negative example and a negative reason as counterparts of the negative major premise and the negative minor premise.

C. Nāgārjuna (250-300 A.D.)
Maitreya (400 A.D.)¹

d. Function of an Example

The Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, in his *Upāya-kauśalya-hṛdaya-śāstra* (Chinese version, ch. i, sect. 1), gives an elaborate explanation of example (*udāharana*), which is either affirmative or negative, and which must, according to him, be mentioned to make clear the reasons of the disputant and his respondent. The Buddhist philosopher Maitreya, in his *Yoga-caryā-bhūmi-śāstra* (Chinese version, vol. xv), treats of proofs (*Sādhaka*) which include a proposition (*siddhānta*), a reason (*hetu*), and an example (*udāharana*, affirmative or negative). Though in the commentaries (*Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1, 1, 37, and *Nyāya-vārttika*, 1, 1, 37) on the *Nyāya-sūtra* the "application" and "conclusion" are considered as essential parts of a syllogism, inasmuch as these on the strength of the general principle involved in the example reassert the reason and restate the proposition in a decisive way; Nāgārjuna and Maitreya, on the other hand, reject them as superfluous on the ground of their not being

C. Aristotle

d. Use of an Example

The three members of a syllogism, as explained by Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, and others, constitute what is called an example. Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric* (bk. ii, p. 184, Well-don's ed.), observes that it is proper, in default of enthymemes, to make use of examples as logical proofs, these being the natural means of producing conviction. In the *Prior Analytics* (bk. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 233, O. F. Owen's ed.), it is further observed that the example differs from induction in that the latter proves the universal from a complete enumeration of individuals, while the former attempts to prove it from a single individual or from some selected individuals, and in that the induction stops at the universal, while the example draws syllogistically a conclusion in respect of the minor term, e.g.:

1. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.
2. The hill is full of smoke.
3. Therefore the hill is full of fire.

The above may also be put in the reverse order as follows:

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 68, 73.

different from the reason and proposition.¹ The three members of a syllogism expounded by Nāgārjuna and Maitreya are as follows:—

1. The hill is full of fire.
2. Because it is full of smoke.
3. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

1. The hill is full of fire.
2. Because it is full of smoke.
3. That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

We may also regard the syllogism expounded by Nāgārjuna and Maitreya as comprising an enthymeme and an example, for the example sometimes consists of only one proposition.²

D. Vasubandhu (about
450 A.D.)

e. Syllogism of two members

Vasubandhu in his *Tarka-śāstra* (Chinese version, ch. 1) treats of syllogism as consisting of five members, but in his *Ronki* (*Vāda-vādi*), as quoted by Kwei-ke,³ he is said to have maintained that a syllogism consists of two members only, viz. the proposition and the reason, and that the terms necessary for a syllogism are only three, viz. the minor, the major, and the middle. In the *Nyāya-vārttika* (1, 1, 37) and the *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyā-ṭikā*

D. Aristotle

e. A perfect Syllogism

The form of syllogism laid down by Vasubandhu conforms in the main to the rules laid down by Aristotle with regard to a perfect syllogism, viz. that every syllogism consists of two premises and one conclusion, so that there are altogether three terms in a syllogism (*vide* *Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. xxv, pp. 140-2). A syllogism is defined by Aristotle (in *Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. i, p. 92) as a sentence (or speech) in which, certain things being

¹ It is perhaps the view of Nāgārjuna and Maitreya, and surely also of Dignāga, that is referred to under the name of "Bauddha" in the *Nyāya-vārttika*, 1, 1, 37.

² George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ii, ch. vi, p. 275, observes in a footnote as follows: "If we turn to ch. xxvii, p. 70, a. 30-4, we shall find Aristotle on a different occasion disallowing altogether the so-called syllogism from example."

³ Sugiura's *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, p. 32.

(1, 1, 37)¹ Vasubandhu, designated as Subandhu, is stated to have held that a syllogism consists of only two members, and that the example is quite superfluous. The Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara² (in his *Nyāyavatāra*, v. 20) refers to Vasubandhu, when he says that according to experts in logic a proposition can be proved without any example, if there is invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term, and in the absence of such invariable concomitance the proof is impossible even with the example.

Such being the view of Vasubandhu, his syllogism is of the following form:—

1. This hill is full of fire.
2. Because it is full of smoke.
3. All that is full of smoke being full of fire.

laid down, something different from the premises necessarily results in consequence of their existence, e.g.:

Premises

1. All that is full of smoke is full of fire.
2. This hill is full of smoke.

Conclusion

3. Therefore this hill is full of fire.

E. Dignāga (about 500 A.D.)³

f. Inference for one's self and inference for the sake of others.

Asaṅga in his *Prakaraṇārya-vācā-śāstra* (Chinese version,

·E. Aristotle

f. The dialectic proposition and demonstrative proposition.

The distinction made by Dignāga between an inference

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's "Vātsyāyana, author of the *Nyāyabhāṣya*" in the *Indian Antiquary* for April, 1915.

² *Nyāyavatāra* (verse 20), edited by S. C. Vidyabhusana and published by the Indian Research Society, Calcutta. Siddhasena Divākara flourished about 500-33 A.D. Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 15.

³ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 80.

vol. xi) omits inference altogether and substitutes for it a syllogism of five members. Dignāga in his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* retains inference under the name of an inference for one's self and affiliates syllogism to inference by calling it an inference for the sake of others.¹

g. Definition of the minor term

In the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*,² ch. iii, Dignāga defines a minor term (*pakṣa*) as that of which the major term is chosen to be predicated. The Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara³ (500–50 A.D.), in his *Nyāyāvatāra*, verse 14, says that in an inference for the sake of others the minor term is to be defined as that of which it is assumed that the major term is predicable. In an inference for one's self, on the other hand, the minor term is to be defined, according to old Indian logicians, as that of which it is questionable whether the major term is predicable.

for one's self and that for the sake of others corresponds exactly to the distinction made by Aristotle (in his *Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. i, p. 81) between a dialectic proposition and a demonstrative proposition.

g. Explanation of a proposition

Just as in an inference for one's self the predicability of the major term in respect of the minor term is a matter of question or doubt, while in an inference for the sake of others it is a matter of assumption, so also in the *Organon* of Aristotle (*Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. i, p. 81) the dialectic is an interrogation of contradiction, while the demonstration is an assumption of one part of the contradiction. In the *Organon* (*De Interpretatione*, ch. xi, pp. 67–8, O. F. Owen's edition) a dialectic is stated indeed to be an interrogation, for a choice should be given

¹ Rañ-don-ni

Tshul-gsum-rtag-las don-mthoñ-waho

(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, ch. ii, Tangyur, *Mdo*, xcv, fol. 5).

Gshan-gyi-don-gyi-rjes-dpag-ni

rañ-gis mthoñ-don-gsal-byed-yin

(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, ch. iii, Tangyur, *Mdo*, xcv, fol. 9).

² Vide Tangyur, *Mdo*, xcv, fol. 7.

³ Sādhyaḥhyupagamah pakṣah (*Nyāyāvatāra*, verse 14, edited by S. C. Vidyabhusana). Sandigdha - sādhyā - dharmatvam pakṣatvam (quoted in the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, anumāna-khaṇḍa, p. 407, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

from the interrogation to enunciate this or that part of the contradiction. This statement coincides with the definition of Dignāga, according to whom the debater chooses the major term as predicable of the minor.

h. Three characteristics of the middle term

In an inference for one's self, as well as in that for the sake of others, the middle term, if it is to lead to a valid conclusion, must possess the following characteristics:—¹

1. The middle term must cover the minor term, e.g. the hill is smoky.

2. The middle term must be present in places in which there is the major term, e.g. that which is smoky is fiery.

3. The middle term must be absent from places where there is an absence of the major term, e.g. that which is not fiery (non-fiery) is not smoky.

The above characteristics, as applicable to an affirmative or negative conclusion, may be illustrated as follows:—

A

1. This hill is fiery.
2. Because it is smoky.

A

1. That which is smoky is fiery.

¹ Phyogs-kyi-chos-ñid-dañ, (2) Mthun-paḥi-phyogs-ñid-la-yoḍ-par-ñes-pa-dañ, (3) Mi-mthun-paḥi-phyogs-la-med-pa-ñid-du-ñes-pa-yañ-ño (Dignāga's Nyāya-praveśa, Tangyur, Mdo, xcv, fol. 183b).

3. That which is smoky is fiery.

B

1. This hill is not smoky.
2. Because it is non-fiery.
3. That which is non-fiery is not smoky.

F. Dharmakīrti ¹ (600–50
A.D.)

Demonstration through three kinds of middle term

The Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, in his *Nyāya-bindu*, ch. ii, divides the middle term (*liṅga*, sign) ² into three kinds in accordance with the relations which it bears to the major term. The relations are as follows:—

1. Selfsameness, inherence, or “being the essence of that” (*svabhāva*, *samavāya*, *tād-ātmya*), which occurs when the predicate (or major term) is in essence wholly included in the subject (or middle term), e.g. this is a tree, because it is *śimśapā*.

2. Effect, also called “origination from that” (*kāryya*, *tadutpatti*), which occurs when the predicate (major term) and the subject (middle term) stand

2. This hill is smoky.
3. Therefore this hill is fiery.

B

1. That which is non-fiery is not smoky.
2. This hill is non-fiery.
3. Therefore this hill is not smoky.

F. Aristotle

Demonstration through the medium of essence and cause

The two relations, viz. “selfsameness” (or “inherence”) and “effect”, as expounded by Dharmakīrti, correspond to the two relations, viz. “*per se*” (inherence) and “causal”, as expounded by Aristotle in his *Posterior Analytics* (bk. i, ch. iv, pp. 253–5, and bk. i, ch. xxiv, p. 301). *

1. *Per se* (essence or inherence).—The predicate (major terms) is said to be related to the subject (middle term) *per se* (essentially), if the properties of the former are inherent in the definition of the latter.

2. The causal. — The predicate (major term), which is essentially present with the subject (middle term), is said to be the cause of the latter.

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 103–5.

² *Trīṇyeva ca liṅgāni, anupalabdhiḥ svabhāva-kāryye ceti* (*Nyāya-bindu*, ch. ii, p. 164, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

to each other in the relation of cause and effect, e.g. all that is smoky is fiery.

3. Non-perception¹ (*anupalabdhi*), e.g. whatever thing (being perceptible) is not perceived is non-existent.

j. Nature of the universal proposition

The relations which establish invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term are the bases of universal propositions. "Invariable concomitance" is designated in Sanskrit as *vyāpti* (pervasion or co-presence), *nāntarīyaka* (non-separation), and *avinābhāva* (the relation owing to which one cannot exist without the other).

j. Nature of the universal proposition

The proposition in which the predicate is related to the subject *per se* or *causally* is a universal one. Aristotle in his Posterior Analytics (bk. i, ch. iv, pp. 253-5, O. F. Owen's edition) calls that (the) universal (major term) which is predicated "of every" and "*per se*", that is, which being predicable of the middle term *per se* is predicated of it in every instance. In the Posterior Analytics (bk. i, ch. xxiv, p. 301) Aristotle further observes that the universal (major term) is the cause of the middle term, which is essentially co-present within it. In Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. xxiv, pp. 138-9, Aristotle says that in all syllogisms we must have a universal proposition (premise) which is shown by the universal term.

¹ Dharmakīrti and his followers, who say that non-existence is *inferred* and not perceived, assume non-perception as a middle term (sign). But the majority of Indian logicians maintain that non-existence of a thing is *perceived* by the same sense by which the thing itself is perceived. Hence non-perception is not acknowledged by them as a middle term (sign).

G. Uddyotakara (600-50
A.D.)¹

k. *Syllogism from a sign*
(*liṅga-parāmarśa*)

Uddyotakara, who completely incorporated syllogism into inference in his Nyāya-vārttika,² defines inference as knowledge which is preceded by the perception of the middle term (sign) and recollection of its invariable concomitance with the major term in the following form: "I perceive that this hill has smoke, which I remember to be invariably concomitant with fire, and hence I infer that this hill has fire." The above may be properly put in the following form:—

1. Whatever is smoky is fiery.
 2. This hill is smoky.
 3. Therefore this hill is fiery.
- The first part (major pre-

G. Aristotle

k. *Enthymeme from a sign*

Aristotle, in his Prior Analytics (bk. ii, ch. xxvii, pp. 238-40), speaks of two kinds of enthymemes, viz. the enthymeme from a sign and that from a likelihood. Now, the enthymeme from a sign³ in the first figure (especially if the sign is infallible, *tekmerion*) leads to a conclusion which is necessarily true. It is this kind of enthymeme from a sign that corresponds to the syllogism from a sign⁴ (*liṅga-parāmarśa*) as expounded by Uddyotakara.

Just as in the Nyāya-vārttika of Uddyotakara the syllogism (*parāmarśa*) comprises only the first two parts of an inference, so also in the Arabic

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyābhusana's "Uddyotakara, a contemporary of Dharmakīrti", in JRAS., July, 1914.

² Liṅga-liṅgi-sambandhā-darśanānantarām liṅga-darśana-sambandha-smṛtibhir liṅga-parāmarśo viśiṣyate . . . Smṛtyanugrhitō liṅga-parāmarśo 'numānam bhavati (Nyāya-vārttika, I, 1, 5, p. 47, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

³ Dr. George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ch. vi, pp. 291-2, gives a lucid explanation of a sign.

⁴ Dr. George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ch. vi, p. 292, states in a footnote as follows: "Aristotle throws in the remark (a. 24) that, when one premiss only of the Enthymeme is enunciated, it is a sign; when the other is added, it becomes a syllogism. In the examples given to illustrate the description of the Enthymeme that which belongs to the first figure has its three terms and two propositions specified, like a complete and regular syllogism."

nise) of the above inference is called *vyāpti* (a universal proposition); the second part (minor premise) is called *upanaya* (an application of the universal); and the third part is called *anumiti* (inferential knowledge or conclusion). The first two parts (premises) constitute what is called by Uddyotakara *parāmarśa*¹ (syllogism) or *liṅga - parāmarśa* (syllogism from a sign), and all the three parts combined together are designated as *parāmarśa-rūpa-anumāna*² (a syllogistic inference). Since the time of Uddyotakara no further development has been made in the form of the syllogistic inference, except that the three parts of it have been called respectively the instrument (*karana*), operation (*vyāpāra*), and consequence (*phala*). The first two parts (premises) combined together have been uniformly designated as *parāmarśa* (syllogism or enthymeme).

Logic³ (e.g. in bk. iii of the *Risalah Shamsyyah*, dated about 1250 A.D.) the syllogism (*qayās*) comprises only the two premises and not the conclusion. It may be added that the Arabic Logic of the schools of Baghdad (ninth century A.D.), Kufa (750 A.D.), and Bassora (700 A.D.) is reputed to have been derived from the *Organon* of Aristotle, as taught in a developed form in the Syro-Persian school of Gundeshapur⁴ in Susiana about 350 A.D.

According to certain Roman commentators⁵ too, the premises alone constitute the syllogism.

¹ Tasmāt smṛtyanugrhitō liṅga-parāmarśo 'bhiṣṭārtha-pratipādako bhavātīti (Nyāya-vārttika, 1, 1, 5, p. 47, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

² Tad idam antimam pratyakṣam pūrvābhyām. Pratyakṣābhyām smṛtyanugrhyamānam parāmarśa-rūpam anumānam bhavati (Nyāya-vārttika, 1, 1, 5, p. 46, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

³ The *Risalah Shamsyyah* was published under the name of "The Logic of the Arabians" in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by Dr. A. Sprenger.

⁴ Vide C. Huart's *Arabic Literature*, pp. 137, 280.

⁵ George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, i, ch. v,

6. *Migrations of the Logical Theories of Aristotle from Alexandria into India (175 B.C.–600 A.D.)*

Considering the antiquity of the syllogism as propounded by Aristotle and the close connexion that exists between it and the syllogism promulgated in the Hindu Logic, we may fairly conclude that the latter was greatly influenced by, if not based on, the former. Aristotle's works¹ were brought down to Alexandria (in Egypt) by Callimachus, the celebrated librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus during 285–247 B.C., and it seems that copies of some of these works reached India through Syria, Susiana, Bactria, and Taxila in subsequent times. From the stages in the development of the syllogism in Hindu Logic, as indicated above, it will appear that Aristotle's works migrated into India during three distinct periods. The first period extends roughly from 175 B.C. to 30 B.C., when the Greeks occupied the north-western parts of India² and had their capital at Śākala, officially called Euthydemia (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab. The work of Aristotle of which we find a trace in this period is the Art of Rhetoric, which was evidently a favourite subject of study among the Indian Greeks, and from which the syllogism of five members as illustrated in the Caraka-saṃhitā, referred to above, seems to have been derived. It is worthy of note that the first trace in India of Aristotle's syllogism is met with in a work the author of which was the chief physician to King Kaniska, who reigned in the Punjab, if not exactly in the city of Śākala, at any rate near to it. The second period extends from about 30 B.C. to 450 A.D., when the

p. 206, says that Aristotle includes in a syllogism the two premises as well as the conclusion. But on the same page he quotes in a footnote the opinion of Julius Pacius (ad. Analyt. Prior 1), who said that the syllogism consisted of the two premises alone, and the conclusion was not a part thereof, but something distinct and superadded.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. i, p. 498.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xviii, p. 599.

Romans, masters of Alexandria, Syria, and Persia, carried on a brisk trade between Alexandria and India. The work of Aristotle which comes to our notice in this period is the *Prior Analytics* (and possibly also the *De Interpretatione*), from which Akṣapāda, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga¹ seem to have, as shown above, borrowed the definition of some of the most important logical terms and the explanation of the various structures of the syllogism. The two chief among these logicians, Akṣapāda and Dignāga, were inhabitants of Kathiawar (Prabhāsa) and Conjeeveram (Kāñci), which were the principal seaports on the eastern and western coasts of India, frequented by merchants and travellers from Alexandria. It is probable that the *Prior Analytics* was widely read in those days, either in the original or in vernacular translation. The introduction of different parts of the Greek *Prior Analytics* into Indian Logic must needs have been gradual, as these had to be assimilated into and harmonized with the parts previously ingrafted into Indian thought and language. The third period extends from about 450 A.D. to 600 A.D., when the Syro-Persian school of Gundeshapur,¹ established in Susiana (Persia) in 350 A.D. on the dispersion there of some of the best works of the school of Alexandria, was in the height of its glory and spread its light all around. The Aristotelian work which seems to have suggested to the Indian logicians Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara the idea of a universal proposition, the basis of a true syllogism, was evidently the *Posterior Analytics*, which possibly entered into India from Gundeshapur in this period.

I have endeavoured in the preceding pages to show that the works of Aristotle were very well known in India during the first six centuries of the Christian era. As regards the remarks of Cicero and Strabo, quoted by Sir A. Grant, that most of Aristotle's "writings had been

¹ Vide Huart's *Arabic Literature*, p. 137.

lost",¹ I have to state that after the death of Aristotle his entire works were bought up by Callimachus² for the library of Alexandria, where they were duly appreciated and whence they gradually spread to India and other countries. To the scholars at Athens and Rome these works were practically lost, until copies of some of them reached the island of Rhodes, where they were edited by Andronicus in 50 B.C. Even the edition of Andronicus was not available in the Middle Ages to the Greeks and Romans, who depended for their knowledge of Aristotle on the Latin translation of Boethius (480–525 A.D.). But the original works of Aristotle seem to have been carefully preserved in Alexandria, and on the downfall of the Greeks and Romans they found their way into Syria and Persia, whence they reached the Arabic school of Bagdad about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The original Greek texts of Aristotle's works after these strange vicissitudes reached the country of their birth via Constantinople about 1204 A.D. The presumption, therefore, is that from the third century B.C. to 1200 A.D. Aristotle's works were more extensively read and better appreciated in the East than in the West.

¹ Sir Alexander Grant's article on Aristotle in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. ii, p. 512.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. i, p. 498.

XIV

THE PRAKRIT VIBHASAS

By SIR GEORGE A. GRERSON, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

PISCHEL in §§ 3, 4, and 5 of his *Prakrit Grammar*, refers very briefly to the *Vibhāsās* of the *Prakrit* grammarians. In § 3 he quotes *Mārkaṇḍēya's* (Intr., 4) division of the *Prakrits* into *Bhāsā*, *Vibhāsā*, *Apabhraṁśa*, and *Paiśāca*, his division of the *Vibhāsās* into *Śākārī*, *Cāṇḍālī*, *Śābarī*, *Ābhīrikā*, and *Tākkī* (not *Sākkī* as written by Pischel), and his rejection of *Audhrī* (Pischel, *Oḍrī*) and *Drāviḍī*. In § 4 he says, “*Rāmatarkavāgīśa* observes that the *vibhāsāḥ* cannot be called *Apabhraṁśa*, if they are used in dramatic works and the like.” He repeats the latter statement in § 5, and this is all that he says on the subject. Nowhere does he say what the term *vibhāsā* means. The present paper is an attempt to supply this deficiency.¹

It will be advisable to begin by ascertaining what the word means when used as a technical term by *Sanskrit* grammarians. According to *Pāṇini* I, i, 44, it means “option”. A verse is quoted from the *Sārasvata* in the *Laghu Kaumudī* on *Pāṇini* III, iii, 113,² in explanation of the word *bahulam* when applied to a grammatical rule. It runs as follows:—

kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ
kvacid vibhāsā kvacid anyad eva
vidhēr vidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya
catur-vidham bāhulakam vadanti.

Ballantyne's (No. 823) translation of this is as

¹ I must here record my indebtedness to Dr. Thomas, who has been kind enough to read through the proofs of this paper, and whose suggestions have enabled me to clear up obscure points that baffled my unaided efforts.

² The verse is quoted by Pischel in his translation of *Hēmacandra*, i, 2, in quite different connexion. He seems to have forgotten it when dealing with *Vibhāsās* in his *Prakrit Grammar*.

follows: "Seeing that the application of certain rules is various, they specify four varieties [under the term *bahulam*], viz., sometimes they are applied [when there was no express rule for their application]; sometimes they are not applied [in spite of an express rule for their application]; sometimes [*vibhāṣā*] they are optionally employed or not; and sometimes there is some other result [licence permitted by the rule]." As Ballantyne wrote his translation in Benares, we may safely assume that his rendering of the word *vibhāṣā*, as the optional application or non-application of a rule, represents the meaning traditionally understood by Vaiyākaraṇas of the present day.

So far for Sanskrit grammarians. Prakrit grammarians employ the above rule in the same sense, for the Sārasvata verse is quoted with approval by Mārkaṇḍeya (iv, 64).¹ We therefore conclude that, primarily, a Vibhāṣā is a form of Prakrit in which the rules of the Standard or of some other dialect are applied or not at option. Let us now see what further information we can gain from those who have written on the subject.² We commence with Bharata.

Bharata (xvii, 49) says,³ "the base languages born amid (1) Śākāras, (2) Abhīras, (3) Caṇḍālas, (4) Śābaras, (5) Draviḍas, (6) Auḍras, and those of (7) Foresters are described, in a dramatic work, as 'Vibhāṣā'." Further on he says [53], "the (1) Śākāra language is used by Śākāras, Śākas, etc. (?).⁴ (3) Caṇḍālī (*sic*) is to be used

¹ Rāma-śarman, in the *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, continually uses *vibhāṣā* as the equivalent of *vā*.

² It may be stated that Vararuci, Hēmacandra, and Lakṣmīdhara are all silent regarding it.

³ The verse, as we shall see, is quoted both by Prthivīdhara and by Mārkaṇḍeya, and I emend the corrupt text of the Kāvya-mālā edition to agree with what they give.

⁴ There is something wrong with the text here. I give, for Śākārī, what seems to me to have probably been the meaning of the original. As in 49, I correct *śabarāṇām* to *śākārāṇām*. The syntactical connexion of the rest of the line is doubtful.

among people of the Pukkasa¹ and similar castes. [54] The (4) Śābara language is to be used by charcoal-burners, hunters, and those who live by implements of wood; and the (7) Vamaukasī (Forester's) dialect is sometimes employed by the same persons. [55] The (2) Ābhīrī or the (4) Śābarī is employed by those who dwell in hamlets for stabling cows, horses, goats, and sheep, and the (5) Drāviḍī amongst Draviḍas and the like." It will be observed that, in the text as we have it at present, there is no description of No. 6, the language of the Auḍras.

Prthivīdhara prefaces his commentary on the Mṛcchakaṭikā with an account of the various dialects employed in the play. The whole will be found on pp. 494 ff. of Godabole's edition. I extract from it the following information, relevant to our subject. He begins by including Vibhāṣās under the general class of Apabhraṃśa, thus differing from the writers to be subsequently quoted. He says that there are four languages falling under the head of Apabhraṃśa, viz. Śākārī (*sic*), Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and that of the Takka² country. As no Śābara appears in the play, no example of Śābarī is to be found in it. He then quotes Bharata xvii, 48, for a list of the Prakrits, and 49 for a list of the Apabhraṃśa dialects. The latter is given by him as follows, and this text is certainly, so far as the names go, more correct than that found in the Kāvyamālā edition of Bharata:—

*ŚākārĀbhīra-Cāṇḍāla-Śābara-DrāviḍŌdra-jāḥ
hīnā vanē-carāṇām ca vibhāṣāḥ sapta kīrtitāḥ*

"There are seven base Vibhāṣās, viz. those born amid Śākāras, Abhīras, Cāṇḍālas, Śābaras, Drāviḍas, in Uḍra (Orissa), and that of Foresters." Vibhāṣās are languages

¹ Or *Pukkasa*, the offspring of a Niṣāda on a Śūdra woman. See Manu, x, 18.

² Godabole prints "Dhukka", but the alternative reading "Takka" is that which should be adopted. See JRAS. 1913, pp. 882-3.

(*bhāṣāḥ*) of manifold sorts (*vividhāḥ*). They are “base”, because they are used by base characters. By “the language of Foresters” is meant the forms of speech collected under the head of “Takka-bhāṣā”. In this play . . . among the speakers of Apabhraṃśa, the brother-in-law of the king (the Śākāra) speaks the Śākārī (*sic*) dialect. The two Caṇḍālas speak the Caṇḍālī (*sic*) dialect, and Māthura, the gambler, speaks the Takka dialect. . . . In Śākārī (*sic*) and Caṇḍālī (*sic*) the palatal ś is used [instead of s or ṣ], and l is used in place of r. In the Takka Vibhāṣā the letter v [ʔu] is common [cf. Mārka. xvi, 3, below], and owing to the frequent employment of Sanskrit words, both dental s and palatal ś are found in it. [There is also the following verse about Śākārī:—]

*āpārtham akramam vyartham punar-uktaṃ hatōpamam
lōka-nyāya-viruddham ca śākāra-vacanam viduḥ.*

“They know the language of the Śākāra as containing words without meaning, words used in wrong order or with wrong meanings, tautology, mangled similes, and as unidiomatic.”¹ They call a king’s left-handed brother-in-law “Śākāra”, because his language is full of the letter ś (*śa-kāra*).²

We have further information on the subject of the Vibhāṣās in the third *Śākhā*, or main section, of the *Prākṛta-kalpataru* of Rāma-śarman (Tarkavāgīśa). Our knowledge of this work is confined to the one very incorrect MS. (No. 1106) in the India Office Library. It is described at some length by Lassen (*Institutiones L. Pr.*, pp. 19 ff. and App.), but the section here devoted to the Vibhāṣās is vitiated by the fact that the corresponding leaves of the MS. are in the wrong order and wrongly numbered, and that this was not recognized by Lassen.³ His account of the Vibhāṣās on pp. 21 ff. and

¹ A very similar verse is given by Mārkaṇḍēya. See p. 503 below.

² Wrong. See S. Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, p. 361.

³ The correct order of these pages of the MS. is 39b, 40b, 40a, 41a.

in App. 1 ff. is therefore quite incorrect. So far as I can make it out, the following should be the text of the passage. I give only the verses describing each dialect in general terms. The verses giving details are so doubtful in their readings that it would not be safe to attempt their emendation. This is of little consequence, as all that Rāma-śarman says is also said by Mārkaṇḍēya, with numerous examples, and the account of the latter will subsequently be given in full. As a preliminary, I give first, as well as I can make it out, the concluding verse of the second Śākhā, immediately preceding the account of the Vibhāsās. It deals with Dākṣiṇātya—a minor Prakrit dialect, not a Vibhāṣā. This is requisite, as the dialect is referred to later on in this paper in connexion with Ṭakkī. Unfortunately, the MS. is here very incorrect, with more than one scribal blunder, and with at least two lacunæ. My restoration is doubtful, though the sense, as testified by Mārkaṇḍēya, is certain. In order to show this, I also quote the corresponding passage of the latter. Rāma-śarman's metre is here the *Svāgatā* (— ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — —). Letters inserted to fill up lacunæ are enclosed in square brackets. Other emendations are not indicated.

*dākṣiṇ[āty]a-pada-saṁm[i]litaṁ yat
saṁskṛtādi-[kavi]bhīṣ churitaṁ ca
svādu-sāram (?) amṛtād aṇi kāvyam
dākṣiṇātyam iti tat kathayanti.*

“They call a poem, sweeter in its essence even than nectar, intermingled with words of the South, and overlaid with Sanskrit [(?) by poets composing in that] ¹ and other languages, ‘Dākṣiṇātya.’”

Mārkaṇḍēya (Comm. to xii, 38) says:—

No rule regarding Dākṣiṇātyā, and no example of it

¹ The use of *kavibhiḥ* here is awkward. What is wanted to fill the lacuna is some word meaning “words” rather than “poets”.

exists. All that we know about it is what is said by Niruddha-bhaṭṭa, viz.:—

*dākṣiṇātya-padālambi saṃskṛtāṅgaṃ vijṛmbhitam
kāvyam pīyūṣa-niḥsyandi dākṣiṇātyam, itṛitam.*

“A nectar-dropping poem, which is manifested as having its body Sanskrit, but depending on words of the South, is called ‘Dākṣiṇātya’.”

From the above it is evident that Rāma-sārman’s verse is only a reproduction of Niruddha-bhaṭṭa’s in another metre.

We can now discuss the section of the Prākṛta-kalpataru dealing with the Vibhāṣās.

Atō vibhāṣā navadhā niruktā[h]

*Śākārikī prāg anuśiṣyatē ’tra
madādi-yuktō niravāci rājñah
śyālāḥ śākāraś capalō ’bhi-[-’ti-]mūrkhah. 1.*

*śākārikī tasya vacō vibhāṣā
nind[yāgama-nyāya(?)]-kalādi-hīnā
asyās tu siddhiḥ khalu Māgadhiṭah
ścō vātra duṣprēkṣa-saḍṛkṣayōḥ syāt. 2.*

[After describing the Dākṣiṇātya, he goes on:—]

1. After this, the Vibhāṣās are defined as ninefold. Here Śākārikī is first taught. A Śākāra has been defined as the brother-in-law of a king, haughty and overweening, ill-mannered, and an exceeding fool.

2. The Śākārikī-vibhāṣā is the language used by him, vile, breaking the rules of grammatical construction, and void of elegance.¹ Its basis is to be found in Māgadhi.

[He then begins his description of the peculiarities of this Vibhāṣā:—In the words *duṣprēkṣa*- and *saḍṛkṣa*-, *śc* is

¹ There are some words here the reading of which is doubtful. They are evidently adjectives describing the dialect. Cf. Pṛthivīdhara on *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (as quoted above). “Words are used having no meaning, in wrong order, in wrong meanings, with repetitions, and with confusion of metaphor.” The MS. appears to read *nindāgamanyāśakalādi-hīnā*.

optionally (substituted for *kṣ*), and so on to the end of verse 9. Verse 10 is:—]

*Cāṇḍalikêti prathitā vibhāṣā
pravukṣyatē ātra yathōpadēsam
ēṣā tu saṁsidhyati Śaurasēnī-
Māgadhī-upaśēsa(sic)-vaśēna samyak.* 10.

The Vibhāṣā, known as Cāṇḍalikī, will now be described as it has been taught. Correctly speaking, it is based partly on Śaurasēnī and partly on Māgadhī. [He then goes on to describe the peculiarities of this Vibhāṣā, ending with verse 15. He does not say who speaks it.]

*athōcyatē samprati Śābarī yān
purōditā Māgadhikāṁva sūtē
aṅgārika-vyādha-vaḥitra-kāṣṭhō-
pajīvinān vāci niyujyātē 'sau.* 16.

Next, we proceed to describe Śābarī, which the formerly mentioned Māgadhī alone produces. It is employed in the language of charcoal-burners, hunters, (?) boatmen, and those who live by wood-cutting. [Mārkaṇḍēya, xv, 1, 2, says it is based on Cāṇḍālī, but sometimes goes back to the original Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī of that dialect.] [The author goes on to verse 21 with a description of this Vibhāṣā. He then says:—]

*ēkāṁva sā Māgadhikātra bhāṣā
vibhidhyatē pātra¹-vibhēdatas tu
Ābhīrikā-DrāviḍikĀutkalī ca
Vānaukasī-Māndurikēti nāmnā.* 22.

Moreover, there is only the Māgadhī Bhāṣā already mentioned, but, according to the characters [employing it], it has been subdivided into different varieties, named respectively Ābhīrikā, Drāviḍikā, Autkalī (or Auḍrī), the Speech of Foresters, and the Speech of Ostlers.

¹ The MS. has *dātra*, which, at a friend's suggestion, I have corrected to *pātra*.

*Ābhīrikāyām aparaṁ viśeṣaṁ
vadanti kēcit tam iha bravīmi
asyās tu siddhiḥ khalu Śābarītaḥ
śa-sau punar dantya-sa-kāra ēva.* 23.

Some people say that there is another kind of Ābhīrikā, and that I now proceed to tell :—They say that it is to be derived from Śābarī, and that the letters ś and ṣ are to be pronounced as a dental s. [The author then, in verses 24–6, tells what other authorities say about this Vibhāṣā. He says nothing more about the other Vibhāṣās mentioned in verse 22. He then goes on :—]

*Ṭākki vibhāṣāṁ khalu tāṁ vadāmi
yā dyūtakārādika-dhūrta-vācyā
a[nyā] punar Drāviḍa-bhāṣayādi
praviśya[tē] yatra, na lakṣma tasyāḥ.* 27.

I now, forsooth, mention the Ṭākki Vibhāṣā, which is to be spoken by gamblers and other knaves. Another kind [of Ṭākki] is infected by Drāviḍa and other bhāṣās. It has no special characteristics. Cf. Mārkaṇḍeya, xvi, 2, below.

(The next half-verse is very corrupt. It seems to read as follows :—)

*syāt sakārāt Saṁskṛta-Śaurasēnyōs
tu siddhir asyād bahalu padāntē.*

This I correct to :—

*syāt saṁkarāt Saṁskṛta-Śaurasēnyōs
tu siddhir, ut syād bahulam padāntē.*

This Vibhāṣā is formed from a mixture of Sanskrit and Śaurasēnī. It often has *u* at the end of a word. [This agrees with Mārkaṇḍeya xvi, 1, 3. In the rest of this verse, and in verses 29, 30, he gives further particulars of this Vibhāṣā, and then goes on :—]

*ŚakārÔdra-Dravidādi-vācō
'pabhramśatām yadyapi saṁśrayanti
syān nāṭakādau yadi saṁprayōgō
nātāsiv apabhramśatayā tathēṣṭaḥ.* 31.

Although the languages of the Śākāra, of Udra (i.e. Ōdra), of Draviḍa, and of others approach the nature of Apabhraṁśa; nevertheless, if their use is in plays or in similar works, that use is not prescribed on the ground of their falling under the head of Apabhraṁśa. [This verse is quoted by Lassen (p. 21), and the reading *tathēṣṭah*, given above, is doubtful. Lassen reads *tathāṣā*, which he corrects to *tathāṣah*, but, whatever was intended, I do not think that his suggestion is borne out by the MS. A remark to the same effect is made by Mārkaṇḍeya in regard to Tākkī, as quoted below.]

This concludes Rāma-śarman's account of the Vibhāṣās. According to him there are nine, viz.:—

1. Śākārikī.

2. Cāṇḍālikā.

3. Śābarī.

4. Ābhirikā

5. Drāviḍikā

6. Autkalī-or Audrī

7. The Speech of Foresters

8. The Speech of Ostlers

} These five are only
forms of Māgadhi.

9. Tākkī, which is liable to be mixed with Drāviḍikā.

He adds that even if a Vibhāṣā can be classed as a form of Apabhraṁśa, it is a Vibhāṣā, and not an Apabhraṁśa, if it is employed in drama.

Our next authority is Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra's *Prākṛta-sarvasva*. A good edition of this work has been published, and with the help of this and of five MSS. which are at my disposal, I am able to translate nearly the whole of the portions dealing with the Vibhāṣās.

In the commentary to verse 2 of the Introduction, the author quotes Bharata xvii, 49, as follows:—

*Śākār-Ābhīra-Cāṇḍāla-Śābara-Drāviḍ-Āudhrajāḥ*¹
hīnā vanēcarāṇām ca vibhāṣā nātakāśrayāḥ

¹ Sic. We should expect *Audrajāḥ*, but Mārkaṇḍeya, who was himself a native of Orissa, always spells it as above.

“The base speeches of the following people, and of foresters, are called ‘Vibhāṣās’, which appear only in dramatic works :—

Those borne amid—

1. Śākāra.
2. Abhira.
3. Cāṇḍāla.
4. Śābara.
5. Drāviḍa.
6. Auḍhra.”

He does not consider the language of Foresters as a distinct dialect, for, as we shall immediately see, he limits the number in this list to six.

He criticizes this list in the 4th verse, saying : “The real Vibhāṣās are not six, but only five in number, viz. Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrī, and Ṭākkī.” In the commentary on this he says : “It is implied that Auḍhrī is to be excluded, because its inherent character is to be found in that form of Śābarī which imitates the language of the Ōḍhra country.”¹ But, it will be objected, why is Drāviḍī excluded, and Ṭākkī substituted for it? Ṭākkī is included in accordance with the following verse :—

*Ṭakka-dēśīya-bhāṣāyāṃ drśyatē Drāviḍī tathā
atrāvḍāyāṃ viśēṣō ’sti Draviḍēnāḍṛtā param.*²

“Drāviḍī also is observed in the language of the Ṭakka country. Here there is only this peculiarity, that it is particularly honoured by the Draviḍa [? school of writers].” By thus declaring that the inherent character of Drāviḍī is to be found in Ṭākkī, we gather that the existence of Ṭākkī is established.

¹ It may be noted that at the present day there is a Muṇḍā language called Savara, spoken in the south of the Orissa country. See *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv, pp. 217 ff.

² The same verse is quoted in the comm. to xvi, 2 ; but the second line runs :—

tatra cāyāṃ viśēṣō ’sti Drāviḍair āḍṛtā param.

So far for his Introduction. He deals with each Vibhāṣā separately in Pādas xiii-xvi of his work, of which I now proceed to give a full translation :—

Here begin the Vibhāṣās. Accordingly, the first of all, the Śākārī is now taught.

xiii. Śākārī. मागधाः शाकारी । १ ।

Śākārī is based on Māgadhi. This Śākārī is the language of a Śākāra.

*rājñō 'nūdhā¹-bhrātā śyālas tv aiśvarya-sampannah
mada-mūrkhataḍbhimānī śākāra iti duṣkulīnaḥ syāt.*

“Possessed of pride, folly, and vanity, one of low family, raised (by the connexion) to power, the brother of the unmarried (concubine), and (in so far) the brother in-law of a king, is called a Śākāra.”

Where there is no special rule, this dialect is to be considered to be the same as Māgadhi.

बख ञो वा सदृबदुभ्रेवे । २ ।

In the words *sadrkṣa-*, like, and *duṣprēkṣa-*, difficult to behold, *kṣ* is optionally pronounced as *śc*. Thus [nom. sing.] *śaliścē*, *duppeścē*. On the other hand, we may also have the regular *śalicchē*, *duppecchē*.

चिण्टो टिवश इतिवे । ३ ।

Instead of [the Māgadhi] *ściṇṭadi* [= *tiṣṭhati*, he stands],² according to some authorities, we have *yciṣadi*. [Cf. xii, 7, 32, for the Mg. forms. By xii, 21, in Mg., *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*.]

¹ All the MSS. are corrupt here, reading 'nūdhō. The reading 'nūdhā is vouched for by the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, 81, from which the verse is quoted. The translation above is Ballantyne's.

² Passages in square brackets are not in the original, but are added by me. This includes all Sanskrit equivalents of Prakrit words or sentences.

त्यक्त्वौ क्वापि प्रकृत्यापि । ४ ।

The [Prakrit] conjuncts *tth* and *kkh* sometimes remain unchanged [instead of becoming *sth* and *sk*, as in Māgadhi (xii, 7, 4)]. Thus, *atthānagadē paṇḍidē via vakkhāṇāni kalēdi* [*arthānugataḥ paṇḍita iva vyākhyānāni karōti*], he explains like a Paṇḍit who understands the meaning [or possibly *arthānāgataḥ*, like a Paṇḍit who does not understand, or *āsthānagataḥ*, like a Paṇḍit in an assembly].

को बड्डलम् । ५ ।

The otiose suffix *-ka-* is common, as in *ēsukē dāsīkāē puttakē* [*ēsa dāsyāḥ putrah*], this son of a slave-girl.

वर्णानां विकारलोपागमाश्च स्युः । ६ ।

Letters are often changed, elided, or added. Thus :—
ēsē maṇaśśē kaṇṇō śaliścē [*ēsa manuṣyaḥ kavēḥ sadṛkṣaḥ* (xiii, 2)], this man is like a poet.

kāmēṇa dajjhadi kkhū mē haḍakkē tavaśśi [*kāmēṇa duhyatē mē hrdayam tapasvī* (Mṛcch., Godabole, p. 26, l. 11)], my pitiable heart is burnt by love. [The printed text of the play gives slightly different readings.]

vibbhāsaṇē puliśē [*vibhāsaṇaḥ puruṣaḥ*], a blustering man. In these passages we should properly have *maṇuśśē*, *haḍakkē*, and *vihāsaṇē*.

सुप्तिङविभक्तिलिङ्गव्यत्यासाः स्वरविकर्षश्च । ७ ।

Declensional terminations are wrongly used, one for another, and so also conjugational terminations and genders. Vowels also are pulled apart [i.e. diphthongs are separated into their components]. Thus :—

(a) Confusion of declensional terminations :—

tumam paṭṭanam ściṇṭa [*tvaṁ paṭṭanam* (accusative for locative) *tiṣṭha*], stay thou in the city ; *hakkē ghalēṇa paśāmi* [*aham grhēṇa* (instrumental for accusative or locative) *praviśāmi*], I enter the house. [The same also occurs in Māgadhi (xii, 36).]

(b) Confusion of conjugational terminations :—

sē vi āśchanti [*sō 'pi āgacchanti* (3rd person plural for 3rd person singular)], he also comes ; *tumaṃ pi āśchāmi* [*tvam api āgacchāmi* (1st person singular for 2nd person singular)], thou also comest ; *hakkē vi āśchasi* [*aham aphi āgacchasi* (2nd pers. sg. for 1st)], I also come.

(c) Confusion of gender :—

savvē mahilā pulisē tti kilidam [*sarvē* (masculine plural for feminine plural) *mahilāḥ puruṣa* (for *puruṣāḥ*) *iti krīḍitam* (neuter singular for feminine plural)], all the women sported in the character of men ; *iśthikā haśidē* [*strī hasitaḥ* (masculine for feminine)], the woman laughed.

(d) Pulling apart of vowels :—

śaīliṇī [for Mg. Pr. *śēliṇī*, Skr. *svairiṇī*], a wanton woman ; *miāṇḍō* [for Skr. *mṛgēndraḥ*], a lion ; *aśchāuhiṇī* [for Skr. *akṣauhiṇī*], a complete army.

लोपः सुपां क्वचित्स्यात् । ८ ।

Declensional terminations are sometimes dropped. Thus :—

ghala vaśasi [*grhē* (here the termination of the locative is dropped) *vasasi*], thou dwellest at home ; *phullanti puppha pādava-paridō mahukam pianti bhamala-ulā* [*phullanti puspāni pādapa-paritō madhu pibanti bhramara-kulāni* (here the case termination of *puppha* has been dropped, and *kula-* is treated like a masculine)], the flowers around the shrubs bloom, and the swarms of bees sip nectar. Here, although the dropping and interchange of declensional terminations is also allowed in Māgadhi [by xii, 36], we gather, from the repetition of the rule, that [substitutions such as *vaśca-* for *vrkṣa-* and others enjoined by xii, 19 ff., do not apply to Śākārī, but that] only [the regular Māgadhi substitute, in which e.g. by xii, 4, Prakrit *kch* becomes *śk*, viz.] *luśka-*,

for Prakrit *rukḥha-*, Sanskrit *vrkṣa-*, and so on, is to be employed. [In other words, while the general rules for Māgadhi are to be followed, special rules laid down for special words are not to be followed.] Thus, we have in the Mṛcchakāṭa [*sic*] *palahudā-bhamalā lavānti luśkē* [*parabhṛta-bhramarāḥ ruvanti vrkṣē*], the cuckoos and the bees sing in the trees. [Here *luśkē* represents the Śaurasēnī *rukḥhē*, with the regular Māgadhi change of *r* to *l* and of *kkh* to *śk*. According to Mārkaṇḍēya's grammatical system, the various forms of Māgadhi are derived, not from Sanskrit, but from Śaurasēnī. The passage quoted does not occur in any of the Śākāri speeches in either Stenzler's or Godabole's edition of the Mṛcchakāṭikā.]

युक्तात्पूर्वो गुह्य न वा । ९ ।

Contrary to the rules of prosody, a vowel is optionally not long [by position] before a conjunct consonant, as in :—

ēśe kkhū rāāi¹ vagghe vva sahāva-vīlē
[*ēṣa khalu rājatē vyāghra iva svabhāva-vīrah*],

he, forsooth, by nature a hero, shines glorious like a tiger. [Here the metre is *Vasantatilaka* (— — — — —), and] the *va* of the word *vagghe* must be scanned as short [although by the ordinary rules of prosody it is long by position].

Under the precept "*bahulam*", viz. that the rules of Prakrit grammar are not universal, but have exceptions, we account for such irregular forms as *paṅgaṇē ghalaṁ* [Śaurasēnī *paṅguṇō gharaṁ*; Sanskrit *paṅgōr grāham*], the house of the lame man, and others, which will be found each in its proper place as it occurs. Moreover :—

¹ The MSS. vary amidst *rāmpa*, *rāmpa*, *rāā*, and *rāmya*. All these, except *rāā*, are impossible in Prakrit. The printed edition suggests *rāāi*, which suits the metre and gives good sense. I therefore adopt it.

*vyartham ēv apārtham punarukti-rūpi
 hatōpamam cāsadrśōpamam ca
 pratyakṣa-lōkādi-virōdhi cānya-
 nyāya-pratīpikā ca śakāra-vākyaṃ.*¹

“Containing words with wrong meanings or with no meanings, tautological, with mangied similes or with similes that are no similes at all, contradicting ocular evidence, convention, etc., and in other respects unidiomatic, is the speech of the Śakāra.” By “wrong meaning” is meant “not in agreement in sense with the words preceding or following”. “With no meaning” implies both words [with meaning] which when used together give no meaning, and also words altogether devoid of meaning. So also the Maharṣi Bharata has said:—

*āgama-linga-vihīnam viparītaṃ nyāya-dēsa-kālādēh
 mada-mūrkhataḥbhīmānādyāśvanyāt syāc chakāra-
 vacanam.*

“The speech of the Śakāra, owing to his power accompanied by pride, folly, and vanity, is wanting in signs of inflexion or gender, and is opposed to the idiom of country or period. [Cf. the quotation from the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* on p. 499 *ante*. I have not traced this verse in the printed editions of Bharata. The Śakāra is described in xxiv, 105 (*Kāvyamālā* ed.), and his gait in xiii, 147 (*Gṛasṣet*, cf. *Kāvyamālā* ed., xii, 130).] Merely as examples, the following are quoted:—

[Much of what follows is quite incomprehensible to me, and even where I attempt to give Sanskrit equivalents to the Prakrit, I do so only with great hesitation. In the first place, as we shall see from the various readings,²

¹ Compare the similar verse quoted by Pṛthvīdhara, p. 492 *ante*.

² My authorities for the text are as follows:—P. is the text printed in *Vizagapatam* in 1912. O. is a MS. written in the Oriyā character, which has been kindly lent to me by Paṇḍit Sadāśiva Miśra, of Purī. Hn. and Hb. are two independent copies, in the Nāgarī and Bengali

the text is far from certain, and in the second place the language is designedly incorrect and intended to be more or less nonsense. Even if the text were certainly established, there would still, therefore, be the widest room for conjecture, for Mārkaṇḍeya has given no clue as to what he intended the meaning to be. Moreover, there is no context to guide us. The passages evidently come from some dramatic work which I have failed to identify. Other extracts, apparently from the same play, occur in the preceding sūtras. One passage, quoted in sūtra 6, does occur in the Mṛcchakatikā, but in sūtra 8 another, stated by Mārkaṇḍeya to come from that play, has not been found in either of the printed editions consulted by me. Before giving these samples of the speech of the Śākāra, I must here express my acknowledgments to Dr. Thomas and to Dr. Barnett, who have given me much kind help in my endeavours to elucidate the many difficulties that have presented themselves.*]

1. *hakkē paṅgukē paggalē*¹ *vaṇṇami naṁ vandēmi* [*aham paṅgur vātulaḥ ; vaṇṇē ēnaṁ vandē*], I am lame and (?) mad ; I extol him in a hymn.

[¹ P. inserts here *vaṇṇadhā atthikē*, which is not authorized by any of my MSS. P. also marks the whole with a query. I cannot equate *paggalē* with any Sanskrit word. *Pudgala* suggests itself, but the meaning is hardly suitable. The reading is borne out by all MSS. I suggest that it is a Dēśya word connected with the Hindī *pāgal*, mad, the derivation of which is unknown. I take

characters respectively, of the MS. No. 1555 in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. They have been kindly lent to me by Dr. Hoernle. Ox. is the Bodleian Wilson MS. No. 158b. Io. is the India Office Mackenzie, No. 70. Ox. and Io. are both written in the Nāgarī character, and are both evidently copies of the same original.

* As I am at present engaged on the preparation of a critical edition of Mārkaṇḍeya's grammar, I shall be grateful to any reader who may suggest, either in the pages of the Journal or to me direct, explanations of these difficult passages.

vaṇṇami as intended for *vaṇṇammi* [Skr. *varṇe*], in the sense of *gīta-kramē*].

2. *laṅgē talaṅgē śakalaṁkalīṅgē*¹ [*raṅgēt taraṅgaḥ sakalaṁkalīṅgaḥ*], let the wave, accompanied by the moon, toss.

[¹ P. separates *śakalaṁ kalīṅgē*. The words seem to me to make better sense, as written above. *Kalaṁka-līṅgaḥ*, he whose distinguishing marks are dark spots, = the moon. The MSS., of course, do not separate any words.]

3. *ēśā pāsakaśāsikā*¹ *maśakikā makkōśikā sūṇikā*² (?).

[¹ O. -*śāṇikā*. ² P. *māśikā*, O. *śāṇikā* or *śāsikā*. Others *śāṇikā*. The word-division is that of P. I do not venture to give a Sanskrit equivalent or translation of this passage. It seems to be equivalent at the beginning to *ēśā pāsaka-śāsikā*. Numerous conjectures can be, and have been, made for the rest.]

4. *udḍenti ēśē gaganē mahāgaā*¹
*luṣkēśū bukkanti*² *pulāṇamaścā*.

[*udḍīyantē ēśē gaganē mahāgaajāḥ*, *vṛkṣēṣu bukkanti purāṇa-matsyāḥ*], these great elephants are flying in the sky, and old fishes are howling in the trees.

[¹ So P. All others *mahāṇa* (= *asmākam*), which, if the metre is *Indravajrā*, suits the verse better, but gives little sense. The employment of *mahāgaā* gives one short syllable too many. If, however, we read the first syllable of *udḍenti* short, as we are entitled to do by sūtra 9, the first line becomes a *Vamśastha*, and is correct with *mahāgaā*. The two lines then become *upajāti*. ² So P.; O. Hnb. *dukkadri* or (Hnb.) *°drī*. Ox. *vukadri*, Io. *bukadri*.]

5. *alēlē puggalē*¹ *puggaē*² *ścayāgga*³ *idha nugga idō*⁴ *yaggudha*⁵ *śugēṇa*⁶ *geṇhaśu geṇha*⁷ (?).

[Here, again, I do not venture to give a Sanskrit equivalent or translation. The text, as given above, is

simply a copy of P. ¹ O. Hnb. *alēālē yuggalē*. ² O. *yuggaē*, Hnb. *yugmaē*. P. Ox. Io. as above. ³ O. *śyaycāgga* (?), Hnb. *śahayugma*, Ox. *ścapgugga* (?), P. Io. as above. ⁴ O. Ox. Io. *idhatyuggaīdō*, Hnb. *vetyīggaīdō*. ⁵ O. Io. *yjaggadha*, P. Ox. *yaggadha*, Hnb. *yugmadha*. ⁶ P. Ox. Io. *śugēṇa*. O. either *śugēṇa* or *śucōṇa* (not clear), Hnb. *śucōṇa*. ⁷ O. *geṇhaśuggēṇa*, Hnb. *geṇhaśugmēṇa*, Ox. Io. *geṇhaśugēṇa*.]

6. *ēdē*¹ *ōṇa*² *kulariṅgamahahaliṇā*³ *gaṇē*⁴ *pajjalanti*⁵ [*ētē punaḥ kuraṅga-mahāhariṇaḥ gaganē prajvalanti*], but these antelopes and great deer shine forth in the sky.

[¹ Hn. *tradō*, Hb. *ēdō*. ² P. *uṇa*. ³ P. O. Hnb. *mahaliṇā*. Ox. Io. as above. ⁴ Ox. Io. *gaṇē*. ⁵ O. Hnb. *ajjalitti*, Ox. Io. *ajjalanti*.]

7. *hakkē paṇḍidē*, *ṇanna yjāṇamī*,¹ *śaddam*² *kadhēmi*, *śaddam*² *pucchāmi* [*ahaṁ paṇḍitaḥ, nānyaj jānāmi śabdam kathayāmi, śabdam prucchāmi*], I am a paṇḍit, I know nothing else, I speak a word, I ask a word.

[¹ P. *śaddam yjōāmi*, O. *ṇaṇṇaṇayjāṇami*, Hnb. *ṇaṇṇa-ymāṇami*, Ox. *ṇaṇṇamṇayāṇami*, Io. *ṇaṇṇamīyāṇami*. ² Hnb. *śabdam*.]

In the above examples [the various irregularities] are to be understood as each occurs. [That is to say, no general rules can be laid down, and as each irregularity is met with it must be disposed of on its own merits.]

Now begins Cāṇḍālī.

xiv. Cāṇḍālī.

चाण्डाली मागधीशौरसेनीभ्यां प्रायशो भवेत् । १ ।

Cāṇḍālī is generally based on Māgadhī and Śaurasēnī. Thus, *ēśē ycolē śūlam ālōvidum lāiṇā āṇastē* [*ēṣa cōraḥ śūlam ārōpayitum rājñādjñaptah*], this thief has been ordered by the king to be impaled.

गौरवे संबोधने सावत ओत्तं विधीयते । २ ।

In respectful address, the vocative of *a*-bases ends in *ō*. Thus, *ayjō bhaśtālākō, hākkē paṇamāmi* [*ārya bhaṭṭāraka, aham praṇamāmi*], noble sir, I bow.

असंजुद्धौ च कोऽप्याह । ३ ।

Also, according to Bhagīratha-vardhamāna, the same termination is used in the nominative singular of *a*-bases. Here there is no question of respect. Thus, *ēśō puliśō* [*ēśa puruṣāl*], this man. From the use of the word *ca*, and, in the sūtra, we gather that the Māgadhi terminations *i* and *ē* [xii, 26] may also be used.

जस एत्स्यात्स्त्रियामपि । ४ ।

This refers only to pronouns and the like. The nominative plural of pronouns ends in *ē*, whether masculine or feminine. Thus, *yjē iśthikā* [*yāḥ striyāḥ*], what women ; *yjē puliśā* [*yē puruṣāl*], what men.

इसः शः स्यात् । ५ ।

The termination of the genitive singular feminine is *śa*, not *i*, *ē*, *a*, or *ā* [as ordained by v, 28]. [In other words it is the same as in the masculine.] Thus, [just as we have in the masculine] *aggiśśa śihākā* [*agnēḥ śikhā*], a flame of fire, [so we have in the feminine] *buddhiśśa vadḍhimā* [*buddhēr vṛddhiḥ*], an increase of wisdom.

मिस्र ऊः स्यात् । ६ ।

The locative singular ends in *mmi*, as well as in *ē*. Thus, *ghalammi* or *ghalē* [*grhē*], in a house ; *vaṇammi* [*vanē*], in the forest.

डुट्टोपरि न शः क्वचित् ॥ ७ ॥

[In Māgadhi, Śaurasēnī *ṭṭ* and *ṭṭh* become *śṭ* and *śṭh* respectively (xii, 7).] This sometimes does not occur in Cāṇḍālī. Thus, *peṭṭam pūlēśi kaṭṭhēna* [*pēṭam pūrayasi kaṣṭhēna*], thou fillest the bag with difficulty.

क इअः स्थात् । ८ ।

The only termination of the gerundive is *ia*. Thus, *alalē kukkulaṁ geṇhia āśca* [*arē-rē kukkuraṁ grhītvā-gaccha*], hulloa ! bring the dog here.

इह प्रायो याम्यशब्दार्थपार्थवम् । ९ ।

In Cāṇḍālī there is a wide use of rustic words and meanings. Thus, *ayja maē maśānē hiṇḍantēṇa mahantē kaṇṇaṁ kaṇaa-khaṇḍakē laddhē. Tam haśkē vikkiṇia maddhaṁ kiṇia peṭṭaṁ pūlaṁśśaṁ* [*adya mayā śmaśānē hiṇḍamānēṇa mahān kaṇakaḥ* (for *kaṇṇikā*) *kanaka-khaṇḍakō labdhah. tad ahaṁ vikriya mādhuvaṁ krītvā peṭṭaṁ pūrayisyāmi*], to-day, while walking about in the cemetery, I found a large piece of gold, an earring. I shall sell it, and, having bought sweetmeats, fill my bag with them.

In this dialect, as in Śākārī [xiii, 7], we find elisions of declensional terminations and interchange of cases, etc.

Now begins Śābarī.

xv. Śābarī. चाण्डाल्याः शाबरीसिद्धिः । १ ।

Śābarī is based on Cāṇḍālī.

तबूलेभ्यः क्वचित्क्वचित् । २ ।

And sometimes it is based directly on Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī, on which Cāṇḍālī itself is based.

अतः सावेदितौ च । ३ ।

The nominative singular of *a*-bases, whether masculine or neuter, ends in *ē* or *i*. Thus, *māṇuṣi* or *māṇuśē* [*mānuṣaḥ*], a man; *vaṇi* or *vaṇē* [*vanam*], a forest. From the use of the word *ca*, and, in the sūtra, we gather that we may also have the Prakritic forms *māṇuśō* and *vaṇam*.

आत्थात्संबुद्धी गौरवे सदा । ४ ।

The respectful vocative always ends in *ā* [and not in *ō*, as in Cāṇḍālī]. Thus, *ajjā vandāmi* [*ārya, vandē*], Sir,

I offer reverence. But when not respectful, we have *ēhi*, *lē ycelakē*, *ēhi* [*ēhi*, *rē cēṭaka*, *ēhi*], come, O servant, come.

हके स्यादहमित्यर्थे । ५ ।

The only form of the pronoun of the 1st person is *hakē*, as in *hakē āaē* [*aham āgataḥ*], I am come.

भवेतामिहिमी च ऊः । ६ ।

For the locative singular, besides the usual *ē*, we may have the termination *i* or the termination *him*. Thus, *vanī* (or *vaṇahim* or *vanē*) *gaccha* [*vanē gaccha*], go into the forest.

केरके केअको वा स्यात् । ७ ।

For the genitival suffix *kēraka-* we may optionally substitute *kēaka-*. Thus, *amha-kēakam* (or *amha-kēlakam*) *dhaṇam* [*asmadīyam dhanam*], our wealth.

सर्वमन्यत्तु पूर्ववत् । ८ ।

In other respects Śābarī is like the preceding Vibhāṣās. Thus it elides declensional terminations, interchanges cases, changes, elides, or inserts letters, and employs rustic expressions.

Auḍhri. शाबर्यामिवौद्धो योगान्तद्देशश्चौरसेन्यादेः । ९ ।

If we add local words of the Ōḍhra country and of Śaurasēnī, etc., to Śābarī, and only to Śābarī, we get the Auḍhri dialect.¹ Thus, [metre *Dōhā*]

dēva jasōṇandana kara māi karuṇā-lēsa
ettikē jamaūacchaūi piṭṭaī savva-kilēsa.

[*dēva, yaśōdā-nandana, kuru mayi karuṇā-lēsam*
*ihatyaḥ janmataḥ asmi iti (?)*² *pīḍayati sarva-klēśaḥ.*]

“O divine son of Yaśōdā, pity me a little; as a result of birth I am a dweller in this world, and therefore every kind of misery tortures me.”

¹ Regarding the spelling of the word *Auḍhri*, see footnote on p. 497.

² The Sanskrit equivalent of *jamaūacchaūi* is very doubtful. What is given here has been suggested to me by a friend to whom I submitted the passage.

Ābhīrī. आभीर्येष्वेवं स्यात् त्क इच्च उच्चौ नात्यपभंशः । १० ।

Ābhīrī also is the same as Śābarī, except that the gerundive ends in *ia* or *ua*, and that it is not very corrupt. Thus, *gaścia* or *gaḍua* [*gatvā*], having gone; *paḍhia* or *paḍhua* [*paṭhitvā*], having read.

Now begins Ṭakkī.

xvi. **Ṭakkī.** टाक्की स्यात्सकृतं शौरसेनी चान्योन्यमिश्रिते । १ ।

Ṭakkī is a mutual mixture of Sanskrit and Śaurasēnī. It is the language of gamesters, merchants, and others of the sort. Thus, it is said :—

*prayuṣyātē nāṭakādau dyūtādi-vyavahāribhiḥ
vaṇigbhir hīna-dēhaiś ca tad āhuḥ ṭakka-bhāṣitam.*

“The speech of Ṭakka is that which is employed in plays and the like by professional gamblers and by merchants of lowly position.”

Moreover :—

हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्रिमां भाषामपभंश इतीच्छति ।

अपभंशो हि विद्वज्जिर्नाटकादौ प्रयुज्यते ॥ २ ॥

But Hariścandra considers this to be an Apabhraṁśa, because [as he maintains] Apabhraṁśa is used by the skilled in dramatic compositions. People consider this as referring to Drāviḍī also. For it is said :—

*ṭakka-dēśīya-bhāṣāyām drśyatē Drāviḍī tathā
tatra cāyam viśeṣō 'sti Drāviḍair ādrtā param.*

“Drāviḍī appears also in the language of the Ṭakka country. Its specialty in this respect is that it is particularly honoured by Drāviḍas.”¹

उत्थात्पदान्ते वज्रलम् । ३ ।

The vowel *u* is in many cases added at the end of a word, but not always. [This is the ordinary termination in Apabhraṁśa of the nominative singular of *α*-bases.] Thus :—

¹ Cf. another version of these lines on p. 498.

rāu asama-samarāṅka-mallu
maṇḍa-manōhara-dēha-sōhu
sakala-śāstrāstra-vidyā-pravīṇu
[rājā asama-samarāṅka-mallah
madana-manōhara-dēha-śōbhaḥ
sakala-śāstrāstra-vidyā-pravīṇaḥ].

“A king, an unequalled champion in the fight, illustrious with a form as beautiful as that of the god of love, skilled with knowledge of every arm and weapon.”

As this termination is “not always” added, we have *bhaṇai vāṇi kavirāa* [not *kavirāu*] [*bhaṇati vāṇin kavirājah*], the poet laureate utters poetry.

ए च टः । ४ ।

The termination of the instrumental singular is also *ē*, as in *khaggē* (or *khaggēṇa*) *paharasi* [*khaggēṇa praharasi*], thou smitest with a sword.

हं ऊमी भसः । ५ ।

The termination of the dative-ablative plural is *ham* or *hum*. Thus, *rukkhaham padidu* [*vrkṣēbhyah patitah*], fallen from the trees; *gharahum calidu* [*grhēbhyas calitah*], gone from the houses. By the precept *bahulam*, “not always,” we also may have *rukkhāhimitō*, *gharēsuntō*.

आमो वा । ३ ।

The same terminations may optionally be used for the genitive plural, as in *bamhaṇaham* (or *bamhaṇahum* or *bamhaṇāṇam*) *dhaṇu* [*brāhmaṇānāṇi dhanam*], the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas.

हं किमादेः स्यात्प्राग्दीर्घश्च विधीयते । ७ ।

In the case of *kim* and other [pronouns], this optional termination, *ham*, of the genitive plural has the penultimate vowel lengthened. Thus, *kāham* [*kēṣām*], of whom? *jāham* [*yēṣām*], of whom; *tāham* [*tēṣām*], of them; *ēdāham* [*ētēṣām*], of these; *imāham* [*ēṣām*], of these; where we also may have *kāṇam*, *jāṇam*, and so on.

त्वमित्यर्थे तुङ्ग भवेत् । ८ ।

The pronoun of the 2nd person is *tungā*, as in *tungā sarva-vidyā-pravīṇu* [*tvaṁ sarva-vidyā-pravīṇah*], thou art skilled in all knowledge.

अहमर्थे ऽम्मिज्जममाः । ९ ।

The 1st personal pronoun is *ammi*, *hum*, or *mama*. Thus, *ammi* (*hum* or *mama*) *paṇḍidu* [*aham paṇḍitaḥ*], I am a learned man.

ममेत्यर्थे मज्जं च स्यात् । १० ।

The genitive of this pronoun of the 1st person may be *mahum*, as well as [the regular] *mama*. Thus *mahum* (or *mama*) *gharu sundaru* [*mama grāham sundaram*], my house is beautiful.

यथा तिथि । ११ ।

The word *yathā* becomes *jidha*, as well as the regular *jahā*. Thus, *jidha* (or *jahā*) *bhaṇasi* [*yathā bhaṇasi*], as thou sayest.

तथा तिथि । १२ ।

Similarly *tathā*, so, becomes *tidha*, as well as *tahā*.

दिक्पाचमुक्तमुत्तेयं शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगतः । १३ ।

What has been said is [to be taken as] a mere indication [of the general character of the dialect]. The rest is to be learnt from the practice of good writers.

With this, Mārkaṇḍeya's account of the Vibhāsās is concluded. It will be observed that he says that *Ṭakkī* is the same as the *Drāviḍī Vibhāṣā*. This can only mean that *Drāviḍī* is an Indo-Aryan, not a Dravidian, language. In another part of his Grammar he mentions several forms of *Apabhraṁśa* with names, such as *Kālingī*, *Kārnāṭī*, or *Pāṇḍyā*, which led Pischel (Gram., § 4) to assume that the term "Apabhraṁśa" included vernaculars of non-Aryan origin ; but I have shown (JRAS. 1913, pp. 875 ff.)

that he is mistaken in this conclusion, and that such terms indicate merely the various forms taken by standard Apabhraṃśa when spoken as a second language in Dravidian countries, much as the modern Hindōstānī of the Deccan differs from that spoken in Lucknow. Mārkaṇḍēya's account of the Drāviḍi Vibhāśā is evidently much to the same effect. He says that Ṭākki is called Drāviḍi because it is much honoured by Drāviḍas. It is therefore important to ascertain exactly what Ṭākki is. He describes it as the language of the Takka country in the northern Panjāb, but he cannot mean that it was not spoken anywhere else. On the stage, which pretends to represent actual conditions, it was allotted, not to natives of that country, but to members of certain professions, whatever their nationality. This gives a clue towards understanding the statement that it was honoured by Drāviḍas, and an explanation will be found if we consider the nature of the language. In the first place, it is said to have been the language of professional gamblers and of small merchants. These were just the two great classes of the population whose business would take them far from their homes, and who possessed a certain amount of education. Reputable or not, they belonged to what we should call the middle classes. Fairly well-to-do, in pursuit of their callings, they went about, using what must have been the current colloquial of the Aryan semi-gentility of the greater part of India. The nature of the language showed that this was exactly the position that it was suited to fill. It was a mixture of Saurasēnī and Sanskrit, with a touch of Apabhraṃśa. Of all the Prakṛits, Saurasēnī was that which was most closely allied in its grammar to Sanskrit, and which was cumbered with the fewest *dēśya*, or local, vulgar words. These semi-genteel folk, to show off the smattering of education that they had received, would interlard this Prakrit with as many *tatsamas*, or Sanskrit words, as

they could remember, and would occasionally, by a lapse of dignity, drop into the Apabhraṃśa of the common folk. We learn from the grammarians that the people of the Ṭakka country, which included within its borders the important city of Śākala and which was not far to the west of Śūrasēna, used this Sanskritized Śaurasēnī as their vernacular; but this by no means meant that it was not also current elsewhere, although this semi-genteel language, in the mouths of people who had never in their lives been near Ṭakka, thus acquired the name of Ṭakkī.

Amongst the people who spoke Ṭakkī, other than the Ṭakkas and the professional classes just mentioned, the Drāviḍas are mentioned as especially affecting it. Why was their preference so marked? This question leads us to the consideration of another very similar language also spoken in southern India—the Dākṣiṇātyā, described *ante* on pp. 493 ff. This is not classed as a Vibhāṣā, but as a variety of Māgadhi Prakrit. As a fact, it bears to that Prakrit very much the same relation that Ṭakkī bears to Śaurasēnī. The only real points of difference are that it does not occasionally drop into Apabhraṃśa, and that it is not a Vibhāṣā, because it is used in poetry, not in the drama. It is not a character-dialect, and instead of using Apabhraṃśa forms, it ekes out its vocabulary with the help of southern words, while at the same time, like Ṭakkī, it is largely influenced by Sanskrit. We thus have two Aryan languages spoken in southern India—one based on Māgadhi, and used in poetry, and the other based on Śaurasēnī, and used as a favourite *lingua franca*. Both were there foreign languages, one of polite literature and the other of travellers. All this time Sanskrit was the learned language of the educated and of literature, and Dravidians, when speaking an Aryan language, would naturally endeavour to approach it as nearly as possible. It is for this reason that we find them, as Mārkaṇḍēya's authority says, specially honouring

Tākki. It was a comparatively high form of Prakrit, and was much mixed with Sanskrit words.

We can now return to the meaning of the word "Vibhāṣā". We have seen that, as a technical term of grammar, it meant "option", and this, to a certain extent, indicates the meaning of the word as applied to dialects. A Vibhāṣā is an optional form of a standard dialect used for certain purposes. It is "optional" because, while certain peculiarities are laid down for each, these peculiarities are not necessarily always in evidence, and, except in a few special cases, the standard forms may always be used in their place. Each Vibhāṣā is more or less a mixed form of speech, in which the extent of the mixture fluctuates. As Pṛthvidhara says, it is a language "of manifold sorts". It is unnecessary to give particular instances. Anyone who reads through Mārkaṇḍeya's account will acknowledge that this is the general character.

But this by no means exhausts the ideas connoted by the word. The preposition *vi* has many meanings. One of these, when it is prefixed to a noun, is impropriety, as in *vi-janman-*, of base birth. The same idea is also present in the word *vi-bhāṣā*. It is expressly declared to be a *hīnā*, or base, language. This meaning of Vibhāṣā is not given in any of the dictionaries, Indian or European, that I have consulted, but I have no hesitation in considering that, like that of option, it also underlies the use of the word.¹

Further, a Vibhāṣā is not a literary dialect. It is presented only in plays, and there only in connexion with particular characters. It is, in short, a character-dialect of the stage—corresponding to the mangled

¹ Another meaning of *vi* has been suggested to me, which may also influence the connotation of the word as indicating a form of Prakrit. *Vi-bhāṣā* may mean "a minor *bhāṣā*", in accordance with the use of *bhāva* and *vibhāva* in rhetoric.

language used on our stage by, say, a drunken man, a peasant, or a foreigner. When the French hero of "Ici on parle Français" says, "Sare, I vill box your eye", he is talking Vibhāṣā. It is not a dialect in the strict sense of the term, for it is not the local form of speech used in any particular part of the country, but is more of an argot, without being exactly slang.

A Vibhāṣā differs from Apabhraṃśa in not being a literary language. The boundary between the two is fluctuating. For instance, we have seen that Hariścandra would class Ṭakkī as an Apabhraṃśa. His argument seems to be that Ṭakkī has the character of Apabhraṃśa [compare the nominative singular in *u*], and that to maintain that it is a Vibhāṣā because it appears only in plays is irrelevant, for Apabhraṃśa is also used in plays. Probably, at the back of his mind was the fact that, although in the drama Ṭakkī is a character-dialect, outside the theatre it was widely used as a *lingua franca*, and therefore should be classed as a form of Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya so far agrees with Hariścandra as to admit the existence also of a Ṭakka Apabhraṃśa, just as he admits that of Auḍhra, Ābhira, and Drāviḍa forms of Apabhraṃśa. As I have shown elsewhere (JRAS. 1913, pp. 875 ff.), these names do not indicate the vernaculars of the countries referred to. They indicate merely the slight changes occurring in the language of speakers of standard Apabhraṃśa who happen to be living in those countries. They are not character-dialects, like the Vibhāṣās, but local deviations from a standard, similar, as I have said, to the Deccan variety of Hindōstānī. Hence, though the names may be the same, it does not follow that they are identical with the corresponding Vibhāṣās.

Finally, Vibhāṣās fall into two classes. One is composed of Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Auḍhrī, and Ābhīrī. These are all degradations—levellings down—of Māgadhī,

or of Saurasēnī, or of both. They are spoken by uneducated persons, who are represented as despicable, or else as of some despised caste. The other division consists of Tākki (including Diāviḍi). So far from this being a degraded form of speech, it represents a levelling up. Its speakers are semi-educated people, who are trying to "talk fine". If they occasionally drop into vulgar idioms, it is due to their want of education, not to their intention.

To sum up. A Vibhāṣā is a corrupt form of one or more standard Prakrit dialects, which is used only in stage-plays, and is there allotted to special characters. The corruption may be either down-grade or up-grade, and may consist in solecisms, or in a mixture of dialects, but in every case it is represented on the stage as a corruption personal to the speaker, and nothing more.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY •

Professor Macdonell in his rejoinder (JRAS. 1917, pp. 592–602) invites further remarks from me. But they must be brief.

1. Professor Macdonell is unable to see “any possible reference to images” in R.V. viii, 69.12. But Ballantyne¹ has rendered the expression in question by “a beautiful perforated iron image”. As regards the other passage (R.V. i, 21. 3), Professor Wilson has translated the word *śumbhata* by “decorate with ornaments”. Again, in R.V. ii, 33. 9, we find *babhruḥ śukrēbhiḥ pipiṣē hiranyaiḥ* (“shines with golden ornaments”—Wilson). In R.V. iii, 4. 5, the word *nṛpēśas* is translated by Professor Roth as “formed, adorned by men”, and by Wilson “sensible shapes”. Dr. Bollensen discovered a reference to images of Maruts in *nu mānvāna ēśāṃ dēvāṃ accha* (“To the gods of these images—the Maruts,” R.V. v, 52.15). R.V. ii, 33.8, speaks of Rudra as “white-complexioned” (*śvītīce*). The view that the Vedic word *saṃdrś* may denote an image appears supported by the *Nārāyaṇa Upanishad* (verse 11), where we have *na saṃdrśe tiṣṭhati rūpam asya*. My object in these citations is not “to prove any theory of far-reaching importance”. What I said was that “one cannot accept without hesitation” Professor Macdonell’s decisive statement that images of gods were not yet iconographically represented in the earlier Vedic age.

2. Professor Macdonell has, I am afraid, misunderstood my meaning in the quotation of Vedic attributes. The individuality of a god is made up of the sum total of

¹ Ballantyne, *Mahābhāṣya*, p. 34.

several attributes, the poet now referring to one, now to another. To which other deity, for instance, could we apply *suśīpra* as well as *harīśīpra* better than to Indra? or *tryambaka* and *kapardin*, to which I may add *kṛttivāsa* and *pinākin* (TS. iv, 5), than to Rudra? I thought the epithets cited were specially appropriate because of their possible iconographic significance. It might be argued that the *śīpra* of Indra does not refer to any prominent feature of the chin of Indra, but it may be cited on the other side that it does, on the strength of R.V. v, 45. 6. In this hymn Manu is said to have overcome *Viśīpra* ("noseless," i.e. nasal ridge not prominent). One may argue in the same way that the poet is referring to the prominent nasality of the Aśvins in *nāsatya*. Professor Macdonell says that this term "certainly does not suggest any physical appearance to the mind". I beg to remind him that Yāska explains the term as *nāsikāprabhavau*, i.e. he thinks it has something to do with the nose. The obscurity in the meaning of the word is cleared up by taking *nāsatya* in the same way as *satya* and *nitya*, for instance. Similarly, one might find reference to an image when the invisible Vāyu is spoken of as *darśata*. I do not at all suggest that these passages furnish conclusive evidence of the use of images. My point is that the evidence of the Vedas is not conclusive either way.

3. As regards the date of the *Gītā*, I need only mention that I hold it to be considerably anterior to the Christian era, on the strength of the internal evidence furnished by that work, as I hope to be able to show in a subsequent issue of this journal. Viṣṇu has four hands not only in the *Gītā* but in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i, 15. 16).

My view of Purāṇic chronology is already given elsewhere.¹ My point in citing a Purāṇa was that the order of evolution of iconographic details indicated by it

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1915, pp. 41-52.

(let alone the cosmic cycles) is the reverse of that adduced by Professor Macdonell. Whatever Purāṇic evidence may be worth, it cannot be denied that the image-makers were close students of Purāṇic lore and that they sought in several respects to represent the deities as described in the Purāṇas. I may add that though the Purāṇas in their existing form are obviously later than the Christian era, they existed in some form centuries earlier, as they are mentioned—to cite a reference—in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

4. To proceed to iconographic details. Professor Macdonell challenges me to cite an example of a figure of Indra distinguished by the *vajra* when he is not seated on his elephant. I remember to have seen one in the Sārnāth Museum¹ when I was at Benares. Is it necessary to add that Indra's thunderbolt—and not the elephant—is mentioned in some of the earliest Vedic hymns? (R.V. i, 100. 18; ii, 12. 10).

As regards Sūrya and his steeds, my meaning is that the seven steeds are not unavoidably present, and that therefore it is not right to say that "Sūrya is *recognized* by the seven steeds of his car". The number of steeds of Sūrya's car represented are only three in the Sārnāth sculpture (G 36) and four at Bōdh Gayā. The steeds are absent in South Indian images in the round. Turning to the literature on iconography, they are not mentioned by Varāhamihira² or by Hēnādri,³ while the *Śilparatna*, a later work, mentions their number definitely as seven. Again, Professor Macdonell states that the data of the *Sūryōpanishad* in regard to the four arms of Sūrya "contradict all the concrete evidence of actual images".

¹ Probably the same as is described in the *Catalogue of the Sārnāth Museum*, p. 318 (No. G 24 (c)). For Indra's thunderbolt in Buddhist art see Grünwedel & Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 38, 87.

² *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, ch. ii, vv. 47-8.

³ *Dānakhaṇḍa*, ch. ii, pp. 757 f. The *ratha* is mentioned, but not the horses.

But the image of Sūrya referred to at Sārnāth has four arms, and I have in my possession a bronze figure of Sūrya with four arms. I may add that the *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Sūrya as *caturbāhu*.

Professor Macdonell challenges me to cite evidence for my statement that Agni has two heads and seven hands in the R.V. My reference is to the well-known hymn in R.V. iv, 58. 3: *catvāri śṛṅgā trayō 'sya pādā dvē śiṛṣe sapta hastāso asya*, etc. The hymn is found again in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* of the Yajur Veda. There is a sculpture of Agni corresponding to this description in the Chidambaram temple.¹

Of Śeṣa-śayana Professor Macdonell says that the motive of distinctiveness in giving an image four arms was present in the early stage of Hindu iconography, but that in the course of time this feature was increasingly introduced even when unnecessary. In support of his statement he cites the image of Śeṣa-śayana at Mahābalipuram, which has only two hands, and a two-armed image of Skanda belonging to the Gupta age. But the image of Mahābalipuram is later than that of Deogarh, which has four hands, and which is assigned by Mr. Smith² to the sixth century A.C. A figure of Skanda with twelve hands is found in the rock-cut temple of Tirupparankunram near Madura. The twelve hands are referred to in the *Silappadikāram*, a Tamil work assigned by Mr. Smith³ to about 200 A.C., and described in detail in the *Tirumuru-gāttuppadai*, another work of the third Tamil Sangam.

It is said that wives of gods appear with only two arms when they are represented beside their spouses because their identity is then clear. But Gauri and Pārvati have

¹ H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, fig. 147.

² V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 162 and fig. xxxv.

³ One of the works of the Sangam is assigned by Mr. Smith to as early a date as 100 A.C. (*Early History*, 3rd ed., p. 453).

sometimes only two hands even when represented alone.¹ Gajalakṣmī is so generally represented, not because the elephants were originally an inevitable adjunct of the goddess, but because the Hindu artists' skill is unsurpassed in depicting that animal. Though Gajalakṣmī is only one of the forms of the goddess she is for this reason architecturally the most-favoured form. The distinguishing marks of Lakṣmī, in whatever form, are the lotuses in her hands.² I am unable to find any evidence for Professor Macdonell's view that the other forms of Lakṣmī are later developments from Gajalakṣmī with the elephants left out.

5. Professor Macdonell says that the additional hands were introduced for holding the weapons. But there are early specimens of sculptures without four hands where weapons are held in either or both of the natural hands,³ and of sculptures with four hands carrying no weapons at all.⁴ On the coins of Kadphises II the figure of Śiva has two arms, with combined trident and battle-axe in the right hand and the tiger's skin over the left arm. On those of Kanishka it has four arms, but the lower arms have no weapons at all, or have in one of them a goad, a noose, or a water-vessel. Some Kanishka coins show Śiva with two hands armed with the spear and the club. Even in the coins of Huvishka we find both a four-armed and a two-armed Śiva. Two-armed Śiva figures appear even in the latest coins of the series, those of Vāsudeva.⁵ If the purpose of the "innovation" had been as alleged, we should find the later coiners taking full advantage of it and introducing an extra pair of arms for holding weapons.

¹ V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art*, figs. 191, 192.

² As always on Gupta coins. See also Cunningham's *Bhārhut*, plates xxi-iii (Śiri holding lotus in hand).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 113; *Catalogue of the Sarnāth Museum*, pp. 318-20.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art*, pp. 138, 163.

⁵ *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. i, see No. 1 of Kadphises II; Nos. 9, 10, 67, and 71 of Kanishka; Nos. 15, 16, 40, and 43 of Huvishka; and No. 1 of Vāsudeva.

The same remark may be made of sculptures too. Even in the Gupta period we have images of Śiva with two hands. Viṣṇu, as Pāṇḍuraṅga, has only two hands throughout, but has peacock feathers, as described by Kālidāsa¹ (fifth century A.C.) and Śaṅkara² (ninth century A.C.), and as found in the sculptures of Tirupati, Ahōbalaṃ, etc.

6. Some other iconographic details may be mentioned which should be borne in mind before any explanation is offered as to the purpose of their introduction. Brahmā, as Prajāpati, has only one face and no swan vehicle. He is usually four-faced. As Viśvakarma, he has ten hands, holding the symbols of the Trimūrti. Umāmahēśvara has eight faces and two hands according to Hēmadri. Śiva appears both in literature and in sculpture with four or five heads and eight or ten hands.³ A figure of a ten-armed Śiva is found in the Sārnāth Museum.⁴ One form of Śiva (*Mahāsadbhāva*) has even fifty hands.⁵ Taking only the images of Mahābalipuram which belong to the later Pallava period, Anantaśayana has two hands; Varāha four and Trivikrama eight hands; Mahiṣāsura-mardanī has eight and Brahma four. In the sculptures of Ellora Candrasēkhara has four hands and Bhairava eight; Śarabha has eight legs. Viṣṇu, at Kāñchipuram, has eight hands, and as Madanagōpāla ten arms. How is this bewildering variety of iconographic details to be explained?

7. The art of a nation is the mirror of its consciousness, the expression of its beliefs and opinions, hopes and fears, achievements and ideals. It is due to an overflow of æsthetic feeling, of thoughts too definite to be put into

¹ The reference is to *Mēghadūta* (*gōpavēśasya Viṣṇoḥ*).

² *Pāṇḍuraṅgāṣṭakam* of Śaṅkarācārya.

³ H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images*, pp. 84, 148.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Sārnāth Museum*, pl. xviii, p. 165. Hēmadri describes Rudra with five faces and ten hands.

⁵ H. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 148.

words. The atmosphere of religious feeling in India had its efflorescence in spiritual conceptions of supreme significance. It was created by the hoary traditions of the land and shaped by the tendency to idealism natural to this country. These traditions were embodied in the Purāṇas, and the idealistic conceptions crystallized into iconographic masterpieces. But in India the function of art was not differentiated from that of education. Temples and images have always been of the highest educative value, teaching by sights and scenes, as music teaches by sounds. An image has thus two aspects. The mind versed in traditional lore must see in it an expression of the national religious ideals taught by symbolism and circumstance. The masses who come on pilgrimage must be impressed with the expression of the figures, whether *Sātvik*, *Rājasik*, or *Tāmasik*.¹ Provided the artist is true to the traditional description of the god and invests his image with sculptural or structural details suited to the performance of the deeds and functions ascribed to the god, and provided his handiwork inspires religious feeling in the spectator, the artist can embroider his own fancies across the fabric of the representation. It is along these lines, therefore, that we should proceed to distinguish between the details essential to the conception of an image and the details non-essential, but also pertaining to its iconography.

8. The views set forth in the foregoing may now be summed up:—

(1) Vedic evidence does not enable us to decide definitely whether gods were iconographically represented in the earlier Vedic age. There is clear evidence of the use of images from the latest Vedic age.

¹ The number of hands in a *Sātvik* image should never be more than four, and in a *Tāmasik* image never less than eight. *Rājasik* images have six or eight arms (*Śilpa-saṅgraha*). The distinction is illustrated by the images of Natarāja in H. K. Sastri's book (op. cit.), pp. 77-88.

(2) Gods with four hands are referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ and the *Bhagavad-gītā*. They appear on coins from the first century A.C. Gods with eight or twelve arms can be traced in literature as far back as about 200 A.C. They can be traced in existing images as far back as the sixth century A.C.

(3) The purpose of iconographic representation was to impress the beholder with the superhuman forms and deeds of divinities as described in traditional accounts.²

(4) Iconographical details should be explained on the three principles of *symbolism* common to all Indian art, *adaptation* of structural details to the functions of the god or goddess represented, and the pre-requisite conditions of the artistic *effect* and religious sentiment which the image is calculated to engender.

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November 12, 1917.

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

I propose here to examine the points in the preceding rejoinder that seem to me to require discussion.

1. As one who has studied such matters critically for many years I am prepared not only to assert decisively that none of the passages of the RV. quoted above contain any explicit reference to images of gods, but to prove that it is only by forced interpretations that even obscure allusions to such images could be discovered in them. Such proof would, however, take up much more space than could be allowed here. I may, however, remark that no weight can be attached to the translations of Wilson and Ballantyne, which are worthless in such passages because, though they were first-rate classical Sanskrit scholars, they

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa* i, 15. 16.

² Whether in the Veda, as in the case of Rudra and Agni; or in the Purāṇas, as in the case of Gaṇeśa and other gods; or in the Āgamas, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta.

neither did, nor could at the time when they wrote, possess the philological equipment necessary to furnish critical renderings of obscure Vedic verses.

2. Judging by the remarks that he makes, I think Professor Veṅkateśvara cannot have made a study of Vedic mythology. The individuality of a god of the *Rigveda* depends—a point which I have emphasized throughout my *Vedic Mythology*—on the attributes exclusively or predominantly applied to him, and not at all on the attributes applicable to the gods in general. How, for instance, could a term so vague in itself as *darśata*, “worthy to look upon,” “handsome,” be used to differentiate Vāyu (JRAS. 1917, p. 588), when it is applied to five other deities oftener than to him? And how could such an epithet as “handsome” be utilized in producing an image by which Vāyu was meant to be distinguished from other gods? I am still unable to understand how the Aśvins’ epithet *nāsatya*, even if Yāska’s absurd etymology of “nose-born” were accepted, could suggest to the mind of an artist any physical appearance capable of representation in stone. Nor can I see how “the obscurity in the meaning of the word is cleared up by taking *nāsatya* in the same way as *satya* and *nitya*”. Does this mean that the word is formed from *nāsa* with the same suffix as those adjectives? But the latter are not derived with the same suffix: their analysis is *sat-ya* and *ni-tya*.

3. We must be on our guard against relying for definite chronological evidence on conjectural literary dates like those of the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, more especially as proving the existence of a particular word at a given time in the early centuries of our era. The texts of the epics even now, owing to their many recensions, lack fixity of readings.¹ In the *Bhagavad-gītā* the word *catur-bhuja*, “four-armed,” occurs only once

¹ See my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 282 and 303, to which I could add a good deal more regarding the variations of the text of the

(xi, 46), and is, curiously enough, rather a good example of a doubtful reading. Arjuna, who has just seen Kṛṣṇa in his glorified form, here calls upon him to resume his "four-armed form", which means his "human" form, as it is called immediately after (verse 61). Now a "four-armed" form is certainly not a human form. There is therefore something wrong about the reading *catur-bhuja* here. Of the *Rāmāyaṇa* we know that the first book was a later addition dating from the time when the epic was Vishnuized. When, therefore, the word *catur-bhuja*, "four-armed," is quoted as occurring in that book, we can only say that it was introduced into the poem at a late period, though how late exactly we do not know. Chronological uncertainty is still greater in regard to the text of the Purāṇas; and the approximate date, in its extant form, of the *Arthaśāstra* itself, which refers to Purāṇas, is subject to considerable doubt.¹ We may be sure, however, in a general way, that all the Purāṇas in their present form date from three or more centuries after the beginning of our era.² To them many-armed images of the gods were well known. But when, with reference to the four mythical ages of the world, they make the statement that Gaṇeśa in the Kali, or present, age had two arms, in the Dvāpara four, in the Tretā six, in the Kṛta eight,³ such a fanciful observation cannot possibly be taken to mean that the composers of the Purāṇas intended to say that figures of that deity originally had eight arms which in their time had been reduced to two. For Gaṇeśa, as

epics; but this is not the place to do so. The text of even the *Bhagavad-gītā* is not fully guaranteed till the ninth century A.C. by the commentary of Śaṅkara.

¹ Cf. Keith, JRAS. 1916, pp. 130-7; Jolly, ZDMG. lxxviii, 355-9.

² *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 299-302.

³ Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 161, where the *Kāśyapa-silpa* is quoted as describing the Chaṇḍeśa form of Śiva as having sixteen arms in the Kṛta, eight in the Tretā, four in the Dvāpara age, while he has only two in the Kali (p. 163).

known to them, must have been typically four-armed, as he has been ever since,¹ and being a comparatively late figure, he was probably never actually represented as two-armed. Such a statement is simply an instance of the well-known practice, in employing numbers connected with earlier cosmic ages, of increasing them symmetrically in order to emphasize the relatively greater importance of each respectively antecedent period.²

4. The mention of a probable instance of an Indra image at Sārnāth which, without being seated on an elephant, holds a *vajra* or thunderbolt, is interesting. But it is a pity Professor Venkateśvara gives no detailed and definite description of it, as we might then be able to ascertain that it is a Hindu Indra and not a Buddhist figure. For Vedic scholars at least it is unnecessary to state that "Indra's thunderbolt—and not the elephant—is mentioned in some of the earliest Vedic hymns". As I remark in my *Vedic Mythology* (p. 55) with reference to the *Rigveda*, "the thunderbolt (*vajra*) is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra." Not only is the epithet *vajrin*, "holder of the bolt," applied to him alone about eighty times, but other derivatives and compounds of *vajra* about fifty times as well. On the other hand, it is well known that the elephant is a post-Vedic *rāhana* or "vehicle" of Indra, being characteristic of him in that period, while the Vedic³ *vajra* fell into disuse as distinctive of him by itself, probably because of the confusion caused by its use in Buddhist sculpture.

¹ Cf. op. cit., p. 165.

² Thus the Purāṇas state that Dharma had four legs for its support in the Kṛta age, three in the Tretā, two in the Dvāpara, and has only one in the Kali age. Again, they say that the Kṛta age lasts 1,440,000 human years, the Tretā 1,080,000 years, the Dvāpara 720,000, and the Kali 360,000.

³ The *Śilpasātra* does not even mention the *vajra* among his weapons or symbols, see Krishna Sastri, p. 241; but it is referred to in Hēmādri, *ibid.*

When Professor Venkaṭeśvara said that Sūrya's seven steeds are not found in the images,¹ he was evidently misled by their general absence in South India.² This shows how important it is to include the whole of India when generalizing on iconographic features.

The four-armed figure of Sūrya at Sārnāth is evidently exceptional, for it is accompanied by only three steeds instead of seven. The four-armed bronze of Sūrya is no doubt, quite a modern figure, in which this particular variation is probably due to the general absence of the characteristic steeds in South India. In dealing with the vast development of modifications and variations in modern Indian iconography, it is hardly possible to make any statement of universal application: we can seldom go beyond asserting what is typical and characteristic.

When it is said in a single verse of the RV. that Agni has two heads and three feet³ this description is quite abnormal, whereas it is characteristic of him to be "three-headed" (*trimūrdhan*) in a figurative sense as burning on three altars,⁴ while he never has the epithet "two-headed".⁵ Such a variation is not surprising in an obscure and mystical hymn like iv, 58.

In what is said about the four-armed and two-armed images of Viṣṇu recumbent on the serpent Śeṣa, I can see nothing to invalidate my general statement⁶ that a genetically earlier form may be chronologically subsequent to a later development, because an anterior type often persists beside a posterior one. Archæological evidence proves that four arms are later than two, and six, eight,

¹ JRAS. 1917, p. 588.

² Even here they are not entirely absent; see Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 238.

³ These abnormal features are actually represented in a South Indian image; see Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 244.

⁴ See *Vedic Mythology*, p. 93.

⁵ Though he is often called *dvi-janman*, "having two births," with reference to his origin in heaven and earth.

⁶ JRAS. 1917, p. 598, 5.

etc., are later than four. But even at the present day some images of gods are made with two arms.

The date c. 200 A.C. assigned to the Tamil romance *Śilappadhikaram*, in which the twelve hands of Skanda are referred to, seems to be valueless because in the companion romance mention is made of the Gurjjaras, who do not seem to have entered India before the middle of the fifth century. Again, Professor Julien Vinson ascribes the early period of Tamil literature to between the ninth and twelfth centuries A.C.¹ That goddesses who have only two arms when beside their spouses sometimes also appear with two only when represented alone, is doubtless due to the artist regarding them as sufficiently individualized to dispense with additional arms holding their symbols. But the omission may result in doubt. Thus one such two-armed figure is described as representing Pārvatī in Mr. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India* (p. 254), while a quite similar figure is labelled Lakṣmī in the Musée Guimet.

The only form of the Goddess Lakṣmī represented in the oldest sculptures is that in which she appears seated between two elephants that are pouring water over her (*Gaja-lakṣmī*). This goddess next appears on the Gupta coins² with the elephants left out. But that this figure was regarded as derived from the elephant group may be concluded from the fact that the elephants reappear on a coin of the seventh century.³ No special evidence is required for the conclusion that the eight modern forms of Lakṣmī⁴ are all descended from this original beyond the reasonable inference that the many differentiated forms in which a common type appears, though the details vary, are all derived from the single oldest form of that type.

¹ *Malabar Quarterly*, March, 1904.

² JRAS. 1917, p. 597.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 187.

The same remark applies to the various iconographic forms of Brahmā, to the sixteen or twenty-five of Śiva,¹ or the thirty-two of Gaṇeśa.² All these modern divergences are the result of the tendency to develop in the course of ages a number of different forms of a single original type. They are only another illustration of the evolution which, in the sphere of nature, has produced the innumerable species of plants and animals from single early types, and in the sphere of man the immense multiplicity of dialects from one language, of sects from one religion, and, in India, of castes and sub-castes from the four original Vedic classes.

5. I cannot see how these remarks disprove my theory that the two additional hands were introduced for the purpose of holding the weapons or symbols by which the deity might be recognized. In early times, when gods first began to be represented in a simple passive attitude, and were conceived as having but very few distinctive weapons, two arms were sufficient. Thus a two-armed Śiva could be made recognizable by a trident in one hand alone, or by two different weapons, one in each hand. But when the artist wished to go further and to represent the god performing some action with both hands, the necessity of introducing the symbols of identity would have to be met in some other way. To the early Hindu artist, to whom the conception of a plurality of arms as well as of heads (attributed to certain gods in the *Rigveda* occasionally in a figurative sense) was not unknown, the expedient could easily suggest itself of adding another pair of arms for the purpose of holding the symbols. When the possession of four arms was once recognized as a divine characteristic, much variety would easily arise in the use of the hands: either all of them

¹ Op. cit., pp. 76 (footnote 1) and 89. Some Āgamas refer to 108 dancing forms of Śiva alone; see op. cit., p. 88.

² Op. cit., p. 173.

might be occupied with symbols, or only the two additional ones, or these as well as one of natural (lower) ones. But if gestures or actions were to be expressed it was always the natural (lower) hands that did so, while the additional (upper)* hands held up the symbols, generally in a quite obtrusive manner.¹ This restricted use of the natural hands in my opinion strongly confirms my explanation of the additional arms. It has persisted as typical from the earliest times down to the present day. The plurality of arms, when the start had once been made with four, pretty rapidly increased, in accordance with the tendency I have already alluded to, till it reached sixteen or twenty, and, if we include literary references,² even thirty-two and fifty, a number which, however, probably no image-maker has actually attained. The original type of two arms persisted beside the later many-armed forms, and has in some cases survived even to the present day. Hence, though the general order of development from two arms to four, and then to six, eight, etc., can be established by evidence from the earliest period, at a later time the number of arms affords little or no chronological argument, because earlier forms persist beside later ones and are not ousted by them. For instance, a particular image with two arms may have been produced at a later date than one with four, or one with four later than one with eight; but the two-armed type is older than the four-armed, and the four-armed than the eight-armed.

The number of symbols belonging to a god would tend to increase in course of time and would in turn conduce to raise the number of arms required to hold them. Thus,

¹ Besides Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes* and Gopinātha Rao's *Elements*, I may here further refer to H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, which is full of illustrations of this point, e.g., pp. 16, 18, 19, 26, 27, 54, 80, 87, 98, 109, 117, 119, 134, 139, 146, 150, 157, 164, 179, 200, 242.

² *Skanda Purāṇa*, quoted by Krishna Sastri, p. 77; cf. p. 151.

no fewer than ten weapons and symbols are attributed to the Mahāgaṇapati form of Gaṇeśa; and this list, as Krishna Sastri says, "indicates that the god must have ten hands."¹

6. As regards the bewildering variety of iconographic detail which Professor Venkateśvara enumerates and is doubtful how to explain, it is doubtless due to the evolutionary multiplication, in modern times and especially in South India, of forms of what were originally single gods, and to the consequent necessity of differentiating these forms by modifications and additions of distinctive features. Thus, all the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu, the twenty-five of Śiva, and the thirty-two of Gaṇeśa have to be distinguished. All the mass of modern detail involved in this process can throw little or no light on the early modifications of the original god, except in so far as they may help to extract the typical form from the later developments; and certain features, such as the use of the natural hands, may prove to be persistent survivals from the earliest times.

7. I am unable to follow Professor Venkateśvara in attributing to the Hindu² artist of nearly 2,000 years ago the symbolic conceptions that have grown up in South India during the present century. That artist was confronted with the definite concrete problem of expressing in metal³ and stone the forms of anthropomorphic gods as differentiated by symbols from men and from one another.

8. My conclusions as compared with Professor Venkateśvara's are the following:—

¹ Op. cit., p. 173.

² The Buddhist artist, his predecessor or contemporary, represented the gods in purely human shape, as exemplified by Lakṣmī at Sāncī (second century B.C.), and Indra in the Gandhāra sculptures of the north-west (first century A.C.).

³ I do not understand what is meant by saying that "the art of a nation . . . is due to an overflow . . . of thoughts too definite to be put into words".

(1) There is no evidence to show that the gods were iconographically represented in the earliest Vedic age; but there is clear evidence of the use of images from the latest Vedic age onwards.

(2) Gods begin to be represented on coins from the first century A.C. onwards, the earliest being two-armed and soon after four-armed. Eight-armed and twelve-armed images of gods can be dated as far back as the sixth century A.C. The date of the earliest literary mention of gods with four, eight, or twelve arms is uncertain.

(3) The intention of the ancient Hindu artist was to represent the gods in concrete form in accordance with the account of their appearance given in religious tradition. In the earliest extant specimens, both Buddhist and Hindu, the gods are represented in purely human shape, with two arms and one head. In the first century two more arms were added for the purpose of holding weapons or symbols of identification when the natural hands were occupied with action or gesture.

(4) When the possession of four arms had become established as a divine characteristic, the number of arms was increased in accordance with a natural tendency of development, and the various forms of the same god that were gradually evolved were differentiated by the re-arrangement, omission, or addition of details. The origin and evolution of characteristic features in iconography should be studied historically, mainly on the basis of concrete evidence, while the employment of *a priori* arguments should be avoided as much as possible.

A. A. MACDONELL.

[This discussion must now be closed.—ED.]

PORTRAITS OF AKBAR, RAJA MAN SINGH, AND OTHERS

I wish to put on record my view that the portrait of Akbar as a boy, reproduced as the frontispiece to Mr. Vincent Smith's admirable monograph on Akbar, cannot possibly be so early a work as is suggested. The evidence of style is far more weighty than that of an inscription which may have been added at any time; and the style in this case is that of the reign of Shāh Jahān or possibly late Jahāngīr.

The portrait of Rājā Mān Singh in the same volume also appears to be of doubtful authenticity. That is to say, it does not correspond at all to the convincing portrait in British Museum MS. Add. 18801 (reproduced in *Orientalische Archiv*, vol. iii, pl. iii, fig. 12, 1912-13), where the Rājā is shown leaning upon his long crutch staff, no doubt the very one which is still preserved at Jaipur (T. H. Hendley, *Jeypore Enamels*, 1886, p. 5). Very similar to this British Museum portrait is that of the Goloubew Collection, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (reproduced in the Bulletin of the Museum No. 93, 1918).

The name of the *vīṇā* player whose portrait is reproduced on pl. ix of Fox-Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan*, should be read as Naubāt Khān Kalāwant. This is the 'Alī Khān Kaṛorī, the musician of Jahāngīr's court who is referred to in the *Memoirs* (trans. Rogers and Beveridge, i, p. 111) as "one of my father's old servants", *dārogha* of the Naqārakhāna, and as receiving the title of Naubat Khān and the rank of 500 personal and 200 horse. This painting is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Museum possesses a number of other Mughal portraits, from the Goloubew and Coomaraswamy Collections; and amongst those which are most authentic and technically most admirable there are represented—

Jahāngīr: two excellent small heads, one reproduced in

Orientalische Archiv, loc. cit., fig. 8; Bulletin of the Museum No. 93; and Handbook of the Museum.

Malik 'Ambar: the Abyssinian Mārāthā Peshwā; reproduced in *Orientalische Archiv*, loc. cit., fig. 11; Bulletin of the Museum No. 93; and Handbook of the Museum.'

Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia, with Khān 'Ālam (Jahāngīr's ambassador): signed by the painter Bishndās (evidently a Hindu, Viṣṇu Dās), who is mentioned with high commendation in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*. This is reproduced in Schulz, *Die persische-islamische Miniaturenmalerei*, pl. clxxix, and in the Bulletin of the Museum No. 93.

Dārā Shikoh.

Sulaimān Shikoh.

Bahādur Shāh.

Khān Daurān Khān, Kamru-d-dīn Khān, and Muzafar Khān: the three together in one drawing. The second of these was appointed Vazīr in the seventh year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, i.e. in 1726, and was killed in 1748. His full name is Kamru-d-dīn Khān Nusrat Jang Vazīru-l-Mamālik Zafar Jang, otherwise I'timādu-d-Daulah Bahādur Nusrat Jang.

Muḥammad Shāh: riding in a garden.

Shāh 'Ālam II: Sultān al 'Ādil 'Alī-Guhar (1759-1806).

Nawāb Shujā' al-Mulk Ḥusām al-Daulah Muḥammad 'Alī Virdī Khān Bahādur Mahābat Jang: the name is transcribed from the superscription on the picture. "Aliwardī Khān" was governor of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and had his seat at Murshidābād: he died in 1756 A.D. at the age of 80. The picture is an equestrian portrait on a gold ground and one of the finest Mughal works known of such a late date as the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The picture is reproduced in G. Migeon, *Exposition des Arts Musulmans*, Paris, 1903, and assigned to the fifteenth century! Quite apart from the superscription, the picture, although unusually good, is most obviously an eighteenth century production.

Two other pictures may be referred to, both representing Akbar in Darbar, and in the Museum of Fine Arts Collections. The first is the well-known Darbar of Akbar, from the Goloubew Collection, which has been frequently reproduced (Sarre und Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der Muhammadanischer Kunst in München*, 1912, pl. xxxviii; Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, 1912, pl. ccxvi; Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, 1913, pl. ccxxxiv, with key plate, largely incorrect; in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, v, 19, 1908, pl. clxv; *Les arts*, January, 1914; and Schulz, *Die persische-islamische Miniaturenmalerei*, pl. xciii). Only in the two last instances is the emperor correctly designated as Akbar; in all other cases he is described as Jahāngīr. The prince to the right, however, is obviously Prince Salīm. The two boy princes whose names are inscribed as Sultān Bulāqī and Sultān Shujā' are the grandsons of Jahāngīr. From this fact, and from the fact that most of the officers represented and designated by inscription are well-known officers of Jahāngīr's court, it may be deduced that the date of the painting must fall between 1620 and 1626. Amongst the courtiers represented may be mentioned, using the numbering of Marteau and Vever's key plan: 6, Khwās Khān. 9, Itibār Khān (governor of Agra). 15, Mahābat Khān (Jahāngīr's generalissimo, who became a rebel in 1626). 20, Mirzā Ja'afar. 31, Pādri (a Jesuit father, perhaps the Père d'Acosta. "Pādri" is not, of course, a name). 33, Tashrif Khān. 34, Rājā Kishn Dās (accountant of the elephant department). 39, Bairām Khān (doubtful—certainly not Akbar's tutor). 45, Sharif Khān (Amīru-l-umārā, died 1612). 46, Shauqī (*sitar*—not "mandolin"—player), who sang Hindi and Persian songs "in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts", and received the title of Ānand Khān). 51, Nuru-d-Dīn Qulī (Kotvāl). 53, Khwāja Jahān (Dust Muḥammad

Khān, son of Abdū-ṣ-samad, "one of the old servants from the time when I was a prince"; died early in 1620). Zafar Khān (died 1622). 58, Itiqād Khān (? which of the two courtiers of that name). 59, Khawāja Abū-l-Ḥasan (*bakhshīkul*, not the painter of the same name). 62, Khānazād Khān (Amānu-llah, son of Mahābat Khān).

In Mughal dynastic paintings there is nothing unusual in the anachronisms presented in such a work as this: The well-known large painting on cotton (of which a contemporary tracing showing Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān seated together is reproduced in *Orientalische Archiv*, loc. cit., fig. 3, and in *Indian Drawings*, ii, pl. xxv) affords a good example. It is very probable that Jahāngīr had painted for himself a series of court scenes in which he appeared as a prominent figure.

Only a portion of the signature remains, viz. *Amal kamtirīn Khānazādān*, signifying, as correctly stated by Marteau and Vever, "The work of the humble servants of the palace." We know, however, that khānazād was a title or designation applicable to painters, for Jahāngīr mentions one of especial merit, by the name of Abū-l-Ḥasan and title of Nādiru-z-Zamān, as being "a khānazād of my court". He states that this painter painted a picture of the accession of Jahāngīr, which was one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of this age. It may be regarded, therefore, at least as very probable, that one of the khānazāds who collaborated in the present production was Abū-l-Ḥasan, Nādiru-z-Zamān.

Another court scene is a drawing similar in composition but differing in detail. Akbar is seated in the balcony bending forward to embrace Prince Salīm, who kneels before him. Behind the prince there stands an attendant holding a sword. It is evident that this represents the reconciliation of the prince with his father, which took place between 1602 and 1605; and on this occasion Akbar girded his son with the sword of his own father

Humāyūn (van den Broecke, quoted by Vincent Smith, *Students' History of India*, 6th ed., p. 179).

In style this drawing closely resembles the Darbar scene of India Office Johnston Album 4, reproduced in *Indian Drawings*, i. pl. ii. The latter work bears an inscription to the effect "Likeness of the Diwān-i-Khwās in Akbarābād and pictures of Jahāngīr Pādshāh on the occasion of Shāh Jahān's departure on a journey to Balkh", and is signed by Rājā Manohar Singh. This must refer to an earlier expedition than that which took place in 1647; but I do not know whether Shāh Jahān was ever so styled before his accession, or whether he ever went to Balkh in person. In any case, however, it would appear that Rājā Manohar Singh was another accomplished painter of Darbar scenes. If he was working in the time of Jahāngīr we can well imagine that he may have collaborated with Abū-l-Ḥasan.

Apart from this it is interesting to note that the *mise en scène*, which is the same in all three of the pictures last described, is said to be the Diwān-i-Khwās in Akbarābād. It is obvious, however, that the Hall of Private Audience represented in each case is that of Delhi, and not of Fathpur-Sikrī; for this is not the well-known hall with the throne supported on a single column, nor did Jahāngīr ever hold his court at Fathpur-Sikrī.

There is one other picture to which I should like to call attention here. This is the frontispiece to D. C. Sen's invaluable book on the *History of Bengali Language and Literature* (Calcutta, 1911). It represents Caitanya, and is said to have been painted between 1512 and 1533 A.D. by order of Rājā Pratapa Rudra of Puri. It is, however, a very evidently quite modern production.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

SATIYAPUTRA IN THE SECOND ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA

Scholars are not agreed as to the identification of *Satiyaputra* in the second Rock Edict of Aśoka. Dr. Bühler,¹ who edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, identified it with the kingdom of the Satvats. Mr. V. A. Smith² identified it with the Tuḷuva country on the west coast. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar³ would locate the kingdom in the Poona district, where a number of families bear the name *Sātpute*. Mr. Smith⁴ now seems inclined to identify *Satiyaputra* with Satyamangalam in the Western Ghats.

The term occurs as follows in the various versions of the second Rock Edict :—

1. Gīrnār : Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Taṃbapaṃṇī.
2. Shālbāzgarhi : Choḍa Paṃḍiya Satiyaputra Kerala-putra Taṃbapaṃṇī.
3. Mānsēhra : [Choḍa] Pa[ṃ]ḍiya Satiya[putr] Kerala-putr[e] . . . bapaṃṇī.
4. Kālsī : Choḍā Paṃ[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo Taṃbapaṃṇī.

It is clear that the correct form of the name is *Satyaputra*, and that it must refer to some territory or people in South India. We may compare the date of the Aśoka edict with those found in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.⁵ Patañjali is generally admitted to belong to *circa* 150 B.C., less than a century after Aśoka. He mentions not only Pāṇḍya, Chola, and Chera dominions, but also Kāñchipura. *Satyaputra* is conspicuous by omission, as Kāñchipura is in the Aśoka edict. One may reasonably be inclined to ask if the one name could not be identified with the other.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 466.

² *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., p. 402 ; 3rd ed., p. 163.

³ *Indian Review* for 1909.

⁴ *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 185, note.

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, iv, 2, 2nd Āṇhika ; iv, 1, 4th Āṇhika.

On the Buddhist side also we seem to have some evidence of Kāñchī having been a flourishing city in Aśoka's time. Yuan Chwang¹ terms the country round Kāñchī "the Drāviḍa country," as distinct from the Chōla. He mentions traditions current in his day to the effect that Aśoka built *stūpas* there, one of them 100 feet high, and that the city was the birthplace of the Bodhi-sattva Dharmapāla. Even to-day we find unmistakable evidence of ancient Bauddha vestiges at Kāñchī.²

There is strong evidence to show that the country round Kāñchīpura was known as the *Satyavrata* country. Even to-day the Brahmans of Kāñchī use the expression *Satyavrata-kshetra* in their religious rites. In a copper-plate grant³ of the seventeenth century Kāñchīpura is described as *Satyavrata - nāmānkita - Kāñchī - divya - kshetra*. Earlier still, the expression is used, in his *Guruparamparā*, by Pinbalagiya Perumāḷ Jiyar, a contemporary of Nam-pillai, a disciple of Vaḍakkuttiruvīdipillai, who was a *praśishya* of the great Rāmānujāchārya, the founder of Śrī-Vaishnavism. The statement of Yuan Chwang that the country round Kāñchī was the Draviḍa may be taken along with the tradition embodied in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa to the effect that Satyavrata, the Manu, was the lord of Draviḍa.⁴ It would thus appear that the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Keralaputra, and Satiyaputra of the Aśoka Rock Edict correspond respectively to the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Kerala, and (the) Kāñchīpura (country) of Patanjali, and the Satiyaputras were people having Kāñchīpura for their capital.

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January 10, 1918.

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, pp. 229, 230.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xlv, p. 127.

³ The Melupāka grant of Mahādevendra Sarasvati, Śaka 1608, which is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.* by my brother, Mr. S. V. Viswanathan.

⁴ viii, 24, 58.

NEW LIGHT ON ANCIENT INDIA

All students who have gone closely into the perplexing historical problems of pre-Maurya India have been obliged to consider the inscription of King Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā cave, Orissa, which has been known in a fashion since 1825. But the defective character of the text hitherto available made it impossible to use the record with any confidence. The belief that the inscription is dated in the year 165 of a Maurya era not otherwise recorded was held by all concerned until Messrs. Fleet and Lüders a few years ago denied the existence of any such date. Pending the determination of that question the inscription remained useless to the historian. I felt the need of an authoritative text so keenly that in March, 1917, I wrote to Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, the learned Patna scholar, begging them to try to obtain a trustworthy text. Both gentlemen, who were already interested in the document, responded eagerly to my appeal, and enlisted the powerful aid of Sir Edward Gait, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, and of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology. A properly equipped expedition was organized, with the result that in June, 1917, Mr. Banerji was able to bring back two inked impressions, which are the best mechanical facsimiles now obtainable. No improvement in the text can be looked for. Scholars must make the best of the facsimiles, which have been reproduced on the scale of one-fifth, and are absolutely trustworthy so far as the condition of the rock admits. The first four lines are substantially perfect and fully legible. The fifth line is nearly complete. The last two lines, 16 and 17, which include the disputed date, are tolerably well preserved. The intermediate lines, 6-15, are much defaced and in many places illegible. The interpretation of nearly the whole of the legible passages has been settled by the two

scholars named in general agreement. Differences of opinion concern minor points only. The crucial question of date has been determined finally, and all the principal facts stated in and the inferences deducible from the inscription are placed beyond reasonable doubt.

The distinction of publishing an authoritative and almost final edition of the Khāravela document has been secured by the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. iii (December, 1917), pp. 425-507.¹ That Society having been founded only in 1915, and its publications being still little known in Europe, I have been asked to contribute to the pages of this Journal a brief note indicating the significance of the main historical results clearly deducible from the new edition of Khāravela's record. Many minor matters of considerable interest arise which I pass over. This informal note is restricted to the announcement, without discussion, of the more weighty results which appear to me to be established.

The inscription is a record of the royal doings in peace and war for thirteen years of the reign of King Khāravela of Kalinga or Orissa, who belonged to the third or Cheta dynasty of that kingdom, and was a zealous adherent of the Jain religion. He became Yuvarāja or Crown Prince at the age of 15, and was consecrated as king when he had completed 24 years. The inscription relates his acts year by year in the form of annals, ending in lines 16 and 17 with the date of the making of the inscribed cave, and a panegyric of the king, who is described by titles of a very unusual kind, as Khema-rājā, Vadha-rājā, Bhikhu-rājā, and Dhama-rājā, which are rendered by Mr. Banerji as King of Peace, King of Increase, King of the Mendicants, and King of Law.

¹ The papers include two essays by Mr. Jayaswal, a third by Mr. Banerji, and an interesting note by Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.C.S., on the fortifications at the Barāhar Hills, called Goradhagiri (Goratha-) in the inscription.

Klāravēla was a powerful sovereign who attained an almost imperial position. He carried his victorious arms far westwards, even to Berar, defying the might of Sātakarni, the third Āṇḍhra king. He conducted two successful campaigns in Northern India, in one of which he defeated Bahapati, king of Rājagṛha (also described as king of Magadha), who was forced to retire to Mathurā on the Jumna. Bahapati is identical with Bahasati-mitra of certain coins and short inscriptions, both names being Prakrit variations of the Sanskrit Brhaspati, who was believed to be the regent of the zodiacal asterism (*nakshatra*) named Pushya or Tishya, which forms part of the constellation Cancer or the Crab. Bahapati certainly is an alternative name for Pushya-mitra, the first Śunga king, according to the lists in the Purāṇas.¹ That identification carries with it many consequences, largely extending our knowledge of the Śunga kings and their coinage. Mr. Jayaswal develops the Śunga history with remarkable acuteness in his papers. The fame of Khāravēla spread so far that even the Pāndya king in the remote south sent him complimentary gifts.

The population of Kalinga is stated as 3½ millions (35 lākhs). Knowing, as we do, that the Mauryas and their predecessors maintained a permanent census, there is no reason to distrust the figures.

The inscription gives an interesting list of the subjects taught to a young prince in order to prepare him for the duties of his station. They are enumerated as —

- (1) *Lekha*, official correspondence.
- (2) *Rūpa*, matters connected with the currency.
- (3) *Gaṇanā*, finance and treasury accounts.
- (4) *Vevahāra*, law.

Bühler erroneously supposed the reference to be to the elementary lessons of childhood.

¹ Such alternative names were common, e.g. Bimbisāra-Śrenika, Ajātasatru-Kuniya, Asoka-Piyadasi, etc.

The capital of the kingdom appears to have been Tosali, mentioned in Asoka's edicts. According to Mr. Haraparshad Sastri, Tosali is etymologically identical with Dhauli, the name of the place where a set of the Kalinga edicts exists.

The synchronism with Sātakarni, the third Āndhra king, is of obvious importance.

The Nanda dynasty exercised dominion over Kalinga for a long time. The Jain religion, if not predominant, as it may have been, certainly occupied a position of high honour both in the days of the Nandas and in those of Khāravela. I may mention that I had come independently to the opinion that the Nandas were Jains. The statement contained in an Oṛiya MS. of the sixteenth century, as quoted by Mr. Jayaswal, that the Nandas were orthodox Vedic Hindus, is opposed to all other evidence. But the actual language of the MS. speaks only of "Nanda-rāja", and it is possible that one member of the dynasty may have been an orthodox Hindu.

The inscription of Khāravela is dated in the year 165 of the Maurya era, *Rāja-Muriya Kāle*, equivalent to ± 170 B.C. Muriya Rāja must be interpreted to mean Chandragupta, and the era must have run from his accession or coronation, which may be dated in any year from 326 to 322 B.C.

The significance of the date of the record, c. 170 B.C., is emphasized by the reference in another passage to Nanda Rāja having excavated a canal in Kalinga 300 years earlier, that is to say, ± 470 B.C. The Nanda Rāja referred to appears to be Nandivardhana, the ninth Śaisunāga king of the Purāṇas. It seems to be necessary to treat him and his successor, Mahā-nandin, No. 10, as Nandas, distinct from the Nine Nandas¹ who came between No. 10 and Chandragupta. In the third edition

¹ Mr. Jayaswal interprets *nava-Nandāḥ* as meaning the "new", not the "nine Nandas".

of my *Early History of India* (1914), I placed the accession of Nandivardhana doubtfully about 418 B.C. He must now go back to c. 470 B.C., or possibly to an earlier date. That finding involves putting back Ajātaśatru or Kunika (No. 5, Śaisunāga) to at least c. 554 B.C., and his father Bimbisāra or Śrenika (No. 4) to at least c. 582 B.C. Ample evidence attests the fact that Gautama Buddha was contemporary with both those kings. The Khāravēla record, therefore, as Mr. Banerji points out, supports the old traditional dates for the death of Buddha, 543 B.C., and the death of Mahāvīra, 527 B.C.

The importance of that inference needs no demonstration. I have been so impressed by the new evidence that in my forthcoming book, *The Oxford History of India*, now being printed, I have inserted the earlier dates for the Śaisunāgas and Nandas (p. 70). The discussion which must ensue probably will establish reasonable certainty. Meantime it is desirable that all students of ancient India should be informed of the most important advance in the investigation of the pre-Maurya history which has been effected for many years. The best way for making the new evidence generally known is to publish this announcement in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Whatever may be the final decision concerning the chronological question, it is indubitable that the establishment of the authoritative text of the Khāravēla inscription, so far as it is recoverable, is a material addition to knowledge. VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE TALAINGS

With reference to the review of the above-named book in our January Part, I think it should be made clear that the author of the book, with whom I am personally well acquainted, has not only been living for the last few years in close and constant association with Talaings in Siam, but also previously spent a much longer period in

similar association with the Talaings of the Amherst District, Burma, having been a missionary at Ye for many years prior to his transfer to Siam. He is probably the only European living who has a really intimate personal knowledge of both sets of Talaings.

It would be interesting to know whether the reviewer has any evidence for the statement in the note on p. 127 that king Dhammaceti was a Brahman. He had been in Buddhist orders, of course, which is not quite the same thing, and though there are (and have been for many centuries) in Burma persons styling themselves Brahmans and officially recognized as such, I do not remember coming across any statement in the histories that Dhammaceti belonged to that class. C. O. BLAGDEN.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO ARABIC TRADITION

Second Communication

1. Since the first communication (JRAS. 1916, p. 838 sq.) the following collaborators have joined the work: Dr. V. de Bosis, Rome; Professor J. Horovitz, Frankfort; Professor I. Kratchkowsky, Petrograd; Dr. J. Pedersen, Copenhagen; Dr. A. E. Schmidt, Petrograd.

2. Contributions towards the expenses of preparation have been sent or promised by: the Utrecht Society for Arts and Science; the Royal Institute for the Philology, Ethnography, and Geography of the Dutch Indies; Teyler's Fund; the de Goeje Fund.

3. On Professor Snouck Hurgronje's advice the text of *Bokhārī* according to Kaṣṭallānī's commentary has been divided among the collaborators; it may therefore be hoped that this text will be finished in a few years.

4. Mr. C. van Arendonk and Mr. J. L. Palache at Leiden will join the work probably in the course of this year; other collaborators will be gladly welcomed.

A. J. WENSINCK.

LEIDEN.

June, 1918.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DIE AUF SÜDARABIEN BEZÜGLICHEN ANGABEN NAŠWĀN'S
IM ŠĀMS AL-'ULŪM GESAMMELT, ALPHABETISCH
GEORDNET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN. Von 'AẒĪMUDDĪN
AḤMAD, Ph.D. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series,
Vol. XXIV. Leyden : E. J. Brill, Imprimerie
Orientale ; London : Luzac & Co., 1916.

The Arabic lexicon entitled *Shams al-'Ulūm*, by the South Arabian philologist Nashwān ibn Sa'īd, who lived in the twelfth century of the Christian era, has long been known to European Arabists, but has never been printed either in Europe or in the East. Whether it would be worth while to print it in full may be doubted, for much of what it contains is accessible to us on far older and better authority. But on certain subjects, particularly on matters connected with South Arabia, it supplies a considerable amount of useful information which is not readily found elsewhere, and hence the present publication is fully justified. The editor, a native of Patna (Bengal), was enabled by the liberality of the Government of India to pursue his Oriental studies at Leipzig, where the idea of publishing extracts from the *Shams al-'Ulūm* was suggested to him by Professor August Fischer. For the text the editor made use of several manuscripts, of which the most important is in the Library of the Escorial. The extracts, which occupy 118 pages, are very properly arranged according to the alphabetical order of the verbal roots, whereas in the original work the alphabetical order is not consistently observed. That the Introduction and the Critical notes are written in German is sufficiently explained by the circumstances under which the book was produced.

Owing to the residence of the editor in India, the task of revising the proofs and making the Indices devolved upon the Trustee-in-Charge of the Gibb Memorial Fund, Dr. R. A. Nicholson.

Since the work is not a systematic treatise, but merely a collection of isolated notices, criticism must confine itself to matters of detail. With regard to the manuscript authorities, it may be mentioned that the editor, if we may judge by his Introduction, was unaware of the existence of two manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge, marked Oo. 6.22 and Add. 3091 respectively, which contain large portions of the *Shams al-'Ulūm*—see Professor E. G. Browne's *Hand-list of Muhammadan Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1900), p. 113. Neither of these is dated, and it is possible that they might prove, on investigation, to be copies of some manuscript which the editor has used; if so, we should have no reason to regret his ignorance of them. It is a more serious ground for complaint that he leaves us in the dark as to certain points about which we require precise information. Thus he tells us, on the first page of the Introduction, that some of his extracts have already been published by (the late) Professor D. H. Müller, but he omits to state when and where they appeared. Similarly, in the list of works on pp. xxii and xxiii, he only once condescends to mention a date of publication. This is bad enough in the case of separate books, but it is still worse in the case of articles which have appeared in periodicals, such as Professor Müller's *Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, to which the editor refers without informing us that the treatise in question consists of two papers published in the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), vol. xciv (1879), p. 335 seq., vol. xcvi (1881), p. 955 seq. Moreover, the editor, in his Critical notes (*Bemerkungen*), shows very little power of discriminating between what is important

and what is unimportant. It is, for example, quite unnecessary to refer to the *Lisān al-'Arab* or the *Tāj al-'Arūs* when they merely repeat statements contained in the *Shams al-'Ulūm*. On the other hand, when Nashwān quotes verses from the poets, such as Imru'ū-l-Qais or Ḥassān ibn Thābit, the editor ought to tell us whether or not those verses occur in the published *Dīwāns* of the poets in question, and this he almost invariably omits to do. Many of the verses cited by Nashwān as ancient are undoubtedly spurious. Thus he is very fond of ascribing verses to the half-mythical South Arabian hero As'ad Tubba', otherwise called al-Kāmil or Abū Karib. These verses are obviously fabrications, but it is interesting to observe that some of them, in which As'ad Tubba' is made to foretell the coming of the Prophet (p. 13¹ seq.), appear in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* of Ibn Qutaibah (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 308⁷ seq.), who lived three centuries before the time of Nashwān.

With regard to the verse quoted on p. 3¹⁰

كَأَنَّ هَزِيرَنَا لَمَّا أَتَقَيْنَا هَزِيرُ أَشَاءٍ فِيهَا حَرِيقُ

the editor might have mentioned that it occurs in the *Ḥamāsah* of al-Buḥturī (Leiden MS., p. 76⁷) with the reading أَبَاءٍ "a bed of reeds", instead of أَشَاءٍ "a small palm-tree". The reading of al-Buḥturī is supported by the analogy of a verse in the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad (ed. Wright, p. 414¹⁰)

مَنْ سَرَّهُ ضَرْبُ يُرْعِبُ بَعْضُهُ بَعْضًا كَمَعْمَعَةِ الْأَبَاءِ الْمُحْرِقِ

and of another verse in Ibn Hishām (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 620³)

وَقَدْ عُرِّيَتْ بِبُضْ كَأَنَّ وَمِصْهَا حَرِيقُ تَرْقَى فِي الْأَبَاءِ سَرِيعُ

One more instance of a verse on which some further light might have been thrown occurs on p. 11²

يَحْسِبُ مَنْ حَاوَلَنَا أَنَّنَا حَمِيرٌ مِّنْ صَوْتِ الْوَعَى وَالْبُيُوحِ

Nashwān ascribes the verse to Ṭarafah (see Ahlwardt's *Divans of the Six Poets*, p. ۱۸۴, where it is given in a very corrupt form), and he apparently regards بُيُوح as a plural of بُيْج, which means, according to him, "power and glory." But no such word is known to exist, and it is therefore probable that we should read وَالثُّبُوح; compare the *Dīwān* of al-Akḥṭal (ed. Salhani, 1891), p. 51¹, where الْعَدَدُ الْكَثِيرُ is explained as = الثُّبُوح.

An interesting statement, which the editor has not included among his extracts, though he might well have done so, is found in the Cambridge MS., Add. 3091, fol. 107b, line 13—الْجُرُوبُ مِنَ الْحَجَارَةِ الْمَقْطُوعَةِ, i.e. *jurūb*, when applied to stones, means "those which are hewn": see Nöldeke's translation of at-Ṭabarī (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber* u.s.w.), p. 193, note 4, and Mordtmann and Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 92.

The proof-sheets having been revised by Dr. Nicholson, it is no wonder that the Arabic text is very accurately printed; among the few mistakes which occur are بَدَنَّةٌ (p. 6⁴) for بَدَنِيَّةٌ, كَيْلَقَيْسٌ (p. 8⁷) for كَيْلَقَيْسِ, تُسْتَمَى (p. 17¹⁵) for تُسَمَّى, الصَّقْرُ (p. 18⁴) for الصَّقْرُ, نُسَمَّى.

It is unfortunate that at the beginning of the Introduction the editor has repeated the statement of Brockelmann (who is rich in misprints) that Nashwān died in the year 573/1117. A moment's reflection suffices to show that 1117 is a mistake for 1177.

An Index of the verses, arranged according to rhyme and metre, would greatly have increased the value of the book.

A. A. BEVAN.

NEW ARABIC BOOKS

THE TAJARIB AL-UMAM, OR HISTORY OF IBN MISKAWAYH.

Reproduced in facsimile from the manuscript at Constantinople by LEONE CAETANI, Principe di Teano.
Vol. VI. Gibb Trust, 1917.

Few literary trusts can have as splendid a record of work as that founded in memory of E. J. W. Gibb. Of the long row of volumes which the Trustees have issued during the comparatively few years of the existence of the Trust the greater number are now indispensable to Islamic students; some of them, such as Dr. Nicholson's translation of the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, ought to appeal to a wide public; and not a few—Mr. Guest's *Kindi* may be taken as an example—have distinctly raised the reputation of English scholarship. The policy of the Trustees in issuing facsimiles in lieu of editions in certain cases has been criticized in France and Egypt, but (as it seems to the present writer) unreasonably: such raw materials as facsimiles of important works, not easily accessible, are extremely valuable to rescarchers: and even when scholarly editions of the same works are published, the facsimile of a MS. is by no means useless, since an edition (especially of a text in the Arabic character) cannot fail to embody the views of the editor, and so cannot be entirely objective. In the case of the Greek and Latin classics it has probably never occurred to anyone that the facsimiles issued by the Hellenic Society and other bodies could interfere with the printed editions.

Miskawaihi — this name appears to belong to the author rather than to his father—was a pupil of the historian Ṭabari, and the material of which this volume consists, covering the years 326-69 A.H., was largely derived from the chief actors in the dramas described. The author states this expressly for the period from 340 onwards, but it is true to a great extent for the earlier

period also. His favourite authorities were Muhallabi, vizier of Mu'izz al-daulah, and Abu'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amid, vizier of Rukn al-daulah. Miskawaihi was in the service of the former (he does not say in what capacity), and was librarian to the latter, himself a man of gréat learning. After Abu'l-Faḍl's death he was in the service of his son, Abu'l-Fath, also vizier to Rukn al-daulah; he took part in the expedition conducted by Abu'l-Fath and 'Aḍud al-daulah for the restoration of Bakhtiyar to the Emirate of 'Iraq, and afterwards entered the service of 'Aḍud al-daulah, with whose death his history closes. These three employers are the only persons for whom he displays real admiration: in the case of Abu'l-Faḍl it is whole-hearted, and rises to enthusiasm; in that of Muhallabi the historian is conscious of certain weaknesses; in that of 'Aḍud al-daulah, admiration for this warrior and administrator does not blind him to the prince's treachery and ambition. These are *rari nantes in gurgite vasto* of knaves; among whom the blackest appear to be Abu 'Abdallah Baridi and Ibn Baqiyyah; the former atones for some of his criminality by his astounding cleverness, a quality by no means lacking in the latter, yet not sufficient to win him any admiration. Besides these there is a whole gallery of portraits carefully and skilfully drawn.

The continuator of Miskawaihi, Abu Shuja', declares that Miskawaihi took much of his matter word for word from the famous Secretary of State, Ibrahim the Ṣabian, whose *Letters* throw light on several of the events described, but whose history of the Buwaihids called the *Taji* seems to be lost. Some of the passages quoted from it by other authors seem to confirm Abu Shuja's statement. What surprises the reader is that though Miskawaihi was in the service of Buwaihid princes and their ministers he has little to say in favour of any member of the family except 'Aḍud al-daulah, of whom

his praise is, as has been seen, tempered. The portrait of Mu'izz al-daulah shows few features that are not ugly, and some that are hideous; the ablest member of the family, and the founder of its fortunes, 'Imad al-daulah, is represented as thoroughly unscrupulous and treacherous; a little, but by no means much, is said in praise of Rukn al-daulah, 'Adud al-daulah's father; and Bakhtiyar, who succeeded Mu'izz al-daulah, is made out to be on the whole the most incompetent and contemptible figure who appears on the stage—unless it be the Caliph Muqtadir, to whose moral and intellectual incapacity Miskawaihi attributes the collapse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

Miskawaihi is probably the ablest of the Arabic historians, as indeed his rigid impartiality towards the dynasty whom he served indicates. He had that amount of experience in affairs of state which could help him to understand the working of the machine and brought him into contact with the persons whose actions constituted the history of the time. In religious matters he was absolutely free from fanaticism, and very rarely makes any statement which could only come from Moslem lips. He takes some pleasure in recording the Byzantine defeats of Saif al-daulah, whom he regards as a most incompetent general.

The world knows nothing of its greatest men, and one would look in vain in the pages of Miskawaihi for the names of those contemporaries of his who have attained most permanent distinction. There is no reference to Mutanabbi, encomiast of 'Adud al-daulah and of Abu'l-Faḍl, the greatest of all Arabic poets; none to Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari, whose influence in the development of Islamic theology was vast; little to the popularity of research in Baghdad, of which we hear so much elsewhere. These omissions are more easily intelligible to us now than they were four years ago. From the excitement of a mortal struggle few of the years wherein he

composed his history can have been free. Experience has shown us that little except actual warfare and its results attracts attention at such times.

D. S. M.

DIWAN OF IBN AL-RŪMĪ. Edited with commentary by
 SHAIKH MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF SALIM. Vol. I. Cairo :
 Hilal Press. 1917.

‘Ali b. ‘Abbas, ordinarily known as Ibn al-Rūmī, 221 to 284 A.H., is one of the most frequently cited poets of the third Islamic century. An edition of his poems was commenced by the very learned head of the Ṣufi Orders in Cairo, the Sayyid Muḥammad al-Bakri, in 1900; for some reason it did not proceed beyond the odes rhyming in the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, and was never put on the market. The new edition, of which the part that has appeared goes no further than rhymes of the first two letters, has for its patron Hishmet Pasha, once Minister of Education in Egypt; it is fully vocalized, and has been furnished with ample glosses by Muḥammad Sharif Salim, an Inspector in the same ministry. An edition of this poet’s works is very welcome to Arabic scholars, and the Shaikh’s work deserves high commendation. It is likely to occupy many volumes, and it is to be hoped that nothing may interfere with its being continued and completed; the War with the resulting paper famine places serious difficulties in the way of such enterprises.

The poet with whom it is most natural to compare Ibn al-Rumi is Buḥturi, who died in the same year, and as court-poet in Baghdad was in contact with many of the persons to whom Ibn al-Rumi addressed odes, or who are mentioned in his verses. Buḥturi seems to be decidedly the superior of the two, both in the quality of his verse and in the amount of illustration which he furnishes for the history of the time; but we must wait

for the completion of the edition before we can pronounce with safety on either matter. The language of both is fairly simple; Ibn al-Rumi's odes have a tendency to exceed by a great many verses the length to which most poets limit themselves. The editor is to be commended for devoting some attention to the historical allusions, while dealing exhaustively with questions of grammar and vocabulary.

D. S. M.

TAHDHIB ISLĀH AL-MANTIQ. The Khaṭīb Tabrizi's recension of Ibn al-Sikkit's work. Edited by SAYYID MUHAMMAD BADR AL-DIN NA'SANĪ of Aleppo. Cairo: Sa'adah Press. n.d.

The *Islāh al-Mantiq*, "Reformation of Speech," by Ibn al-Sikkit, a grammarian who died 244 A.H., is one of the most famous treatises on the Arabic language. It is more often mentioned than the same author's *Tahdhib al-Alfaz*, of which an elaborate edition has been published by the Beyrut Jesuits. That meritorious society at one time promised an edition of the *Islāh* also, but I fancy this never appeared. A recension of the work by the Maghribi Vizier forms the subject of the second letter in Abu'l-'Ala Ma'arri's *Rasa'il*; and Abu'l-'Ala's well-known pupil the Khaṭīb Tabrizi is responsible for the recension which has now been printed, in two parts of very unequal length, the first occupying 236 and the second 76 pages. The editor does not appear to state whether there is more to follow. It certainly repays study, but much of the matter seems very elementary, and it is rather difficult to understand the celebrity which the book obtained. It consists mainly of observations on the correct vocalization of certain words, ordinarily such as are fairly familiar, with some illustrative verses and anecdotes. It is likely that most of the material or the whole of it has found its way into the later dictionaries.

D. S. M.

ṢUBḤ AL - A'SHA. By ABU'L - 'ABBAS AHMAD AL-QALQASHANDI. Part xi. Cairo: Government Press, 1917.

We welcome the appearance of the eleventh volume of Qalqashandi's *Ṣubḥ al-A'sha*. It is occupied with specimens of state papers of Faṭimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk times in Egypt, with some from earlier times, and gives very ample descriptions of the secretarial usage. The whole work, which is printed with extreme beauty and accuracy, is an encyclopædia of the practice of the *kuttāb* in the Islamic empires prior to the great expansion of the Ottoman Empire, and rarely fails to answer any question addressed it on its subject. The price at which these beautiful volumes are sold is said to have been increased, but is still ludicrously low. It will furnish much that is of value to future Arabic lexicographers.

D. S. M.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE BĀBĪ RELIGION. By E. G. BROWNE. Cambridge University Press, 1918.

Never has any special subject of Oriental research received such conscientious and thorough treatment at the hand of a European as the Babis of Persia have received at the hands of Professor Browne. For nearly thirty years he has collected all the available material and followed the course of this most modern of religions, and of the various sects into which, like all other religions, it soon became divided. All his readers must have caught some of his enthusiasm from the vivid descriptions he gives of the courage shown by the early martyrs of Babism, notably by the heroic death of the gifted poetess Qurrat-ul-Ain. Indeed, the story of the Bab himself and his earliest followers is one of the most moving in the history of religious persecution. After the new faith became divided into two main factions, Ezelis

and Baha'is, the story does not make such good reading, although the founder of the former sect was a man of great beauty of character, and the followers of the latter, who now represent practically all Babis, produced many devout and disinterested men.

The volume under review may be regarded as a sort of finishing touch to Professor Browne's former work, containing as it does various narratives connected with the history of the Babis not hitherto published, and an account of the propaganda of the Baha'is in America. One almost regrets after reading this book that the Babi religion, except as an object of study, should have been carried outside the Muhammadan world. One feels that although the Bab was convinced he was preaching a universal religion and had a message to carry to the whole world, his creed was essentially a gospel for Moslems, just as his medium was the Arabic language. By this it is not implied that of the numerous converts in America none have been without absolute faith in the new religion, for indubitably many Americans have given their whole-hearted adhesion to the Baha'i cause, and have been prepared to make any sacrifice for it. The fact remains, however, that the doctrines preached by the Baha'is are utterly out of keeping with Western modes of thought, and are practically unintelligible to all Westerns who have not made a special study of Islam. Nor have the Baha'is been particularly fortunate in their missionaries; it seems inevitable that with the teaching of Oriental religions as a living force to Westerns, there should always go a certain degree of pretence: in other words, that the type of man who has most success is the one who is best able to play on the gullibility of the half-educated. The story of Baha'i propaganda in America as told in the present volume leaves one with the impression that a number of excellent people have had their hopes raised by men who had no real message for them.

If from the point of view of dogma Babism can make little appeal to Westerns unversed in Islam, so, too, on the ethical side it has nothing to offer which has not already been offered in far plainer language by the Gospels. Though his earlier works no doubt did much, incidentally, to make the teachings of this Persian reformer known to the West, and especially to America, Professor Browne confesses his chief interest in the study of Babism is neither political nor ethical, but historical, because of the light it throws on the genesis and evolution of other religions, so many of which take rise in the country which gave birth, not only to the Bab, but also to Zoroaster, Manes, and Mazdak.

Professor Browne is himself unwilling to venture on any prophesy with regard to the future of Baha'ism, but, whether this movement is destined in the future to extinction or to expansion, all students of religion and of the Muhammadan East will for ever hold Professor Browne's name in gratitude for having collected and made accessible to Western readers all that can be known of one of the most remarkable religious revivals in the world's history.

E. D. R.

FUNÉRAILLES DE M. ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, Membre de l'Académie. Le jeudi, 31 Janvier, 1918.

When Death claimed Édouard Chavannes it took not only a savant of quite exceptional calibre, but a man of a nature that could not and did not fail to arouse among those who knew him the affection springing partly from sympathy and in part from high regard. This is apparent in each of the three admirable and sincere *discours* of MM. Héron de Villefosse, Président de l'Académie, Maurice Croiset, for the Collège de France, and Senart, for the Société Asiatique. The latter, at the close of his address,

justly observes of Chavannes, "tout en lui éveillait cette impression de simplicité forte, de gravité morale qui, dès sa jeunesse, rayonnait de lui comme le trait caractéristique." And this natural and cultivated serenity of nature was not destroyed or disturbed by anything incongruous or incompatible in the career which circumstance and his own tastes marked out for him. His vocation and his inclinations converged along the line of industrious and instructed inquiry into Far Eastern and Central Asian questions, which has made his writings on these subjects authoritative without dogmatism, and won general assent where others might have provoked merely disputatious opposition.

Chavannes thus maintained, if he did not introduce, an exalted standard of attainments combined with a dignity of treatment into Chinese studies, of which they stood extremely in need. These were too often conducted with an ardour that wanted an adequate equipment, and usually generated more controversial heat than scientific enlightenment. But Chavannes worked in another atmosphere. "Jamais un mot blessant," writes M. de Villefosse, "pour les opinions ou les sentiments intimes de ses confrères n'est sorti de ses lèvres; il se montra toujours d'une courtoisie parfaite et d'une équité remarquable." Let us hope, as he would have wished, that his method may be not only admired but continued.

M. Maurice Croiset sums up Chavannes' total qualifications thus: "Tour à tour archéologue, épigraphiste, historien, linguiste, littérateur, philosophe, obligé, par l'état de la science qu'il représentait, à se charger de tâches multiples, il a pu, grâce à la souplesse de son esprit et à l'étendue de ses connaissances qui s'accroissaient de jour en jour, suffire à toutes, et se montrer dans toutes manifestement supérieur à ses devanciers."

And Destiny, which had been kind to Édouard Chavannes during the fifty-two years of his lifetime,

let fall the shutter of Death before his longing eyes could witness the victory his loyal spirit thirsted for and believed in, "sans avoir vu," as M. de Villefosse puts it, "le jour du triomphe qu'il attendait avec une foi de plus en plus inébranlable."

L. C. HOPKINS.

DIE REDUPLIKATION IN DEN INDIANISCHEN, INDONESISCHEN, UND INDOGERMANISCHEN SPRACHEN. Von Professor Dr. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. pp. 33. Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Luzerner Kantonsschule, 1917.

This short monograph deals with reduplication in the American Indian, Indonesian, and Indo-European languages. The term "reduplication" is to be understood here in its widest sense, as including the doubling of sounds, syllables, words, phrases, and whole sentences. The treatment is comparative, and therefore restricts itself to types of doubling which occur in all the three families of speech above mentioned. It is rather surprising to find how many such there are. The work is divided into three chapters, the first being introductory and the other two dealing with the form and function of reduplication. In both aspects of the subject the analogies between the three families are remarkably close and striking.

The fact illustrates very well the substantial similarity of the methods adopted by the human mind for the expression of its ideas even in cases where there is no likelihood (one might go further and say no possibility) of any original linguistic relationship or subsequent borrowing. Having regard to a recent anthropological theory which appears to start from the curious assumption that no human discovery or invention was ever made twice but must always be supposed to have been transmitted from some one source, I venture to think that it

was by no means labour lost to adduce these instances to the contrary in the linguistic sphere.

The work is characterized by the author's habitual acumen and precision. I have noticed only one point that I am in a position to question: the alleged Malay word *bĕrak* (p. 19, l. 4) should be *berak*. I fear this destroys the value of it as an instance in support of the author's argument. The only misprints I have observed are: p. 23, l. 9, *IdG* for *IN*, and p. 32, l. 2, *lantak* for *lantug*.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

CAMBODGE—FÊTES CIVILES ET RELIGIEUSES. Par
ADHÉMAR LECLÈRE. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
1917.

This work describes in a popular way, but with considerable minuteness of detail, the principal festivals and ceremonies current in Camboja, and also a few that have recently become obsolete. There are a great number, among which may be mentioned here the anointment of the present king, the festivals at the new year, the ordination of Buddhist monks, the consecration of a statue of Buddha, the royal birthday, the consecration of the great Buddhist pagoda at Phnom Peñ, as being of particular interest. It is worthy of note that in some of these ceremonies a large part is played by Brahmins (or persons claiming to be such) who are natives of the country and have long formed a separate caste there, the only real caste, in fact, in a country where the caste system does not otherwise exist. Their importance is, however, purely traditional and ritual, being quite overshadowed by that of the Buddhist hierarchy who embody the real religion of Southern and Western Indo-China. That, however, only makes these Hindu survivals the more interesting, and it would be well worth while to

compare them with the practices still prevailing in India proper. The book, which is well printed and adorned with thirteen plates, will serve a useful purpose in drawing the attention of Orientalists to these matters.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

KĀLIDĀŚA ET L'ART POÉTIQUE DE L'INDE (ALĀṆKĀRA ŚĀSTRA). Thèse de Doctorat d'Université présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.
Par HARI CHAND, Śāstri. pp. xiv, 360. Paris, 1917.

Several years ago three Oriental professors of Oxford and Cambridge presented a memorandum to the Secretary of State for India advocating the establishment of a few fellowships to enable young British scholars to study the classical languages and antiquities of India, especially in subjects, such as grammar, philosophy, and archæology, which can be pursued to greater advantage in India than in Europe. The holders of these fellowships, it was suggested, would thus become qualified for Oriental posts, which would serve as a means of training, in the country itself, young Indians in Western methods of study and research. As young European Orientalists were being more and more excluded from appointments in India, these recommendations were made, not only with a view to promoting higher Oriental studies in India, but also to preventing the decay of such studies in Great Britain, which must obviously have a special interest in upholding them. This proposal, though not successful, resulted in the establishment of Government of India scholarships, which enable selected Indian students of Sanskrit and Arabic to come to England and undergo a training according to European methods of research. Several such students have finished their courses, have taken research degrees, and in connexion with the latter produced and in some cases published work which augurs well for their

future usefulness as teachers among their countrymen. The present volume is, I think, the most substantial as well as the most valuable published outcome of the new system. The author is a young scholar from Lahore, who, wishing to utilize his familiarity with Sanskrit Poetics from the Indian point of view, offered as a thesis for research, according to Western critical methods, the works of Kālidāsa, as illustrated by all the quotations from them to be found in about sixty Sanskrit treatises on Alāṅkāra (Poetics) examined by him. It contains four chapters and a valuable appendix.

The first chapter (pp. 1-59) furnishes a very complete bibliography of treatises on Alāṅkāra. It opens with a list (pp. 2-9) of nearly eighty catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. utilized by the author for the purposes of his work. Then follows an alphabetical list in which works and authors are combined. Under each entry are statements giving the approximate date, specifying where the work has been edited, or, if unedited, where it is quoted, and adding references to the catalogues in which the MSS. of the treatises are enumerated. When works or authors are known only by quotation the reference to the work in which they occur is given. An asterisk indicates that the work so marked has been consulted by the author for the purposes of the present volume. The information here supplied will save the student a great deal of trouble in ascertaining what editions, commentaries, and MSS. of a particular work exist. Thus, under "184 *Kāvya-prakāśa*", besides the authors' names and the dates, all editions are specified together with a list of nearly 100 MSS. of the text, and 20 commentaries are enumerated with cross-references to 46 others. Incidentally several mistakes made by compilers of catalogues regarding Alāṅkāra works and authors are corrected: e.g. 183 (wrong attribution of authorship), 345 (Dharmakīrti no Alāṅkāra writer), 87 and 437 (imaginary author).

Chapter ii investigates the dates of the authors who have written on *Alaṅkāra* (pp 61–117). Thirty-three such writers are here dealt with. In this, as in other departments of Sanskrit literature, the lack of chronology is conspicuous. But though scarcely any of these works can be precisely dated, the century in which they were produced can in most cases be ascertained either by the known date of the kings during whose reigns their authors are stated to have flourished, or by the mention of predecessors whose approximate date has been discovered. All the chronological evidence available to him, Dr. Hari Chand has carefully brought together and sifted, in several cases establishing the dates with greater precision than had previously been attained. The authors are arranged in the chronological order which he assigns to them during the period extending from 500 to 1650 A.D. The chapter opens (pp. 61–9) with the definitions given, by the leading native authorities, of *alaṅkāra*, or “poetical embellishment”, a term which, being considered too narrow, began about 1500 A.D. to be displaced by *sāhitya*, or “composition”.

The first writer in the series is Bhāmaha, author of the *Kāvyaālaṅkāra*. A fairly good case is here made out for his being anterior to Daṇḍin. We know that he must have lived before 800 A.D., because he was commented on by Udbhaṭa, who flourished in Cashmere under King Jayapīḍa (779–813). The matter which he and Daṇḍin have in common or is similar in both (pp. 72–6) cannot be considered to decide the question of priority. But Indian tradition makes Bhāmaha the earlier of the two, and as Daṇḍin’s date has been pretty well fixed as within the period of the sixth to seventh century A.C., while Bhāmaha appears to have known Kālidāsa, 500 A.D. seems to be a not improbable approximate date for him. Daṇḍin, Dr. Hari Chand regards as posterior not only to Bhāmaha, but even to Bāṇa, and thinks he flourished

after 650 A.D. He demolishes the theory of Pischel that Daṇḍin is the author of the *Mr̥cchakatīkā*, as well as that of Jacobi and Peterson that Daṇḍin was the author of the *Chandovicitti*, a treatise on metre. He also shows that Daṇḍin cannot be proved to be a native of the Deccan.

He goes very fully (pp. 84-90) into the question whether the author of the Kārikās of the *Dhvanyāloka* and Ānandavardhana, the author of the commentary on that work, were one and the same person. The majority of the writers on Alaṅkāra make no distinction between the two. Thus the Kārikās are often attributed to Ānandavardhana, while stanzas found as examples in the commentary are attributed to Dhvanikāra. On the other hand, the more weighty authorities, though fewer in number, expressly distinguish Dhvanikāra from Ānandavardhana. After setting forth very fully the evidence on which his opinion is based, our author concludes that they are different, assigning Dhvanikāra to the beginning of the ninth century, and Ānandavardhana to the latter half of that century during the reign of Avantivarman (855-84).

He further convincingly shows (pp. 91-5) that the view which distinguishes Rudraṭa, author of the *Kāvya-lankāra*, from Rudrabhaṭṭa, who wrote the *Śrīṅgaratilaka*, is the correct one.

Abhinavagupta (pp. 98-100), the Kashmirian Śaiva philosopher (c. 1000 A.D.), who wrote a commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*, occupies among Alaṅkāra writers a position analogous to Śaṅkarāchārya among Vedāntist authors. It is interesting to note that he also wrote a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. This work, hitherto known only from quotations in another commentary, has been recently discovered in a fragmentary form in Travancore. Students of Indian poetics will look forward to its publication in the *Trivandrum*

Sanskrit Series by that able and industrious scholar Gaṇapati Śāstri.

Most Sanskritists will be surprised to find that of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, the work of the Kashmirian author Mammata (eleventh century), and of his continuator, Alaṭa, no fewer than sixty-six commentaries are here noted. The oldest of them still remain unedited.

The list of authors discussed in this volume ends with Jagannātha (c. 1650 A.D.), the composer of two works on *Alaṅkāra* and the most authoritative of all the modern writers on that subject.

A survey of the authors here dealt with shows that Kashmir, Bengal, and the Deccan were the three centres in which *Alaṅkāra* was chiefly studied, and that among these Kashmir may be considered as the cradle of the science of Sanskrit poetics.

Chapter iii (pp. 119-22) contains all the quotations from the works of Kālidāsa to be found in the works on *Alaṅkāra* examined by the author. The quoted stanzas are given under the title of each of Kālidāsa's works, following the order in which they occur in those works. The Sanskrit text of each stanza is accompanied by a French translation and by the name of the *Alaṅkāra* work quoting it, together with the variants, if any, which are there found. The material supplied in this chapter is obviously of great value for the textual criticism of Kālidāsa's plays and poems.

This subject is treated in chapter iv, which is entitled "The History of the Text of Kālidāsa according to the citations". The *Alaṅkāra* treatises do not throw any fresh light on the question of the date of Kālidāsa; for though we know from other sources that his fame was established by 600 A.D., Vāmana, the author of the *Alaṅkārasūtravṛtti* (eighth century), is the first writer on poetics to quote him. But the testimony of these works is particularly important in regard to other questions,

such as, which are the authentic works of Kālidāsa, and which recension has preserved the form nearest to the original.

Six works are by universal consent considered the authentic productions of the great poet: the three dramas *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvaśī*, and *Mālavikāgni-mitra*, the two epics *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumārasambhava*, and the lyric *Meghadūta*. All these are frequently quoted in Alāṅkāra works. The *Rtusamhāra* is also commonly attributed to Kālidāsa, but a strong argument adduced by our author against this attribution is the fact that the treatises on Alāṅkāra ignore this poem completely with a striking unanimity. He has not found a single stanza quoted from it in the whole Alāṅkāra literature, though, as he justly remarks, descriptions of the seasons would naturally lend themselves to quotation. But when the occasion for such quotation arises, only the undoubted works of Kālidāsa, such as the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Vikramorvaśī*, are drawn upon (pp. 241-2). Dr. Hari Chand further points out that no commentary on the *Rtusamhāra* appears till the eighteenth century, while the *Meghadūta*, the *Raghuvamśa*, and the *Kumārasambhava*, were already commented upon in the tenth century. An anthology of the fifteenth century is the first work to cite stanzas from the *Rtusamhāra*, giving two under the name of Kālidāsa and two anonymously. Finally, our author asserts that in the very title of the poem the word *samhāra*, as meaning "collection" or "cycle" of the seasons, has a sense never used by Kālidāsa.

Of the four recensions of *Śakuntalā*, the Devanāgarī, the Bengālī, the Kashmirian, and the Dravidian, our author proves that the first is the best, and that Pischel was wrong in giving preference to the second. Even Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, who was a native of Bengal, does not follow the Bengālī recension, and the Alāṅkāra works in general usually agree with

the Devanāgarī recension. These two are the only recensions in the true sense. The Kashmirian is only a hybrid recension which follows sometimes one, sometimes the other of these two. The Dravidian is so closely allied to the Devanāgarī as not to be entitled to rank as a separate recension.

Śakuntalā is much oftener quoted than the other two dramas, supplying fifty-three stanzas compared with twenty-seven from *Vikramorvaśī*, and only eight from *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Of *Vikramorvaśī* there are two recensions, the Devanāgarī and the Dravidian; but for the Alankāra writers the latter does not exist. There is only one recension of the text of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and the quotations in the Alankāra treatises are in agreement with it.

The number of stanzas (124) quoted from the *Kumārasambhava* is proportionately much greater than those from the *Raghuvamśa* (155), the percentages being twenty and ten respectively. Though the former epic is evidently incomplete, there can be no doubt that it never extended beyond the eighth canto, which as well as all the previous seven is quoted from by the writers on poetics. The commentators unanimously indicate the eighth as the last canto; neither they nor the critics knew anything of a longer poem.

The nineteen cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* are all represented in the Alankāra treatises, and all the quotations confirm the traditional text of the poem.

The *Meghadūta* is quoted relatively oftener than any other work of Kālidāsa, thirty-three stanzas, or nearly one-third of the poem, being found in the Alankāra works. All these quotations appear in the texts of both the commentators Vallabha (c. 900 A.D.) and Mallinātha (c. 1400). Dr. Hari Chand remarks that the critics preceding Mallinātha nearly always agree with his text rather than with Vallabha's. The order of some of the

stanzas in the original text of the *Meghadūta* is doubtful, and so is the authenticity of some of them.¹ The author proposes to discuss these two questions at some other time.

The fourth chapter concludes with a denial of Pischel's assertion that the citations from Kālidāsa in the *Alaṅkāra* treatises have no value whatever. The author insists, on the contrary, that these citations have the value of fragments of ancient MSS., the readings of which, in fact, bring us nearer to the original text of the poet's works. Thanks to them, we know the readings of a considerable proportion of Kālidāsa's poems from a period beginning eleven centuries ago. The hope is accordingly expressed that the editors of texts will not neglect the evidence of the innumerable citations contained in the treatises on *Alaṅkāra*, and that the editors of the latter works will take care to trace all those citations to their sources. As the great majority of the more important writers on *Alaṅkāra* can now be dated at least as to the century, the authors whom they cite must be earlier. They can therefore be made one of the chief means of gradually building up post-Vedic literary chronology, which has hitherto been so very meagre.

The volume closes with an alphabetical list of the initial words of all the stanzas contained in the authentic works of Kālidāsa as well as in the *Rtusamhāra*. It will be useful to students in various ways, but especially as a means of tracing quotations from his poetry in *Alaṅkāra* works.

In spite of the difficulties of printing at the present time, there are surprisingly few errors of the press in this volume, and even these are trivial, such as "Jayadrātha" (p. 32), *cīrantana* (p. 95), "Vallabah" (p. 245), "Mallinathā" (p. 248), "commentataires"

¹ See my review of Professor Hultsch's *Meghadūta* with Vallabha's commentary in this Journal, 1913, p. 177.

(p. 248). "Vidyānātha" seems to be a slip for "Vaidyanātha" (p. 111). The freedom from mistakes in transliteration is very refreshing in the work of an Indian scholar.

This book undoubtedly contains a large amount of solid matter of permanent value. It will be indispensable to all students of Sanskrit poetics. We have here just the kind of work the production of which furnishes the most useful form of training for Indian students: the methodical collection and sifting of a large number of facts, from which the conclusions they justify are then extracted. The work has been done with care and thoroughness. It warrants the hope that the author will persevere in the type of research which he has so admirably begun in the present volume.

A. A. MACDONELL.

NIDDESA. MAHĀ NIDDESA, vol. ii. Edited by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and E. J. THOMAS. Pali Text Society. London, 1917.

SUTTA NIPĀTA COMMENTARY, II, being PARAMATTHAJOTIKĀ, II, 2. Edited by HELMER SMITH. Pali Text Society. London, 1917.

When the Suttanipāta was first edited for European students by Viggo Fausböll, thirty years ago, the founder of the Pali Text Society expressed a hope that the commentary (or rather commentaries, the older and the younger) on that ancient and important text might find editors. The commentaries, for one reason and another, had to wait for years, and were preceded, not long ago (1913), by a second edition of the Suttanipāta itself, prepared for the Pali Text Society by Dines Andersen, of Copenhagen, in collaboration with Helmer Smith. This edition (for which the abundant material included two of Trenckner's incomparable transcripts) was naturally

better than the first. It was then the hour of the commentator to appear. In 1916 the first volume of the older commentary, entitled Niddesa (or strictly, Mahā-Niddesa) was brought out by the Pali Text Society, the edition being prepared by L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas. In the same year the first volume of the younger commentary, Buddhaghosa's *Paramatthajotikā*, edited by Helmer Smith, came into the hands of students. These editions are now completed by the appearance of the second volume of each (P.T.S., 1917).

Students of the Suttanipāta have, then, an early commentary, which has acquired unusual authority, and a later one, by the most famous commentator in the Pali language, on a text which, even without counting its claim as one of the oldest of the sacred books of the Buddhists, has difficulties and beauties enough of language to make it as attractive as it is characteristic. If we look up some observations of Fausböll¹ in the introduction to the first edition of the Suttanipāta we find an interesting note on the sections entitled Mahāvagga, Aṭṭhakavagga, and Pārāyanavagga. Fausböll remarks that they are very old. "This," he says, "seems to be evident from there being a commentary on them called Niddesa, which has been incorporated into the Buddhist Canon (see Childers' Dictionary under Niddeso), and from their being quoted in the Nikayas and the Vinayapiṭaka." Considering the way the Sutta- and Vinayapiṭakas hang together and the constant use of stock phrases and stock illustrations, it is evident that this commentary, so highly valued by the compilers of the canon, will be one to consult, with some chance of help, on passages of the canonical books which may be the more obscure to us because the later commentator thought them easy and volunteered no explanation—or shirked it for some other reason.

¹ Fausböll also translated the Suttanipāta for the Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. x, Oxford, 1881.

Vol. ii of the Niddesa now before us consists of the commentary on the Aṭṭhakavagga. It begins with the 11th Suttaniddesa, namely the chapter on Tumult and Dispute (*Kalahavivāda*), and ends with the 16th, the Sāriputta niddesa. Vol. ii of the Paramatthajōtikā takes in the Mahāvagga, Aṭṭhakavagga, and Pārāyanavagga. We can therefore compare the two commentators' treatment of part of the oldest portion of the Suttanipāta. As to language, both of them show an almost equal contrast with the archaisms of the Suttanipāta. Indeed, a comparison can hardly be made where the style is, from the nature of the text, entirely different. The poetry of the Suttanipāta can perhaps, in a sense, be understood or at least remembered, by its rhythm where the words are difficult but the lesson of the verse unmistakable. The commentator's business, however, is to be prosaic and explain: his language is not for the ear or for the heart, but for the inquiring mind. He must make up his commentary of gloss, grammar, and encyclopædia matter. But two commentators of different periods may do this differently—so it is with our two. An instance or two of their differences will suffice.

The compiler of the Niddesa sets out to explain the language of the Suttanipāta in the manner of a painstaking tutor lecturing on a text and helping his students to construe word for word. He defines in dictionary style, piles up synonyms and occasionally supplies later forms where those of the verse are archaic. He gets along, if one may say so, with businesslike speed and few digressions, but his explanations are not the less full of matter and illustration. The commentary on the Attadaṇḍasutta is typical of his manner. The simple words *daṇḍa* (penalty) and *bhaya* (fear, peril) lead the discourse a long way, first to that perpetually remembered source of fear and punishment—the rāja. Such and such an one displeases the king; varieties of punishment that may

fall on him are mentioned. Another displeases the king ; he is made to suffer tortures that give the imagination a horrid task in contriving translations for the terms used. The guardians of hell appear on the scene ; *daṇḍa* and *bhaya* assume yet more dismal meanings ; a long quotation from the canon occurs here, on which the editors, as in many other places, add footnotes giving references to the Nikāya from which the passages are quoted or which contains lines strikingly similar. In exposition there are features in the style of the Niddesa which recall both the Sutta- and Vinaya-piṭakas, and the method of explanation and definition resembles the old commentary embodied in the Vinaya rules (see the observations of the translators of the Vinaya, S.B.E., vol. xiii). On the other hand, the Niddesa is far more elaborate than the Vinaya commentary and shares with the Sutta language the peculiarity of stringing many verbs or substantives together in a repetition which has the effect of amplifying or intensifying the meaning of the first word. To give examples of two kinds of paraphrase or definition : the word *lobho* (coveting, desire) has as equivalents *lobho lubbhanā lubbhittattam sārāgo sārājjanā sārājjitattam* (p. 263). On the next page the endeavour to give the full sense of *kodho* (anger) leads the commentator to set down : *yo cittassa āghāto paṭighāto paṭigham virodho paṭivirodho kopo pakopo sampakopo, doso, padoso, sampadoso, cittassa byāpatti manopadoso kodho kujjhanā kujjhitattam doso dussanā dussittattam byāpatti byāpajjanā byāpajjitattam virodho paṭivirodho caṇḍikkam assuro po anattamanatā cittassa*. At the end of this we know something about translating the word *kodho*. The difficulty is to choose from out the wealth of words the best for the occasion. Sometimes a word such as *kathamkathā* (perplexity or doubt) is explained first briefly by its equivalent *vicikicchā* (p. 268) ; then the explanation is improved by illustrations. How does "doubt"

arise in respect of a thing desired—or not desired, as the case may be? First the doubt as to the thing not desired: “Shall I be cured of this disease of the eyes or shall I not be cured? Shall I be cured of this disease of the ear, etc.?” A doubt as to the thing desired: “Shall I obtain pleasing forms, sounds, scents, tastes, pleasures of touch, shall I [have like pleasure in] my family, my following, my dwelling, my property, fame, praise, garments, food, couches, medicines offered to me as alms?” Thus doubt arises.

There are, of course, respects in which the Niddesa differs from the texts handed down as the actual word of the Buddha. The note of exhortation is absent; the business of the Niddesa is to explain. But the canonical authority of the work dominates the later commentator. When we pass on to the Paramatthajotikā we find that Buddhaghosa’s treatment of the Suttanipāṭa is not quite in the vein of his commentaries on the greater Nikāyas, the Vinaya, or the Abhidhamma. He is brief, which is not his way. On certain verses of the Suttanipāṭa we find the older commentary ten times the length of the later. There was not much left for Buddhaghosa to add, and in such cases he often refers the student expressly to the Niddesa.

To give one instance, in the Attadaṇḍa suttaniddesa, before mentioned. Where the Niddesa gives a lengthy and almost picturesque discourse on punishment and peril, Buddhaghosa dismisses the words *daṇḍa* and *bhaya* in a sentence with one edifying touch (i.e. whatsoever perils arise in this world and the next, all arise by reason of a man’s own evil conduct). On the other hand, he begins with his usual careful inquiry at the opening of the sutta: what was the occasion (*kā uppatti*) [of this discourse]? and then tells us something that the Niddesa omits, namely, that the Attadaṇḍasutta was spoken by the Buddha “standing between two armies” to appease the

quarrel between the Sakya and Koliya clans on the river question. Elsewhere, in the Mahāvagga and Aṭṭhaka-vagga the *kā uppatti* query leads to anecdotes and description in Buddhaghosa's favourite vein, but his explanation of terms and difficult phrases of the Suttanipāta is not very full, perhaps because the Suttanipāta is not a systematic body of Buddhist teaching. It is a mixture of poetry and ethics less likely to stimulate the fifth century teacher to his greatest efforts. Not that the commentator of the four great Nikāyas and author of the Visuddhimagga was one to spare himself labour, as the rising generation of Palists finds out from the work still left to do. We hope to see the rest of Buddhaghosa's work published in just such excellent editions as that which Mr. Helmer Smith has lately completed.

The editing of the Mahāniddesa has been carried out with the scholarly thoroughness of which the names of the two editors are sure guarantees. The verses of the Suttanipāta are printed in full and in spaced type to distinguish them, at the first glance, from the commentary and the metrical quotations occurring in the commentary. The editors have traced most of these quotations and allusions, and their labour will certainly be rewarded by the gratitude of every student of the Pali language and special Pali Buddhist terminology. Perhaps it will be worth while to add here the correct reference for a quotation which the editors have noted as "not traced" (p. 417). The parables that so vividly illustrate human suffering (the word is *sokasallu*) are the words of the Buddha in the Piyajātikasutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (vol. ii, p. 109, PTS. edition).

The Niddesa and Paramatthajotikā have both been of service to the editors of the Suttanipāta in fixing the text. The editors of the second edition (1913, see above) depended chiefly on Buddhaghosa. He, on the other hand, does not often differ from the Niddesa, but occasionally we

find the commentators making a different choice when two readings were before them. As an example: verse 959 of the Suttanipāṭa reads *uccāvacesu sayanesu kivantō tattha bheravā*; the editors here follow Buddhaghosa, who interprets *kivantō* by *kittakā*, how many, but points out that there is another reading *khivantō* (= *kūjanto*, Skt. $\sqrt{kūj}$, to make a noise). Buddhaghosa does not consider this reading satisfactory; in his opinion it does not fit the context (*na param sandhīyati*). But the Niddesa on this verse prefers the reading *givantō*, explaining it thus: *kujjanto, nadanto, saddaṇ karonto*. The alternate reading *kivantō* is mentioned, however, by the Niddesa commentator with the explanation *kittaka, kivataka, kivabahulā*.

These and other small details illustrate the minute and reverent labour of the old commentators for the preservation of the sacred text and the safeguarding of all the Buddha's word lest anything should be lost to future generations. Our modern editors follow in their footsteps. Those who have for years consulted Childers' *Dictionary*, Morris's *Notes and Queries*, in the early days of the Pali Text Society's *Journal*, and Trenckner's *Pali Miscellany*, will think, as they turn over the pages of the Niddesa and Paramatthajotikā, how gladly those scholars would have welcomed the help of our editions of works which in their day were buried in MS. For each generation the task becomes lighter, but happily the level of work remains as high as in the past.

M. H. B.

THE GODS OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM. By ALICE GETTY. General Introduction on Buddhism translated from the French of J. DENIKER. Illustrations from the Collection of Henry H. Getty. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1914.

There has hitherto been a great lack of works illustrating the Iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its later

developments; in fact, it may be said that no work has been available to students of this subject which deals with it systematically throughout in any way comparable with M. A. Foucher's account of the sculptures of Gandhāra in his *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*. We have here in this excellent and fully illustrated volume a successful attempt to fill this gap. The subject-matter is drawn from Mr. Henry H. Getty's collection; the descriptions are by Mrs. Getty; and the comprehensive introduction by M. J. Deniker adds greatly to the value of the book. The scope of this work is with few exceptions limited to the Buddhism of Tibet, China, and Japan, especially to the developments usually alluded to under the name of Lamaism. The exceptions are mainly from Siam and Burma, which are really illustrations of the Hināyāna school of those countries; the only illustration from Ceylon (pl. vi, b) comes under the same category. No attempt has been made to deal with the earlier indications of a development in the direction which afterwards flourished so abundantly in Tibet, which may be traced first in Gandhāra sculpture and afterwards in the schools of mediaeval India, especially in that of Bihār from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and also in Ceylon and more abundantly in Java. In the later Gandhāra work this tendency becomes clear (as in the figure of Hāriti with projecting tusks discovered by Sir A. Stein at Sahr-i-Bahlōl, A.S.R., 1911-12, pl. xli, fig. 16), and in the mediaeval sculptures of Bihār the prototypes of many of the extravagant forms adapted to Buddhist purposes from Tantric Hinduism may be found. As an example, the three-headed figure (one head being that of a pig) of Mārīchī standing on a chariot drawn by seven swine, of which an illustration is given in Foucher's *Iconographie Bouddhique*, fig. 27, and in V. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India*, fig. 129, may be instanced. This goddess of the dawn,

whose name without other resemblance may be found in Vedic mythology as one of the Maruts, appears in the Buddhist sculptures of the eleventh-twelfth centuries in a form which suggests a parody of the figures of Sūrya in his chariot drawn by seven horses. (There is an excellent example of Mārīchī in this form in the collection of mediaeval Indian sculptures in the British Museum.) The forms illustrated in pls. xxxix, xl, and xli of the present collection may all clearly be traced to the art of Magadha, and even when the gentler art of Japan (as in pl. xl) rejects the more savage form which survives in Tibet, the identification is completed by the three faces, one that of a pig, which appear at the back. In this Indian school, too, may be found examples of the Vajra in its modern Tibetan form, very different from that found in Gandhāra art. A similar pedigree might be made out in many cases, and as our knowledge of this little-studied phase of Buddhist iconography increases, examples may be expected to multiply. In mediaeval Ceylon and Java art also the cult of the Bodhisattvas was greatly developed. Mr. Coomaraswamy has published some good illustrations from Ceylon, although the Mahāyānist tendency there was soon suppressed, and the modern iconography of that island shows little but figures of Gautama Buddha. For a complete history of the development of the forms which are now characteristic of Lamaism it is evident that the evidence derived from these sources should receive full consideration, of which no doubt space did not admit in the work under consideration.

One mistake may be pointed out among the descriptions of statues of Buddha. The figure (pl. xi, a) sitting in Dhyāna overshadowed by a Nāga is not Buddha, but represents the Jain Tirthankara Pārśvanāthā. In the list of illustrations (p. x) it is called Buddha, but described as Jain, while in the text (p. 18) it is described as

Gautama Buddha. The style of the sculpture as well as the mark on the breast sufficiently identify it as a Jain work of Western India.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in Lamaistic Buddhism is the gradual dwindling of the honour paid to the only real figure, the historical founder of the religion. In the oldest sculptures every event, real or legendary, in his life finds its representation, and many of the more popular tales, or *jātakas*, regarding his doings in previous incarnations were almost equally abundantly illustrated. In the mediaeval art the stories of his life are few and the *jātakas* have almost entirely disappeared. At the present day they have gone altogether, and only in Burma, where a purer form of Buddhism survives, can they be found now. In Tibet a crowd of deities have sprung up around him, and in this forest the original figure is barely discernible. The few varieties of representations of Prince Siddhārtha before his call to be the Buddha gradually differentiated into some doubtfully distinguishable Bodhisattvas in Gandhāra art, where we may perhaps recognize Avalōkitesvara and Maitrēya. These have multiplied into a host of about 500 deities according to M. Deniker's estimate, and it is with these and their intricate classification that Mrs. Getty's work is mainly occupied. In Japan the true Buddha retains more importance, however, than in China, and still more than in Tibet. Many of the principal figures can, as already stated, be found in mediaeval art. Among these are Amitābha, Kuvēra and Hārītī, Tārā, Avalōkitēśvara, Maitrēya, Mañjusrī, Mārīchī, Mahākālī, and Chundā. Vijrapāṇi in his multifold forms seems to be descended from the mystic vajra-bearing figure who accompanies Gautama Buddha in Gandhāra art. But the whole system of Ādi-Buddhas, Buddhas, Dhyāni-Buddhas, Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas, Dharmapālas, and their tutelary gods, as well as the female counterparts or Śaktis

of all these in their infinite variety, has gradually developed from various sources which are here carefully examined, and these are treated with great fulness of detail and illustration. Mr. Getty's collection is comprehensive, and though it cannot be asserted that every variety is represented it is not too much to say that exceptions are few and unimportant. Mrs. Getty's descriptions are full and detailed, and make identification an easy matter. The illustrations are from photographs very clearly reproduced, and there are also several in colours taken from paintings and shrines.

Mr. Deniker's Introduction is an admirable concise history of Buddhism in its first conception and its later developments, and also of the artistic influence emanating from the Græco-Indian style of Gandhāra which travelled through India to the south and east as far as Ceylon and Java, throwing out a branch through Nepāl into Tibet, while a second stream travelled directly northwards into Western and Eastern Turkistān and thence ultimately into China and Japan. Thus the art of the latter countries was influenced by these two distinct and independent currents from Gandhāra, the one flowing directly through Turkistān and Mongolia and the other through Bihār, Nepāl, and Tibet, and these two streams of influence can be distinctly recognized up to the present day.

The Clarendon Press has acted up to its old reputation in bringing out this important and valuable work in such an attractive form.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

A LITTLE-KNOWN CHAPTER OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY.
By S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR. Madras, 1916.

Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has in this little book given a study on the obscure period of the history of

the Vijayanagar kingdom previous to the accession of Krishna Dēva Rāya in 1509. He has brought together a considerable amount of valuable evidence regarding the rise of the Sāluva family to power, and his work forms a useful supplement to Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. Whether his contentions are accepted *in toto* or not, it is clear that all students of this period must give them careful attention.

In quoting from Firishta it would be well if Mr. Aiyangar followed the Persian text rather than the renderings of Scott or Briggs, especially in the matter of transliterations. It may be noted also that the name of the Kulbarga family should be written Bahmanī and not Bhamanī.

M. L. D.

L'INDE D'AUJOURD'HUI ÉTUDE SOCIALE. By ALBERT MÉTIN. Nouvelle édition mise à jour et augmentée. Paris: Armand Colin. 1918.

M. Métin gives a vivid impression of the vastness of the scene and the complications of the action to be played thereon. "L'Inde est un monde," as he says. A study of things as they are and "non un examen critique du régime anglo-indien" (Pref.), the book contains detailed accounts of architecture and ceremonies, and deals in a spirit of enquiry with education and administration. Though several sections are given to economic conditions, yet the impression remains that "on pourrait appliquer aux Hindous le jugement d'Hérodote sur les anciens Égyptiens et dire qu'ils sont *les plus religieux de tous les hommes*" (p. 27); or, again, "l'industrie, le commerce, la politique ne sont pas encore laïcisés comme en occident et d'ailleurs ils n'ont pas d'importance que pour une petite partie de la population. Les préoccupations religieuses . . . dominent l'existence de la majorité" (p. 98).

M. Métin strikes a note of contrast between Islam and Hinduism, for of the former he says, "dans la communauté musulmane tous les hommes sont frères ou doivent l'être, l'Islam devient pour eux une patrie supérieure à toutes et sans autres limites que la foi" (p. 130); while the Hindu "n'a pas d'autre patrie que la caste" (p. 59). And although (p. 63) "l'influence occidentale commence à pénétrer la société indoue", he asserts the present persistence of the system when he says that "le gradué des universités anglo-indiennes conserve sa caste. L'Indou n'y renonce même quant il se convertit au christianisme" (p. 58), while he further says, "le mouvement continue à mesure que l'indouisme pénètre chez les sauvages des Provinces centrales et du Chota Nagpour . . . Ainsi les dernières populations primitives de la péninsule entrent dans un cycle duquel les classes les plus éclairées ne sont pas encore sorties" (p. 61).

Finally, he thinks that while the opinion that "la conscience indienne s'élèvera bientôt aux idées occidentales" is correct in the main, the process will still be a long one, and has in fact not yet begun (p. 345).

M. E. L. D.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1917. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A. Fol.; pp. 67, 15 plates. Bangalore: Government Press. 1918.

This latest Report of Mr. Narasimhachar shows the same happy combination of sound learning and practical energy as its predecessors, and records a twelve-month's fruitful work on which he may be congratulated. Most of the temples visited in 1917—at Halebid, Belur, Doddagaddavalli, Grama, Nuggihalli, Yelandur, etc.—had been examined by him previously; but this latest tour has yielded some further details and illustrations which are very welcome. Besides these, we note some interesting

information concerning the great Svāmis of the Mādhyama church which has been derived from the archives of the Nanjangud monastery, and some fairly important epigraphic finds, notably a grant of the Gaṅga Durvinita and stone epigraphs of two other early Gaṅga kings, Śrīvikrama and Śrīpuruṣa: an unfinished grant of a king of Punnad, which should be compared with the Komaralingam plates of Ravidatta¹; and two inscriptions of Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōla I, besides much other new and interesting material.

L. D. BARNETT.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND HERESY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By the Rev. F. W. BUSSELL, D.D. London: Robert Scott. 1918.

The student who takes up this substantial volume of nine hundred closely printed pages will be struck by the immensity of the field it covers and the number of subjects it reviews. Folklore and magic, the primitive Āryas and the Vedic gods, Zoroaster and the Magi, Buddhist and Nestorian missions, Sabians, Manicheans, Gnostics, Babylonian astrology, the Jewish Cabbala, Dionysiac cults and Orphic mysteries, all these and many other like topics pass before us either in asides or as the main subject of discussion. They are, almost all of them, prior to the Middle Ages, which Dr. Bussell defines as the seven centuries between A.D. 600 and 1300; they occupy half the volume, and they furnish the material for the first of the two objects the author has in view—the study of the intellectual conceptions of God, the World and the Soul contained in the great religions of India, Persia, and the Hellenized East. So far the work is an essay in the

¹ On l. 18 of this new grant Mr. Narasimhachar takes *pruthivīpatiḥ* as a proper name, and hence has to record a discrepancy from the Komaralingam grant; but it may be merely an epithet, and if that is so there is no discrepancy.

history of religious philosophy. But this is only half the book, and the second half seems at first sight to have little connexion with the first. It treats of Christianity and Islam as authoritative creeds which moulded the social polity of the Middle Ages ; it is a study of the conflict between Authority and Free Thought, a conflict in which Free Thought, suppressed at first, ultimately wins the day.

The book is therefore an expression of two subjects in which Dr. Bussell is profoundly interested—religious philosophy and social politics. It was a bold idea to connect the two in the way he has done, and to make a study of Asiatic religions the portal to a study of mediaeval society. A more ordinary craftsman would have gone for his preliminary materials to Judaism and early Christianity, to Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Dr. Bussell takes these for granted. He finds a connecting link in the various philosophies, or philosophical ideas, mostly of Asiatic origin, which found embodiment in mediaeval heresy, and disturbed the absolutism of the mediaeval theocracies. Of course, Dr. Bussell is aware that this is not the whole story. The lawyers did quite as much as Aristotle to overthrow the mediaeval regime, and so the work concludes with a summary, a very good summary, of the growth of feudal society in Western Europe, and of the part taken by the Roman Church. But this has little or nothing to do with philosophy, and is treated as a supplement.

A work with a range so large demands wide sympathies, wide reading, and much learning ; and all these Dr. Bussell possesses in abundance. He is a master of Greek philosophy and thoroughly at home in mediaeval history. Moreover, he has an unusual interest in and acquaintance with India ; its religious speculations, Buddhism in particular, attract him greatly ; and although he usually follows Deussen and other well-known authorities, he appears to have made some study of Indian philosophy at first hand.

For the rest of his book, covering so wide a field, he necessarily relies on various specialists. His summaries are generally excellent. The chapters, for instance, on the natural theology of Aristotle as understood in the Middle Ages, and on Farabi and Averroes, appear to me admirable. It is scarcely necessary to warn the student that many, one might almost say most, of the subjects dealt with are still *sub judice*: the views Dr. Bussell expresses may very possibly not be the reader's; but they are rarely behind the most modern developments; and they err in my opinion rather from being too advanced than too conservative. Be that as it may, Dr. Bussell can always fall back on the authority of some distinguished scholar to add to this wealth of knowledge and of learning. Dr. Bussell is generally entertaining; he intersperses his learning with hits at modern politics, tendencies, and fashions of thought, he considers that the nineteenth century and the twentieth, as well as the centuries that preceded them, are in no good way; and even without the intervention of the Kaiser the world generally belongs to the Devil. On the other hand, a reader of the work has certain, I will not say drawbacks, but difficulties to contend with. Its very wealth of subjects and of detail makes it hard sometimes to follow the sequence of the author's thoughts; he uses technical terms like Monism, Nominalism, and Realism with rather unusual latitude; and his idiosyncrasies, which are not a few, will disturb some readers, if they add to the pleasure of others.

I have already stated the main objects with which the work commences and ends, but there are many others scattered by the way, and the book is more than it professes to be. Thus the author claims to have given a complete conspectus of religious thought throughout the civilized world from the Atlantic to Japan during the mediaeval period; and this the author has fairly done, provided we omit mediaeval theology, Christian or

Muslim, for which he has no great liking. The heretics alone engage his attention. Moreover, he tries to show the affinity of the East and the West; and his wide reading and wider sympathies often suggest points of resemblance. These are sometimes superficial, and often natural, but sometimes there is direct borrowing. For instance, Dr. Bussell suggestively compares the absorption of the Hindu sage in the *Atman* with the Buddhist conception of *Nirvana* and the Stoic *ἀταραξία*. The first is almost devoid, he says, of moral characteristics, while the Buddhist possesses the feminine virtues, the Stoic the masculine. Here the process of evolution in each case is natural and independent. In others the affiliation is real. Thus the Gnostics probably borrowed from the Buddhists the theory of reincarnations: and from them it has descended in a direct line through Christian and Muslim sects to the Persian Imams and the Mahdi.

The Indian section occupies one-third of the volume; it is certainly one of the most interesting portions of the work; and although its disproportionate length may be accounted a drawback artistically to the development of the main argument, it adds greatly to the value of the book, and we are thankful for it. Dr. Bussell has a good deal to say about Buddhism which is both somewhat novel and illuminating. But there are two points which he pretermits, and to which I should like to draw his attention. The first is the barbarian invasions of Persia and India. These invasions were prior to the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire, and they had both for Central Asia and for Northern India momentous results. The results were twofold so far as India is concerned. To the amalgamation of the Indo-Scyths, the Kushans, and the Hunas with the native population of North-West India is due the rise of the Rajputs, and through the Rajputs the whole mediaeval history of Hindostan was determined. Again, Indo-Scyths and Kushans took the

leading part both in the development and the propaganda of Mahāyana Buddhism, which is full of Scythic elements, and which would never have crossed the Himalayan barrier without the Scythians.

The other point to which I wish to draw attention is the wonderful way in which the simple nature worship of the Āryas was developed at the hands of the Āryo-Dravidians. The principle throughout is the same—the exaltation of the means above the end. We have first the efficacy of the sacrifice, then of the sacrificial fire which bears the offering to the gods, next comes the efficacy of the formula which sanctifies the fire, the priest who possesses the formula, the Brahman who possesses the supernatural *mana*, and last of all the *guru*, who is the equal of the gods and sole intermediary between the gods and men. There is no other example on a similar scale, so far as I know, of the influence magical beliefs have exercised upon the development of religious ideas; and we may see in this with much probability the growing influence of the Dravidian element.

But to turn from these tempting bypaths to the main thesis of the book. I have already stated Dr. Bussell's twofold purpose; he ends by saying that the evolution followed has been "throughout mental, and" (except in the case of Islam) "in great measure independent of social and political changes"; and the question is whether Dr. Bussell is following the right track? how far has pure thought any influence on the development of human society?

Religion is the strongest bond of social union; it certainly was so both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages; and religion depends upon certain beliefs. But although it does so it is eminently practical; and it depends upon these beliefs in a practical rather than an intellectual way. In paganism the intellectual element is

very small. Pagan religions are religions of particular communities; they are essentially local; they depend upon cult and ritual; and they shrink from defining too closely the nature of the unseen powers. When they develop, it is under the stress of outward circumstances, and in a semi-conscious way. With universal religions the case is different. These are based on individual belief, and they find expression in a creed explicit or implied. Here the intellectual element is vastly greater. But although it may act as a driving power, it is not the main motive. These religions afford indeed a new outlook on the world, but they owe their attraction to their moral character, and to the rewards and punishments they assign to conduct. Mediaeval Islam offered Paradise to the true believers; mediaeval Christendom threatened the reprobates with Hell; and the threat was, to say the least, as potent as the promise.

Thus, although religion had a very close connexion with the social structure throughout the Middle Ages, the purely intellectual side of it was far from being the most important. Since society was founded upon a creed, any divergence from that creed endangered the basis of society; it was felt to be necessarily anti-social; and Dr. Bussell has no difficulty in showing that the persecution of the Albigenses and other mediaeval heretics arose out of popular excitements and alarm, and not from the Church's jealousy. On the other hand, the age, since it was individualist throughout and claimed assent to certain intellectual propositions, was to a certain extent favourable to philosophy. Theology sought its aid. Were not both searchers after *il vero in che si queta ogn' intelletto*?—the double aspects of the same truth? Scholasticism was the attempt to harmonize the two; and the philosopher often boasted within his esoteric circle that he had the best of it. But speculation was kept within narrow and strict bounds; the Middle Ages

neither originated, nor could it originate, any new philosophy; the intimate connexion of theology with the social structure of the Church and the State made this impossible. Neo-Platonism in the Christian garb with which the Pseudo-Dionysius had clothed it satisfied all the requirements of the Catholic Church; and it was not until the very end of our period and reluctantly that the University of Paris admitted the works of Aristotle. This satisfied Western Christendom, because, being the heir of the Roman Empire, it was homogeneous. But Rome had not fared so well with the Eastern Provinces; its success was partial; distinct nationalities, rising out of the debris of the older ones, began to assert themselves; and this assertiveness took the form of religious dissent. Thus Syrians and Copts made of religious dogmas and metaphysical speculations which few, if any, of the theologians understood, popular pretexts for a revolt against the spiritual tyranny of Byzantium. Syria and Egypt together with the Sassanian Empire passed under the rule of Islam; and Persia was swarming with disciples of all the Oriental philosophies. Superior to the Arabs in material civilization and trained intelligence, they revolted against the unphilosophic dogmatism of the doctors of Islam; and they were supported by feeling local and national. The East ever was the birthplace of all the heresies; the peoples which embraced Islam were a heterogeneous multitude; and in mediaeval Islam the heretics were of far greater importance, political and social, than they were in mediaeval Christendom. Increasing barbarism went far towards extinguishing the quest of philosophy in Islam; but Arabian philosophy, transplanted by way of Spain and the Jews to Western Europe, was one of the many causes which brought about the triumph of Free Thought. There were signs already of the turn of the tide before the final collapse of the Holy Mediaeval Empire, and the seventy

years exile of the popes in Avignon precipitated the change. But mediaeval heresy had no share in the triumph of Free Thought. It became defunct with the Middle Ages.

What, then, is the moral of this history ?

Dr. Bussell defends the Buddhists against the charge of pessimism ; he finds in Buddhism a message of soul-gladness for the monk ; but he is far from being an optimist himself. Society, he says, has no longer any moral basis, and philosophy is *in extremis* ; and he concludes his work by saying that his studies yield him little hope for the future. The Dean of Wells once remarked that no historian could fail to be an optimist. The doctrine is a hard one at the present day, a trial to our faith, when we see Europe engulfed in a sea of calamities, and all the infamies and atrocities scientifically revived which accompanied the invasions of the first barbarians. If the progress of the world depended upon either science or philosophy, the outlook would be cheerless. But the progress of the world does not depend upon these, for the goal of history is the moral elevation of mankind—the enlargement of the spheres of duty and of love.

J. KENNEDY.

NAVIGATION TO THE FAR EAST UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

THE EASTERN IRON TRADE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

THE TRANSCONTINENTAL SILK TRADE AT THE CHRISTIAN ERA. By WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

These three pamphlets are reprints of papers contributed by Mr. Schoff to the JAOS. and the American Numismatic Society. Mr. Schoff is a keen student of the ways of commerce in the ancient world, and his translation of the

Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and of Isidore's *Stathmoi* are valuable contributions to the subject. The pamphlets in question complete these works by summarising what is known from other sources regarding Roman trade with the Middle and Far East. Mr. Schoff writes pleasantly; his quotations from modern authors throw light upon the classical texts, and his conclusions are generally sound. The most important paper of the three is the one on the iron exported from India to Adule and later to Alexandria. The *Periplus* is the first to mention it.¹ From the interior of Ariake there came, according to the *Periplus*, iron, steel, and cotton cloths, shipped of course from Barygaza, and brought by Indian merchants in Indian ships for sale to Abyssinia. Pliny, who was a contemporary of the author of the *Periplus*, tells us that this iron was the finest known, but he gives a somewhat different account of it.² He calls the iron Seric iron; it was brought, he says, by the Seres, with dresses, skins, and furs—products of Central Asia.

The Romans of Pliny's day had only the vaguest notions of the Chinese and China; by the Seres they usually meant the traders of Kashgar and Khotan and their immediate neighbours; Pausanias, who had picked up some curious information (which he misunderstood) from travellers in the Eastern seas, calls them a mixture of Scythians and Indians; and Mr. Schoff is obviously right, *puce* certain modern Sinologists, in holding that the Seric iron never came from China proper. But the question is whether it came from Central Asia.

Pan-ku, the historian of the early Han dynasty, tells us that a Chinese envoy, who was kept as a prisoner or hostage in Fergannah, taught the mountaineers how to make iron weapons after the Chinese fashion (c. B.C. 100). The Pamirians carried on a very considerable trade with India. It is possible, therefore, that the iron exported

¹ *Periplus*, c. 6.

² H.N. xxxiv, 145.

from Barygaza may have come from Fergannah. But this is not a supposition which would have occurred to anyone, were it not for Pliny. The working of iron was known in North-Western India long before Pliny's time, and the Indian iron must have been of superior quality, for the Oxydracæ and the Malli presented Alexander with a hundred talents of it.¹ During the early centuries of our era India made a wonderful advance in metallurgy, due possibly to contact with the Chinese. The iron pillar of the Kutb at Dehi, cast in a single piece, nearly twenty-four feet in length and six tons in weight, the broken iron pillar at Dhār, which was nearly twice as big, and the life-size brass figure of the Buddha found in Bengal, and now in the Birmingham Museum, show the skill of the Indian craftsmen and the scale on which they worked. These pieces date, the first certainly, the others probably, from the fifth or sixth century A.D., and they are far superior, not only to what could have been done in contemporary antiquity, but what could have been done in Europe until very recent times. Northern India possesses very little iron ore, and Mr. Schoff thinks that the iron exported from Barygaza was manufactured in the Central Dekhan. But by the "interior of Ariake", from which the iron came, we naturally understand Malwa; and it is more probable that this iron came from North-Western India by the caravan route through Mathurā and Ozene, which we find in Ptolemy. All that we know of iron in India at the time is from this region, and the people of Kaśmir were even then famous for their mechanical skill, while we hear nothing of Dravidian iron works until a much later date. Silence in this case is not conclusive, since we know very little indeed of the interior of the Dekhan and the doings of the natives; but such indications as we have point to

¹ *Ferrum candidum*, Q. Curtius, ix, 8.

Northern India, and it is certain that Northern India could at that time produce iron and steel of the finest temper.

Mr. Schoff, unfortunately, adheres in these papers, as well as in his former writings, to certain theories which were plausible in the days of Vincent, but are now generally relegated to the scrap-heap, and he thereby seriously injures the value of his work. Thus he will have it that because Somaliland produces no cinnamon now it never produced any, and the cinnamon which the Arabs and the Greco-Roman traders purchased there, must, unknown to them, have been imported from Ceylon. This is, of course, in flat contradiction to the unanimous testimony of the classical authors, who expressly say that cinnamon did grow in Somaliland, while Sinhalese cinnamon was unknown to them. And there can be no doubt that they are right, for we now know that the cultivation of cinnamon in Ceylon "dates from a comparatively recent period".¹ Another error which Mr. Schoff reproduces is as to the time when silk was first known in Europe, a matter settled, one had thought, by the middle of last century. And although he is right in connecting the trade of Petra with the head of the Persian Gulf and the importance he attaches to it, his sketch of Nabataean history is by no means according to our latest authorities, Mommsen and Cooke. The statement that Ammianus Marcellinus wrote before Ptolemy is doubtless a slip.² These are drawbacks to papers which, as we have said, make pleasant reading, and contain valuable information.

J. K.

¹ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1, p. 609.

² *Transcontinental Silk Trade*, p. 55.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (SAMYUTTA-NIKĀYA) OR GROUPED SUTTAS. Part I, translated by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A., assisted by SŪRIYAGŌPA SUMANGALA THERA. Pali Text Society, Translation Series, No. 7. London: Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1918.

A translation of the first volume of the Samyutta-nikāya is one which, perhaps more than in the case of any other of the great collections of suttas, demands the application of all the resources of grammar and comment, as well as a keen sense of literary form. As it consists in the main of a large number of small poems, shorn in many cases probably of their original context, and requiring elucidation both from the other Nikāyas and its own ancient commentary, we cannot be too thankful that it has fallen into such competent hands. There is further the collaboration of the eminent Ceylon Thera, who has already published work on this Nikāya.

No apology is needed for the choice of metrical forms to represent the verses of the original. "Who are we translators, that we should presume to scrape the gilt off the gold?" Unfortunately, the first thing a translator does is not only to scrape off the gilt, but to reduce the whole to a shapeless pulp. All we can ask is that the translator should be able to reconstruct as far as possible the æsthetic effect of the original. In the case of the tristubh verses an adequate reproduction is comparatively easy. The case of the śloka is more difficult. The mere reproduction of the syllables of this metre gives no idea of the wonderful modulations of the original, and the result is in danger of becoming doggerel. For this blank verse has generally been adopted, and it is probably the most satisfactory form that could be found. One danger that might be apprehended is entirely absent. There is never any tendency to glide over difficulties. When a paraphrase occurs (always faithfully indicated), we

generally find it to be an elucidation of the commentary and in any case it is an interpretation deserving the most careful study. Again and again we find the not always impeccable printed text of the original cleared up by a silent correction, or emended from Buddhaghoṣa's commentary, the *Sārattappakāsinī*. Besides the notes from this commentary scattered through the text, a special selection of them has been grouped in an index.

As for the matter of the book, the reader will find himself, we are told, "in a woodland of faërie, opening out here on a settlement of religious brethren, there on scenes of life in rural communities such as might well be met in the India of to-day. . . . And ever as he wanders on, there will move before him, luminous and serene, the central figure of the great-hearted Gotama, bringing him to the wood's end braced and enlightened by the beneficent tension of listening to many wise sayings." Charming tales of myth and folklore, of gods and titans, and the prince of darkness, are mingled with fragments of proverbial wisdom and much of the Dhamma in one of its most ancient forms.

E. J. THOMAS.

BUDDHIST PSYCHOLOGY. By Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. pp. x + 212. London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1914. 2s. 6d. net.

The present volume has two main purposes. As being "the analysis and theory of mind in the movement and culture we understand as Early Buddhism", it presents to the reader "some of the thought contained in the mother-doctrine and her first-born child". Whoever knows the gulf that exists between the present state of our knowledge and that of a few decades ago is aware how much this is due to the labours of Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids. Secondly, the book is a contribution to the

general history of psychology, with an indication of the deeper questions that present themselves. Are we really to conclude that the Buddhist theory of mind was a "saner, better-based view of things than that of the antinomy of an entity or soul"? And in thus beating out its way to truth, are its lines indeed "parallel to or even convergent with our own"? Such are some of the metaphysical queries that arise, and it is a testimony to the masterly objectivity of treatment that they are not allowed to confuse or prejudice the exposition as psychology.

E. J. T.

NIDDESA II: CULLANIDDESA. Edited by W. STEDE, Ph.D. Pali Text Society. London: Humphrey Milford, 1918.

With this volume the Pali Text Society's issue of the *Niddesa* is complete. As the editor observes, the *Cullaniddesa* is traditionally considered to form only a continuation of the *Mahāniddesa*. There is, in fact, nothing in the work, apart from the colophons, to indicate any division. What we really have is a verbal commentary on (1) the fourth book of the *Suttanipāṭa*, (2) on the fifth book, (3) on the third sutta of the first book. The two latter of these form the *Cullaniddesa*.

The curious tale of Bāvari and the brahmin's curse gives a unity to the fifth book, the *Pārāyana-vagga*. It reads in phraseology like a purāṇa, and yet the vagga as a whole is probably earlier than either the *Samyutta* or *Aṅguttara*, both of which quote it by name. But on the composition of the *Suttanipāṭa* the *Niddesa* sheds no direct light. The *Niddesa* is, as the editor says, "only an aggregate of disconnected pieces or atoms—each of them representing a stereotype phrase which serves for the word or words not only in this special setting, but in any

setting." It is this fact which has led Dr. Stede not to edit the work as it stands, but to take it to pieces and arrange the expounded words with their synonyms in dictionary order. After each *gāthā* is given a list of the words treated, and to find the comment we turn to the Explanatory Matter where the words are alphabetically arranged. The advantage of this is that "by laying bare the structure of the exposition, the really important, because individual and therefore vital, points are all the more easily recognized and appreciated as such. . . . By this means we can hope one day to reduce the whole of our explanatory matter to its simplest form, its nucleus, and trace it back to its common source".

Dr. Stede believes that the change is in no way an impairment of the character of the *Niddesa*: it only changes its Eastern garb for a Western one. Whether this is an adequate reply to one who wishes to study it in Eastern form we may leave aside. What is certain is that the work was worth doing, apart from the question whether it was possible at the same time to satisfy the conservatives. It now remains for Dr. Stede to justify his painstaking and laborious undertaking by giving us some of the results of the investigation which his rearrangement has made possible.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

SHAHPUR DISTRICT¹

The Punjab District Gazetteers still retain the old-fashioned shape and the old-fashioned method of diluting facts and statistics with ethnology, folklore, tribal quips and cranks, and other local colour. In one respect Shahpur, with its Canal Colony, its regular square plots (*killas* and *murabbas*), its *Raïses* with their K.C.I.E.s, M.V.O.s, and personal experiences of this War, and its

¹ Punjab District Gazetteers: Shahpur District. By M. S. Leigh. Lahore, 1918.

Remount Dépôt of 10,000 acres and nearly 3,000 horses and mules, is a very up-to-date district. In another respect, it is a remote out-of-the-way district, in which there are only 4,600 boys receiving a secondary standard of education, and not one girl, out of a total population of 687,000; in which the birth-rate and death-rate in the decennium ending in 1910 were respectively 45 and 47 per *mille*; in which testamentary dispositions are almost entirely unknown; in which most of the agricultural rents are grain-rents; and in which manual workers pay a poll-tax to their zamindars, who in fifty-seven of the villages are, also entitled to a feudal cess on marriage. The Musalmans comprise 83 per cent of the population, but in their customs of inheritance they follow the principles of agnatic relationship rather than the rules of *Shariat*. They practically compose the whole of the agricultural and artisan classes. They are, however, organized on the tribal system. The Tiwánas fill a very large part in the history of the district, and the leading Tiwána families deservedly occupy a prominent place in the social, military, agricultural, and administrative life of the Province. The Gazetteer gives a fascinating account of these and other families. Mr. Leigh, who wrote it, drew largely on the account written by Sir James Wilson in 1897. He modestly calls his own work "patch-work", but a perusal of such a local account brings us more closely into touch with the bed-rock facts of Indian life than more generalized works.

A. Y. A.

ISLAM AND SCIENCE¹

Renan's address on "L'Islamisme et la Science" is beginning to attract the attention of the Muslim world.

¹ دين الاسلام، والعلوم وهى تعريب الخطبة لمسيو رينان والر
عليها بقلم على يوسف.

Mr. A. Yusuf, author of the *History of Arabic Mathematics and Astronomy* and *Life and Philosophy of Al Ghazzali*, has published at Cairo an Arabic translation of the address, with a refutation of it from a Muslim point of view. Part of the refutation consists in the account of the life and philosophy of Renan, which Mr. Yusuf has prefixed to his translation. He considers it significant that Renan should have found it impossible to reconcile his own ancestral faith with his philosophy. He draws a parallel between Al-Gazzali and Renan. Gazzali, he says, first mastered philosophy and the sciences, but found that they did not satisfy the thirst of his soul, and he eventually found his resting-place in Islam. Renan, on the other hand, found no satisfaction in his ancestral faith, and had to abandon it and find his resting-place in philosophy.

A. Y. A.

PROMOTION OF LEARNING IN INDIA DURING MUHAMMADAN RULE (by MUHAMMADANS). By NARENDRA NATH LAW. With illustrations. Longmans Green, 1916.

“The contributions to learning and culture made by Islam in India,” says Mr. Henry Beveridge, who contributes a Foreword, “are indeed worthy of a special consideration.” It was a task well worth doing, to collect together all the notices bearing on the subject to be found in the historians of Muhammadan India. Mr. Law has carried out this task comprehensively and in the spirit of a scholar. Indeed, he has cast his net widely, and included among his authorities even the pictorial record of a cold weather tour by my late friend Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., whose interest in the people of India covered a much wider ground than their modern political activities.

Mr. Law takes us through the Muhammadan dynasties in chapter after chapter, beginning with the House of Ghozin, and proceeding through the dynasties of the Ghoris, the Slaves, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Saiyyids, and the Lodis, who reigned in Upper India, and the minor Muslim kingdoms of the South and Central India, and of Bengal, Multan, Sindh, Kashmir, and Gujrat. He devotes nearly half his book to the Mughal period, which was to be expected, considering the abundance of authorities for that period and its importance in the making of modern India. The book practically closes with the end of the seventeenth century A.D., though the last Mughal emperor actually mentioned is Shah Alam II (1757-1806). A short chapter is devoted to "Female Education". In this connexion Mr. Law's remark, "though the Indian ladies and princesses did not attain to that degree of literary education as the Muslim ladies in Spain," etc., is open to question. With such names before us as Rezia Begam, Zeb-un-nisa, Mahr-un-nisa, Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Gulbadan Banu, and Sahifa Begam (the lady portrait painter who occupies so honourable a place in the history of Mughal paintings), it would not be difficult to show that the women of Muhammadan India have no cause to fear comparison with contemporary Muhammadan women in other parts of the world. The Muslim women's tradition has descended to our times in the person of Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, who is a brilliant author and an extensive traveller as well as a successful ruler.

The book is enriched with a number of illustrations. There is a long Bibliography, but this would have been more satisfactory if the place and date of publication had been noted in the case of printed books. The Bibliography requires overhauling in another way. Ferishta and Zia-ud-din Barni are among the principal authorities, and yet neither of these names is to be found in the

alphabetical list. Ferishta is under "Briggs", and Barni is under Tārīkh i Firūz Shāhi. There is an excellent Index of Subjects and another of Proper Names, and the Chronology, of dates is useful, especially in the case of the minor kingdoms.

Mr. Law throws doubt on the subject of Akbar's illiteracy. In this respect Mr. Beveridge's opinion is against him, as also that of Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the latest biographer of Akbar, whose book was published after Mr. Law's. But Mr. Law gives good grounds for holding to his opinion, and has further considered the subject in an Addendum. There is much force in the consideration that a Prince whose ancestry and surroundings were as literary as were those of Akbar was hardly likely to be illiterate in the sense that he did not know the alphabet. But in Akbar's case we know the names of his four tutors and the circumstances of their appointment. We know that he knew Hafiz and Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi by heart. In these circumstances, though in his youth he cared more for sport than for book-learning, any argument about the question of illiteracy is merely a question of words.

Mr. Law has laid under contribution almost all the known historical and some epigraphical material; but he has not utilized the internal evidence of literature, which, on a subject like this, is of vital importance. He has not mentioned under Sher Shah even the name of the great poet Malik Muhammad Jāyasi, who enjoyed the patronage of that monarch and practically dedicated the *Padmāvat* to him. Mr. A. G. Little, in his *Studies in English Franciscan History*, lately published, justly complains that students of the Middle Ages confine themselves too much to chronicles and records and do not read enough of the books which educated men of the Middle Ages read or wrote. This remark applies particularly to India. A study of Jāyasi tells us more of the inner life and

thoughts of the people—and certainly of the state of learning—than long arid lists of learned men who flourished in particular Courts. A study of the vernacular literature of the eighteenth century would serve to fill up the scanty material to be found in the professed historical records relating to that period. To do Mr. Law justice, he has made excellent use of B. Dinesh Chandra Sen's monumental History of Bengali Literature, but the method requires more extensive application. Mr. Law is, however, in the position of a pioneer in this subject. I warmly welcome and commend his book as an excellent example of the methods and subjects which literary India will find fruitful in its studies and researches.

A. Y. A.

HINDUISM: THE WORLD IDEAL. By HARENDRANATH MAITRA. Cecil Palmer. 1916.

That Mr. Maitra should present Hinduism as a world ideal is in accord with the spirit of the modern Hindu revival. That he should call it *the* world ideal is an unmistakable sign of the "candid enthusiast", as Mr. Chesterton calls him in his Introduction. As Mr. Chesterton points out, there are three qualities for which Orientalists will read Mr. Maitra's book with a refreshing sense of novelty: (1) his human presentiment of Hinduism, (2) his fearless use of paradox, and (3) his eagerness to defend what might be called the least defensible parts of his case. He sees a deep spirituality underlying the stream of Indian thought, which must be studied not in the abstract but in its practical application to life. Caste in India, he says, has never brought any class division. He defends the exclusion of the Sudras from the study of the Vedas on the ground that "one does not give higher mathematics to children". His chapter on the Hindu woman is a fine statement of the

Hindu ideal. Perhaps one would hardly expect, in an impressionist sketch like Mr. Maitra's, exact references to be appended to quotations, but such spellings as "Sir Thomas *Munroe*" (p. 50) for "Munro" or "the Temple of *Juggernath* at Puri" (p. 86) for "Jagannath" could easily have been avoided. One would like to ask Mr. Maitra from what Census Report he derives the "300 million Hindus" and the 60 million "Mohammedans and others" (p. 74), or from what history he learnt of the "Mogul emperor" who was contemporary with Prithi Raj! (p. 90). Nor would "Mohammedans and Parsees" acknowledge themselves under the description "more or less Hinduised". Mr. Maitra's point is to urge the underlying unity of Indian thought, which is an indisputable fact, but that underlying unity will not be made a fact of daily practical life by such statements as "to know Hinduism is to know India". It is one of the glories of Hinduism that it is all-absorbing. To ignore this aspect is to leave out one of the reasons why Hinduism makes such a fascinating appeal to every true son of India and the Empire.

A. Y. A.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. IX, Part I:
WESTERN HINDI AND PANJABI. Edited by Sir
GEORGE GRIERSON.

This large volume of 800 pages, dealing with the speech of fifty million people, will be to the general public the most interesting volume in the series. Over the greater part of India the average European, in his daily intercourse with Indians, uses some form of Urdū, Hindōstānī, or Hindī. The relation of these dialects to each other and to the whole of which they are a part is discussed here with lucidity. Thus we are shown that, as was first pointed out nearly forty years ago by

Sir Charles Lyall, Urdū is not an artificial form of speech deliberately manufactured out of the languages spoken in the Imperial surroundings at Delhi, but a perfectly natural language developing according to the laws which govern all linguistic growth. The names given by Sir George Grierson to these well-known forms of speech will commend themselves to everyone. The simple Hindōstānī, spoken as a vernacular by over five million people, nearly all of whom are illiterate, is called Vernacular Hindōstānī. The literary variety of it is termed Urdū or Literary Hindī, according as Persian and Arabic words are freely employed on the one hand or generally avoided on the other. The number of speakers is put down as between seven and eight millions, but great difficulty is felt in making an estimate, for many who can speak it are not in the habit of doing so in their homes. It is a mere second language. No attempt has been made to calculate separately the number of speakers of Urdū and of Literary Hindī.

It has been mentioned that Hindōstānī is a natural language. Urdū is similarly a natural development of Hindōstānī and differs from it as Dr. Johnson's polished classical phrases differ from simple English such as that of the Bible, although it must be admitted that the difference is greater in the case of Urdū. Literary Hindī on the other hand is in one sense artificial, yet only in so far as it rejects Persian and Arabic words and employs in their place words of Sanskrit origin. In so doing it reverts in large measure to Vernacular Hindōstānī.

The volume before us is a mine of valuable information put together mostly for the first time. The inter-relationship of the different dialects of Western Hindī, the different forms of the literary language and their development, together with the question of the inner and outer languages, are all set forth plainly. We begin to understand the dangers that beset any language when

pedants interfere with its natural course. This is seen to some extent in Urdū when an effort is made to use too many Persian and Arabic words, but much more in the overloading of Hindī with Sanskrit. Urdū happily is well served by the sturdy common sense of its most famous writers and by the opposition of all European writers to the Perso-Arabic tendency. Hindī unfortunately is largely in the hands of Sanskrit pedants from Benares, and Europeans have unconsciously assisted in the propagation of the disease.

The tribute paid to the sobriety and good sense of the Delhi school of writers is well deserved. I would suggest that it is hardly less deserved by Lucknow prose-writers. The two well-known novelists, Ratan Nāth Sarshār and Abdul Halīm Sharar, mentioned as belonging to Delhi, were both, unless I am greatly mistaken, Lucknow men. Muhammad Husain Āzād is spoken of as still living. Probably he was when the words were penned, but it is some years now since he died.

There is a peculiarly interesting description of the origin of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India, including Hindōstānī and Hindī. We are told in terms of human relationship that the grandfather of these languages is not, as has often been imagined, classical Sanskrit, but another language, a brother of Sanskrit. The sons of this brother language, and nephews of Sanskrit, were the various Prakrits which continued down to nearly 1000 A.D. Our present dialects, which may be said to date from that time, are the grandchildren of the original Indian dialect and grandnephews of Sanskrit. In the last nine hundred years they have changed considerably less than English.

Western Hindī is the purest and most Sanskritic representative of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars, for it is descended from the Apabhramśa dialect corresponding to Śaurasēnī, the most Sanskritic

of all the Prakrits. Sir George Grierson divides it into five dialects—Hindōstānī, including Urdū, literary Hindī, and Dakhinī Hindōstānī, this last spoken in Southern India, especially in the Nizam's dominions; Bāngarū, spoken in the Eastern Panjab; Braj Bhākhā in the West Central Doab; Kanauji in the East Central Doab; Bundēli in Gwalior and Bundelkhand. The salient features and main grammatical forms of these dialects are all described in that inimitable fashion of which Sir George Grierson is a master. They all seem to be alive, and students are enabled to picture them in their relation to each other and to the great languages by which they are surrounded.

Mention should be made of a few minor broken dialects which are found on the outskirts of the larger dialects. Those which adjoin Marāṭhī do not exhibit an intermediate form of speech as do those on the other sides, they are a mere mixture of Marāṭhī and Western Hindī. In general it may be observed in India that when two languages are members of the same family intermediate dialects have a greater tendency to combine features of both, while in cases where the difference is greater they tend to be a mixture with the two clearly separated from each other. Very often if the difference is great enough there is no intermediate form at all, and the two languages remain side by side, spoken by a bilingual people.

In the second part of the volume Panjābī is taken up. This language, which is now generally separated from the closely allied Lahndā, is spoken by nearly thirteen millions of people. Its predominating position among the languages of the Panjab gives it the right to be called *par excellence* Panjābī. Sir George Grierson shows clearly that it is no corrupt form of Urdū or Hindī, but that on the contrary it has an independent history quite as old as its better known and more famous neighbour. Compared with Urdū, Panjābī has received a meagre

literary development. This has been its gain, for the result has been that it has grown more naturally and remained true to its soil. It can, when for purposes of science and literature special words are necessary, borrow with ease from Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdū, and Hindi (its genius enables it to do so), but because its truest growth has been in the homes of the people it is far superior to Urdū as a language of conversation. One's feeling always is that for every one way that Urdū has of expressing a thought Panjābī has three. Among those Europeans who know Panjābī as well as they know Urdū I have never met one who did not prefer Panjābī.

It is shown here that Panjābī was originally an outer language, which in course of time has been overlaid by an inner, the influence of the latter being greater in the east and less in the west. It is divided into two main dialects, Panjābī proper and Dōgrī. Sir George Grierson calls this latter sometimes Dōgrī and sometimes Dōgrā. I should strongly advocate the feminine form for this and also for the language called in the survey Lahndā. A language is generally understood to be feminine, and when an adjective is employed to indicate one, it must be a little offensive to the Indian ear to have it given masculine. In a monograph at present being brought out by the Society (*Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*) I have at Sir George Grierson's instance used the term Lahndā, but personally I should have preferred Lahndī. It is worthy of note, too, that in the last Census Report of the Panjab, written by an Indian, Lahndā has been rejected in favour of Lahndī.

Panjābī proper has been subdivided into Mājhi, which is held to be the purest form of the language, spoken in Lahore, Amritsar, and Gurdaspur; Jullunder Doābī, spoken in Jullunder and Hoshiarpur; Powādhi in Hisar, Ambala, and Patiala; Rāthī in Hisar and Jind; Mālwaī in Ferozepur and Ludhiana; Bhaṭṭiāṇī in Bikaner and

Ferozepur; Panjābī merging into Lahndā, in Gujranwalā, Gujrat, Sialkot, Montgomery, and part of Lahore. Dōgri is divided into two sub-dialects, Dōgri proper and Kāngri. There is a very convenient division of Panjābī into two dialects to which allusion is not made in this volume—Northern or Western Panjābī, and Southern or Eastern Panjābī; the former is spoken in the Lahore and Gurdaspur districts of the Mājhi area, the Jammu portion of the Dōgri area and in all the country marked as speaking Panjābī merging into Lahndā; the latter takes in all the rest except Kāngri, which stands somewhat apart. This division underlies not only the Panjābī teaching of Europeans in the Panjab, but also the translations of the Bible into Panjābī; and when one remembers that the nearer portions of the Lahndā area would all come into Northern Panjābī one sees that the two dialects are almost equal in the extent of country they cover. As regards script Northern Panjābī is generally written in Persian characters and Southern in Gurmukkhī. The Bible Society, however, also publishes the former in Roman letters, and at least one book of the Bible in the Northern dialect has been printed in Gurmukkhī. It has on the whole a Muhammadan feel about it, for the majority of the inhabitants in its area are Muhammadans, while the other, with its headquarters in Amritsar, the home of the Sikhs, is more Hindū. This is best seen in translations of the Bible, which in the one case would have words like *Khudā*, God; *mehrbāni*, kindness; *gunāh*, sin; *gussā*, anger; while the other would have *Parmēshwar*, *dayā*, *pāp*, and *krōdh*.

I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration at the way in which Sir George Grierson seizes and explains the grammatical peculiarities of the different dialects and sub-dialects. I confess to being prejudiced in favour of the dialect called "Panjābī merging into Lahndā", and owing to my fondness for it and conviction of its

superiority over other dialects, I should have been glad had the discussion of it been fuller. It would have been seen that this dialect, having the best points of two forms of speech, is stronger and more flexible than its neighbours, but I cannot claim to be free from bias.

A number of points call for remarks in detail. Of the Mājhi dialect it is stated that cerebral *ḷ* does not occur. This may be correct, but caution is required. Town dwellers all over the Panjab tend to drop this *ḷ*. Many are quite ignorant of its existence, and in a district where it abounds they would prepare text after text without it. We should require to know whether the Mājhi specimens were prepared by residents of towns or of villages. If the former no conclusion can be drawn.

On p. 628 *bhrā* and *ghumā* are said to be pronounced *br'ā* and *gum'ā*. This is an error for which an early work of my own is responsible. It is important to note that in such cases the sonant becomes a surd. The words are pronounced *pr'ā* and *kum'ā*. On p. 651 nasal vowels in Mājhi are referred to ancient original nasals. One wonders whether they are not, as the author suggests elsewhere, a matter of spelling. All the examples adduced occur close to a nasal consonant, and Panjabi everywhere tends to nasalize vowels near such consonants.

An important point arises on p. 652. In the phrase *oh dī hatthī*, *dī* is put down as fem. sing. in wrong agreement with a masc. plur. *Dī* is the regular locative plur. masc. Thus we have *oh dī pairī dīgā*, he fell at his feet: *ohnā dī gharī*, in their houses. In this case *hatthī* is loc. plur. masc. and *dī* agrees with it. In one or two places allusion is made to a present participle in *-nā* instead of *-dā*. This *-nā* form occurs regularly in the 1st and 2nd sing. and 1st plur. both masc. and fem. In fact, in many parts of the Panjab no other form is correct except in negative sentences.

It is perhaps going too far to say that there is no difference of meaning between *giā* and *giādā* or *kītā* and *kītādā*, etc. In vol. ix, pt. iv, p. 380, the difference is correctly stated to be the same as between *rakhā* and *rakhā huā*. It is not great, but it is perceptible. In Panjābī this emphasis on the *state* of a thing is very common; even *hoeā hoeā* is quite usual. I should like to know the authority for *moīdā*, i.e. *moeā hoeā*. The lithographed text might be read in various ways. The printed Tākri text has *moīdā*, but we are not told how it was prepared. Probably it is merely a rewriting of the lithographed text and carries no independent authority. I should expect the word to be *mōēādā* or *mōyādā*, and that is a natural reading from the lithographed version.

As regards this stative participle an interesting explanation is given which I do not remember having heard before; it is that in this as in many other stative participles the preposition of the genitive is added to the past tense (or participle). One would be glad of further information. Is this a certain fact, and if so how does it arise? How is it coordinated with the other undoubted fact that the stative participle has not infrequently another form? Thus in Bhaṭṭālī itself, which is a sub-dialect of Dōgrī, we have two forms, e.g. *peādā*, or *pehā*, fallen, both distinct from *peā*, and so with other verbs. See vol. ix, pt. iv, p. 380.

As regards a phrase on p. 745, *ih bī ākh dītā sā nē*, Sir George Grierson suggests that the *nē* is a pronominal suffix. This is doubtless right. I have no doubt the sentence means "this too they said" (not he said); *nē*, or more correctly *nē*, being the ordinary third plur. suffix in such cases.

It is always valuable to trace certain forms over different districts. Thus the forms *thōnā*, *thuādā*, *ōdhā* given as common in Mālwaī for *tuhānā*, *tuhāḍḍā*, *ohḍā* are not infrequent in Gujrat and Gujranwala. *ohḍā* and

ōhdā are interchangeable because there is no difference in pronunciation. Similarly *t* for *s* is common north of Lahore. One hears *jīt gharī*, at what hour: *et wele*, at this time.

The author gives, without endorsing, a list from Bhai Maya Singh of words in which initial *w* is said to be pronounced as *v* in contradistinction to other words in which it is pronounced *w*. I am very glad that he has not given the weight of his sanction to the theory, for I regard the distinction as imaginary. It is possible that in Panjābī the *v* or *w* in *wī* is not identical with that in *wī*, and that *wē* differs from *wai*, just as, doubtless, in our own English pronunciation the *w* in *we* is not identical with that in *woo*, and that in *wit* slightly different from that in *wet*; this is a mere matter of lip position due to the vowels, but that there are words or syllables in Panjābī to be distinguished from one another by the nature of the *w* in them is in my opinion untenable. In this connexion one point should be noted. There is a kind of contraction in Panjābī by which in certain words an English *w* results from a rapid enunciation of *ūā*. Thus the Urdū word *savārī* becomes first *sūārī* and then in careless speech *swārī* with English *w*. Similarly we get *dwāṇā* from *dūāṇā*, *twārīkhī* from *tūārīkhī* from *tavārīkhī*. This arises only from the running together of the two vowels *ū* and *a*.

On p. 628 we are told that the verb substantive has two forms. One is *je*. It is worth while expanding this statement to show how rich in forms is "Panjābī merging into Lahndā". For Northern Panjābī we may say that the verb substantive has two sets of forms, verbal and pronominal. The verbal set has no fewer than three forms all through the sing. and plur. and four forms in the sing. The pronominal forms are *ā*, *ī*, *ā*, *uī*, *sū*, *s*, *je*, *ne*, *ne*. All these latter have two or more meanings.

Thus *je* may mean "I am", "we are", "he is", "she is", "it is", "they are". Careful rules govern the use of all of them: when they are properly used, as they always are by villagers, they add much to the beauty of conversation.

On the same page reference is made to a matter of great importance, the use in pronunciation of the letter *h*. This may be put thus: *h* is a merely conventional letter used to indicate several different sounds. Under the guise of this innocent looking letter is concealed the astonishing fact that Panjābī, like Chinese, is a tone language. My object in drawing attention to it here is that I am anxious to know whether it may be accepted now as beyond dispute. I think I may claim to have discovered the fact eight or ten years ago. Since then I have mentioned it in one or two works and have demonstrated the pronunciation to teachers of phonetics. So far no objection has been made, and apparently it is accepted as correct. Northern Panjābī and Lahndā have four tones—level, high-falling, low-rising, low-rising plus high-falling. Roughly speaking a little over 75 per cent of the words have the level tone. Not many have the double tone. I discovered many tone words in Shina spoken to the north of Kashmir, and one or two in Kanauri, but there may be more. This, however, is not surprising, for it is a Tibeto-Burman language on the way to Chinese.

In conclusion I must express my personal gratitude and that of other students of language for great enjoyment derived from the perusal of this volume. To say it is worthy of its author is to say it is a masterpiece. Its grasp of detail, its felicity of expression, lit up constantly by touches of native Irish humour, its scientific marshalling of facts, render it a book which it is not only a profit, but a delight, to read.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY. :

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. IX, Part IV: PAHARI AND GUJURI. Edited by Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

It must be an intense satisfaction to the distinguished editor and author of this series to see it coming to an end. Of the seventeen parts which will compose it thirteen have now appeared, three more are probably already in proof, and the introductory volume which is to sum up the results may be in MS., so that the end is well in sight. This volume deals with the Aryan languages spoken in the Himalayas from Darjiling to the borders of Kashmir; it runs to nearly 1,000 pages.

The word *pahārī* means hilly. It is by common consent applied to the languages just mentioned, spoken as they are in the hills. Although the name expresses a geographical relationship and might have been applied to widely different families of languages, it is remarkable that, as a fact, dialects called *Pahārī* are closely related to one another. To show this connexion it is necessary to go into the history of the *Khaśas* and *Gurjaras*. This the author does at the beginning of the volume. It is a deeply interesting story. The *Khaśas* came to India from Central Asia long before the Christian era and spread themselves widely over the country. The *Gurjaras* or *Gūjars* followed in the sixth century A.D. and assumed an importance comparable to, if not so great as, that of their predecessors. The linguistic results, alluded to throughout the book, are observable over the whole of the country where *Pahārī* languages are spoken, so far as the *Khaśas* are concerned, while traces of *Gujurī* are found chiefly in Central and Western *Pahārī* and in the closely allied *Rājasthānī* languages (vol. ix, pt. ii). The *Khaśas* were brothers of the *Pisācha* tribes of North-Western India, and the resemblance of the languages is still observable in the vernaculars of to-day.

In India it is often extremely difficult to say what a language is. In the best known parts of Europe we are

accustomed to definite languages confined for the most part within well-marked boundaries, subject to a single ruling power, languages with a linguistic history behind them and a prolific printing press illustrating them to-day. Anything which does not conform to the standard set is put down as dialectical or provincial. In India all is different. Of the seven or eight score of recognized languages hardly one score have any literature worthy of the name, and even when there is a literature, as for example in Panjābī, the language is generally decided by the illiterate speakers and not by literate bookmen. Hence, what is called a language is merely a group of dialects, each one of which might be given the pre-eminence and called the standard.

The Pahārī languages are divided into three groups, Eastern, Central, and Western. The Eastern consists for the purposes of the survey which does not go outside India proper, of one language commonly known as Naipālī, the language of our brave Gurkha troops. In India no dialects of this are recorded, but doubtless several exist in Nepal. Central Pahārī is spoken in Garhwal, both native and British, and in the tract of country known as Kumaun, which contains the hill stations of Naini Tal, Almora, Ranikhet, and Lansdowne. It comprises two languages, Kumaunī and Garhwālī, and is divided into a number of dialects which do not differ much from one another. The total number of speakers is about 1,100,000.

Western Pahārī cannot easily be divided into languages. It is a series of groups of dialects shading off into one another. Sir George Grierson gives six large groups or nine smaller groups. The number of distinct dialects it is hardly possible to state, but there must be not less than forty. The area of country covered includes Jaunsar in the United Provinces, Nāhan or Sirmaur, Simla, Kot Garh, Bashahr, Kulu, Mandi, Suket, part of Kangra,

Dharmasala, Chamba, Dalhousie, and finally part of Kashmir, or as it is more correctly called in India, Jammu, the name Kashmir being reserved for the more northern portion of the state. The speakers of Western Pahārī number over 800,000.

To Naipālī eighty-three pages are given. It need not detain us, as it is a clearly marked language which has been fairly well known for thirty years. Central Pahārī is described in 270 pages and most of what is said is new. Kumaunī, in its standard form, is a language with some literature, for several Indian gentlemen residing in Almora have patriotically endeavoured to prevent their native tongue from falling a victim to the better known Hindī to the west and south. Between a dozen and twenty works have been produced. It is unfortunate that the use of Nāgarī characters with their inadaptability to new sounds tends to keep Kumaunī in the leading strings of Hindī. This tendency is increased by the knowledge of Hindī possessed by all those who write in Kumaunī. It is difficult for them to keep from approximating their speech to its more powerful neighbour.

A number of the specimens sent to Sir George Grierson show a cerebral *l*. I have not had an opportunity of personally studying all the dialects of Kumaunī and Garhwālī, but I have studied with considerable care the Salānī dialect of Garhwālī, the Pālī Patshāī dialect of Kumaunī, and Dōṭṭālī, spoken in Nepal just on the Kumaun border. These three dialects from three different districts—British India, Native India, and Nepal—all in the Central Pahārī area, may be considered to give us a good idea of pronunciation. They show three varieties of *l*, but not one of them is cerebral. Two varieties are found in all three—a liquid *l* and an ordinary *l* very similar to English *l* in “feeling”. The liquid *l* is pronounced far forward, with the tip and adjacent sides

of the tongue against the front teeth. It is commonest with *-i* following. Thus in Pāli Patshāī I noted *mōl* (liquid *l*), price; *mōl* or *mōḷ* (ordinary *l*), manure. The ordinary *l* constantly gives place to a kind of *ũ* or *w*, but I found no case of the liquid *l*'s doing so. This latter *l* is found often in Ireland and in Arabic. In Garhwāli a third *l* is found, that called in phonetics dark *l*. It is common in Polish and Russian, and is found in English at the end of a word (or at the end followed by a consonant) after a vowel. It is common also in uneducated Scotch. The dark *l*'s in these various languages differ from one another, but they all have the quality of darkness. I cannot help suspecting that this is the *l* which the specimens have marked as cerebral. In reality there is no likeness between a cerebral *l* and a dark *l*.

Sir George Grierson alludes to several points of pronunciation which remind one of the Piśācha languages. One is the use of *ts*, *tsh*, *dz*, *dzh* for *ch*, *chh*, *j*, and *jh*. This is very common in Central Pahāri; in Pāli Patshāī it is the rule, *ts*, *tsh*, *dz*, *dzh* being much commoner than the others. Another is the disaspiration of sonants. It is hard to frame a rule for this. I noticed that in Garhwāli (Salāni) and in Dōṭāli the letter *h* never occurred at all unless when a vowel followed; on the other hand Pāli Patshāī pronounced it very strongly and kept it (except for accidental omissions) wherever Hindi has it. Garhwāli occasionally has sonant *h*.

It may be well to indicate here some peculiarities of pronunciation which do not appear from the specimens. They may have connexions with the old Khaśa and Piśācha speech. The most interesting phonetically of the dialects is Garhwāli. The word is really *Gad-whal*, in which the *wh* is merely an unvoiced *w*, the presence of both a voiced and an unvoiced *w* is noteworthy. The three *l*'s have been alluded to above. *r* is often unvoiced when coming at the end of a word or at the end except

for a very short vowel. Cerebral *r* when followed by cerebral *n* is reduced to a mere voice murmur; on the other hand when *n* is preceded by *r* (not *r̥*) it always becomes *n*. A remarkable case of this occurs when first the *n* is changed to *n̄*, and then the *r* is omitted altogether, the *n* still remaining non-cerebral. Thus we have the word *kar-n̄ā*, which becomes *kar-n̄ā*. But this *r* is generally omitted, and the final form of the infinitive is not *kān̄ā*, as we might have expected and as it would have been had the root been simply *kā*; it is *kānā* with non-cerebral *n*.

In Hindī we have ordinarily *ā* long and short *ă*, but Garhwālī has the vowel *ă* both short and long, differing of course from *ā* in either case. The most striking vowel in Garhwālī is guttural *ā* or *a*. This has a resemblance to the Panjābī deep-toned *a*, but is not the same. The Panjābī deep tone can be pronounced with any vowel and even without a vowel. The Garhwālī guttural can be given only to *a*, which is modified from the ordinary Hindī *ā* towards the French *a* in *patte* or *part*. If we compare Garhwālī *kāyā* with Panjābī deep-toned *kāyā* we shall observe four differences. The Garhwālī word retains the same pitch throughout, it has constriction of the throat muscles, the tongue is much flattened, the corners of the mouth are far apart. The Panjābī word, while beginning on the same pitch as the other, raises it in the latter part of the word; there is no throat constriction, the tongue is less flattened, and the corners of the mouth are closer together. The following Garhwālī words illustrate the guttural *a*: the first *a*, but not the second, in *gāū* or *gāyā*, went; *chāā* or *chāyā*, was; *pāā* or *pāyā*, was obtained; *bwālā*, was said; the *a* in *ākālu*, ascent; *undār*, descent; *myāru* or *myār*, mine.

A notable feature of Pālī Patshāf is the substitution of *kḷkḷ* for *kḥ* and *kḥ*, both of which sounds are very difficult for speakers of that dialect. Thus we have *kḷhānā*, eat,

for *khānū* ; *kkhashī*, cough, for *khāsī* ; *kkhālī*, empty, for *khālī* ; *kkharts*, expense, for *kharc*.

Another feature is the alteration of cerebral *t* and *d* before the vowels *e* and *i* or *ī*. The *t* and *d* followed by *e*, *i*, and *ī* are pronounced further forward than when followed by other vowels. A final surd is sometimes aspirated as in Kāshmirī.

Pālī Patshāī, like Garhwālī, changes *ṇ* to *n* after *r*. The letters *t* and *d*, however, remain unchanged. A confusion between *s* and *sh* is characteristic of most of these dialects. Probably this fact would be more correctly expressed by saying that the normal sibilant is neither *s* nor *sh*, but a letter between them, and that the confusion results from attempts to make them like Hindī *s* and *sh*. All the dialects show indifference to the exact sound of short vowels, but this indifference is not carried so far as in English. Pālī Patshāī is fond of pronouncing a final short *i* very high. This is heard when voiced as a semi-consonantal buzz, written phonetically *J* and when surd as a faint German *ich*.

Special attention should be paid to the fact that the so-called bilabial *v* of India is not heard in Central Pahārī. So far as my own investigations go not only is the sound not found, it cannot even be pronounced. Thus if one asks a Pahārī to say *wawwā* as in Hindī, he will say *babbā*. The Hindī letter seems to him closer to *b* than to English *w*. His own normal sound is English *w*. It would be very interesting to ascertain from the observations of those who are phonetically trained how far the English *w* extends in India to the exclusion of the usual letter. There is no doubt that in the Southern and Eastern Hindī districts, whether Eastern Hindī or Western Hindī, the sound approximated somewhat more to the English letter than it does further north and west. In Central Pahārī it has completely gone over into the English sound.

I have said above "so-called" bilabial *v*. Hitherto all writers on the subject, including myself, have described the Indian *w* or *v* as being bilabial, made by the two lips brought close together and sending out the air with a slight buzz or sound of friction. It is said to be the voiced equivalent of the sound made in blowing out a candle. Recent investigation has convinced me that this is incorrect. It is not a bilabial at all. It is a very lightly pronounced *v*. The lower lip at some point or other, either at the top of the lip where it can be seen by an observer, or lower down towards the lower gums, gently touches the upper teeth. The upper lip is not used. The only point I feel doubtful about is whether the method of making the sound is the same everywhere in India.

The largest section of the book, over 500 pages, is devoted to the Western Pahārī dialects, which are described as a kind of mixture of the old Khaṣā-Gurjara language with Rājasthānī. As we follow the grammatical forms and verbal development towards the border of Kashmir we have a wonderful linguistic panorama spread out before us to which the author's knowledge and acumen do justice. He is one of whom it cannot be said that he fails to see the wood for the trees. However thick the growth of trees his eagle eye traces out unhesitatingly the form of the wood, and, to change the metaphor, his ready pen enables others to realize it. Taking Kiūṭhālī and Kuḷūī as the typical Western Pahārī languages he gives a very interesting account of the phonological changes in which Piśācha influence is strongly marked. This is followed by a general sketch of the grammar and then the dialects are examined seriatim, the important facts being always set clearly before us.

The fourth and last section is a short one of sixty-seven pages dealing with Gujārī, the language of the

nomadic herdsmen so well known in the Northern Himalayas. Many of them, as we are told, have lost their language, and speak ordinary Panjābī; many, however, especially those who cling to their nomadic habits, have clung also to their ancient speech and are more or less bilingual, speaking with considerable fluency some other language. Some, indeed, are trilingual, for the people among whom they spend their winters speak one language, and those whom they meet in summer speak another.

Thus we come regretfully to the end of this volume, which is rich with much knowledge and replete with many facts: we have had the guidance of a master. Gratitude has been said to be a sense of favours to come, and perhaps our gratitude is keenest when we think of the four volumes that remain to complete this work and look forward to the feast that remains to be enjoyed. Certainly those of us whose lot has been cast in North India are to be congratulated on the fact that the Government of India decided upon a linguistic survey of all North India and that they gave it into the hands of Sir George Grierson.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

CASTES IN INDIA. By BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR. *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1917.

Mr. Ambedkar's paper was prepared for reading before an Anthropological Seminar in the Columbia University and appears to be intended for the general reader, or for students who have no special familiarity with the history of Indian caste or its phenomena in modern life. A simple and satisfying theory is set forth by a few assumptions, which no doubt passed unchallenged at the meeting. In the first place it is claimed that Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians, and Scythians, entering the

country with tribal organization, fought, made peace, and amalgamated. A common culture was evolved, and in spite of ethnic differences India is said to be the most homogeneous country in the world in regard to unity of culture. Caste arose fortuitously after unity had been arrived at. As in all other communities, so in Hindu society, there existed classes. Certain customs were evolved, including *sati*, the prohibition on widow re-marriage, and the enforcement of child marriage. It was in order to ensure the observance of these customs that the priestly class evolved a strict endogamous practice and thus formed the first or Brahman caste. Imitating the Brahmins, the rest of Hindu society gradually formed endogamous groups, based on social classes. Endogamy is the most salient feature of caste, and was a principle foreign to Hindu culture. Mr. Ambedkar will admit no solution of the problem based on colour prejudice, for when caste became an institution Hindu society had already been made homogeneous by its unique culture. Though he does not specifically discuss the question, he would apparently not admit that the four-fold division into classes had any basis at all in difference of race. As he expressly denies Mr. Nesfield's theory of the functional origin of caste, it is difficult to ascertain what explanation he can put forward of the differentiation into classes which undoubtedly existed. He might perhaps with advantage also have explained how the same word connoted colour as well as caste, if physical differences were not concerned.

While Mr. Ambedkar's theory is thus superficial, in spite of his appeal to psychological dicta of numerous Western writers, his further analysis of the customs already mentioned is entirely fanciful. To preserve a rule of endogamy it is necessary that the sexes should be approximately in a numerical equality, or one sex will be obliged to obtain partners outside. Equality is

however, constantly being disturbed by death, and rules are needed. Thus *sati* was first invented to prevent widows from marrying outside the caste, and an absolute prohibition on widow re-marriage followed, as *sati* was repugnant to humanity. The widower presents greater difficulties. He refuses to be burnt, and it is hard for man to live alone. To meet his case the custom of child marriage was invented, and according to Mr. Ambedkar this solves the question of the surplus man, though an arithmetician may be puzzled to see how parity of numbers between the sexes is secured by burning widows, but allowing widowers to marry maidens.

Of hypergamy and the consequences which flow from it Mr. Ambedkar says nothing. While he quotes the leading theorists (possibly at second-hand from Sir Herbert Risley), he makes no precise references to original sources in either the ancient texts or in the modern descriptions of caste practices at the present day. It is not by mere speculation that the problems of caste are to be solved. Perhaps the most urgent problem at present is to ascertain, if possible, at what period caste began to become rigid. In such an enquiry an examination of the usages regarding the mention of caste in the inscriptions will be useful, and this may be recommended to some of the young Indian students anxious to throw light on the history of Hindu institutions.

R. B.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL. By M. E. MONCKTON JONES. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 12s. 6d. net.

To the perspicacity of the editors of the Oxford Historical and Literary Studies and the enterprise of the Clarendon Press we already owe *Keigwin's Rebellion*—that brilliant account by Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Strachey of events in Western India during the reigns of Charles II

and his brother. In the same series there has now appeared an equally valuable study by Miss Monckton Jones of the reforms introduced into the administration of Bengal by Warren Hastings before the Regulating Act provided him with assistants who made it their chief business to thwart all his plans. The general character of these changes was already known; but nowhere was a detailed account available, for the biographers of Hastings have hurried over a subject little likely to interest their readers and have concentrated attention upon the later period of the great Governor-General's administration, when the long contest with Philip Francis lends piquancy to the narrative. Miss Monckton Jones, however, with a self-denial and courage for which she deserves warm praise, has chosen to tackle the duller, yet equally important, years in which Hastings, having practically a free hand, carried through those reforms which his experience suggested to him as needful, and thereby laid the foundation of the British administration of India.

The author is to be congratulated upon the success with which she has carried through this rather formidable undertaking. The subject is one bristling with technicalities and bound to prove hard reading even to the most eager student; but having thoroughly mastered it herself, and being gifted with a clear and easy style of writing, she is able to guide us unerringly through the labyrinth and make us understand the exact nature of those measures by which Hastings redeemed the administration from the disgraceful state in which he found it, and placed it on a workable and reasonably efficient basis.

A valuable feature of the work is the abundance of original documents included. These occupy more than half the volume, and most of them are printed for the first time. Other points worthy of special notice are the combined index and glossary, containing also brief

biographies of individuals; the map of Bengal (by Rennell), admirably reproduced; and the two fresh portraits of Hastings, from paintings in private possession. The earlier of these resembles closely the likeness by Tilly Kettle, now in the National Portrait Gallery; the later is evidently the work of Lemuel Abbott. Hastings himself seems to have considered this the best of all his portraits, for he had several replicas painted for presentation to his friends.

W. F.

MULTANI STORIES. Collected and translated by F. W. SKEMP, M.A., I.C.S. Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1917. Price Rs. 2 or 3s.

At first sight the purpose of authority in producing this work might appear to be to repel the seeker after knowledge. It is printed in type that is tired on paper which already shows signs of decomposition, and the compositor appears to have been weary of his task, for the lines are often set crooked and the spacing is capricious. The punctuation is based on no definite principle and capitals are arbitrarily employed, e.g. Ahmad Khān Durrāni (with two *r*'s, not one, as printed) was not entitled 'King of Kābul', nor did he create a 'Governorship of Multān'.

Produced with the technical efficiency which we have the right to expect from the Press of an important Indian Province, Mr. Skemp's work would be attractive. He has judiciously placed it in commission and obtained useful aid from various coadjutors. The result is an addition to our knowledge of the unwritten literature in the dialect of Multān, as spoken in the South-West Panjāb, and of the folk-memories of that part. The Multānī songs are as terse as Panjābī verses usually are, and as full of stock illusions, e.g. on p. 74 we find the line: *Bhairī amrī jōr*

piḷāeum dard lakhā dīā ghutṭiā, which is translated : "O cursed Mother, thou hast made me drink deep at my birth of the potion of endless pain," but for which we suggest : "O accursed Nurse, thou hast given me the caudle of infinite sorrow." The *ghutṭi* or caudle is not given by the mother, but by the midwife or a kinswoman. On p. 76, *rāzī truckī* (from *turkī*) suggests all the airs and graces of Arab and Turkish femininity. Probably there is a song for every letter of the alphabet, though only Dāl and Qāf are here given.

The prose tales illustrate the attitude of India towards authority. Bahāwal Khān, the name of more than one Nawāb of Bahāwalpur, has already become almost a general expression for the Nawabs in particular or autocrats in general. But the popular conscience was a little shocked by his levity in putting to death three distinguished *wazīrs* who had been denounced in mere gossip. The tale (No. 1) of Ahmad Khān no doubt is founded on fact, and an account of his revolt against Nawāb Muhammad Bahāwal Khān IV (1858-66) will be found in the *Bahawalpur Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 81. But the other two *wazīrs* do not appear to be mentioned in that work, and as Bahāwal Khān III (1825-52) was surnamed the 'Generous' we may conjecture that Nos. 2, 3, etc., appertain to him. Indeed, it would almost be justifiable to translate 'The Bahāwal Khān', implying no particular Nawāb but 'the ruler of Bahāwalpur' for the time being.

Again, the inconsistencies—to Western minds—of the Oriental criminal are well brought out in the tale of Khota, who was warned by his conscience that it would not be right to take advantage of a lady's helplessness, though he burgled her husband's house without remorse. The wiles of the money-lender and the village notary (*paṭwārī*), and the nervousness of officialdom generally are topics for some naïvely humorous tales, e.g. Nos. 28-30.

Some tales are plainly fragments, such as No. 25, which is probably an excerpt from *Hīr and Rānjha*. Others are mystical, such as No. 18, "Learning Love," in which the *faqīr*, who by reciting the creed could attract the fish (not 'monsters') from the river must be Khwāja Khizr, though the imposition of so severe a test by him in (divine) love is new to us. But the stories contain other new things too. Thus the 'twelve tribes of Pathāns' is new, and may be appealed to by advocates of a Jewish origin for an Iranian people. But 'twelve tribes' probably means here 'the leading families' invited to a wedding feast (Story No. 10).

H. A. R.

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA, N.S., No. 1409: Bardic and Historical Survey of Rājputāna; Sec. i, Prose Chronicles, Pt. i: Jodhpur State. No. 1411: *Vacanikā Rāṭhōra Ratana Singhajī rī Mahesadāsota rī Khiriyā Jagā rī Kahī*, Pt. i: *Ḍiṅgaḷa* Text. By Dr. L. P. TESSITORI.

The scheme for this important survey was put forward in 1914 by Dr. Tessitori. Nine years and a sum of Rs. 2,400 had been wasted on the compilation of a Preliminary Report and foolscap copies, "absolutely worthless for any philological purpose," before that year,¹ but Dr. Tessitori's scheme was the first genuine step taken towards the Survey. It has already elicited much of interest.

The bards of Rājputāna used two distinct languages, called *Ḍiṅgaḷa* and *Piṅgaḷa*. The former was the local *bhāṣā* of Rājputāna, the latter the Braj *bhāṣā*, more or less contaminated by the former. *Ḍiṅgaḷa*, again, had two periods, the Old Western Rājasthānī and the later, included in the modern Mārwarī period. The history of these languages is as yet a little obscure, but manuscripts will throw much light on it when they have been studied.

¹ JASB. N.S., vol. x, No. 10, 1914, issued May, 1915.

The manuscripts surviving are of considerable interest. They owe their existence to the two great 'castes' or schools or guilds of Rajput *literateurs*, the Chāraṇas and Bhāṭas, and their inferiors, the Sevagas and Pancolis. The first-named still enjoy a number of villages as *sāsanas*, have a command of both Dīṅgaḷa and Piṅgaḷa, and some knowledge of Sanskrit. The Bhāṭas are less erudite and correspondingly less well beneficed, although, like the Chāraṇas, they claimed Brahmanic blood. But natural descent may not have been claimed originally, since we learn that the Sūrāṇās, a *gotra* of the Mahājanas, descend from the Sākhala branch of the Pāvāra Rājputs, its eponym having been converted to Jainism, and so, we may conjecture, induced to abandon the profession of arms for one less rude but more profitable. By a curious coincidence the *kuladevī* of the *gotra*, Susāṇī, was the daughter of a *bāniā* of Nāgaur (Nāgora). But if the Sūrāṇās changed their status, the Chāraṇas did not entirely lose theirs, for we hear of them serving as soldiers and dying gallantly in action.

The feudal system of Rājputāna was not devoid of chivalry in the Western sense, though it did not recognize women's rights very generously. It imposed on them duties, especially the duty of self-sacrifice, as is evidenced by the story of the Mohila inaid, which is confused with that of Kodamadesara, in Bikāner. Historical accuracy is of little importance, provided the essential lessons are taught. Feudalism was a form of organized national service, and its ideals imposed equal burdens on both sexes, though the obligations differed in kind. If champions immolated themselves it was also the duty of a wife or a mother to become *sati* with her dead husband or son, and the names of *satis* were recorded. Even so, it was one's duty to have all family records kept and to study them; a proof that the historic sense was at least nascent in mediaeval Rājputāna.

Dr. Tessitori's forthcoming reports will throw much light, not only on Rājputāna, but on the history of Garhwāl, Bundelkhand, and other tracts. It is to be hoped that fuller manuscript 'histories' of Gogo (Guga) Chauhān, son of Jevara Cahavāṇa will be discovered.

H. A. R.

ASIATIC PAPERS, Part II. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., C.I.E. *The Times* Press, Bombay, 1917.

This is a compact volume of 379 pages, including a good index, devoted to papers read by the author before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It deals largely, but not exclusively, with topics connected with the Parsees and Zoroastrianism. Detailed criticism of the papers would set a bad precedent, and it will suffice to indicate the most important ones. They are, *The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia*, *Ancient Pātaliputra*, *Dr. D. B. Spooner's Recent Excavations at its site and the Question of the Influence of Ancient Persia upon India*, *Materials for a history of Bactria from Iranian sources*, *India in the Avesta*, *Comets in the Muhammadan historians and the Pishin-gan books*, and minor topics. The book is well printed.

INDIA UNDER EXPERIMENT. By GEORGE M. CHESNEY. London: John Murray, 1918. Price 5s.

This book is frankly political. The writer seeks to forecast, so far as possible, the far-reaching changes in the system of government in India contemplated by the Imperial authorities. No one, however favourable to change, could fail to profit by hearing the case for caution.

H. A. R.

CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS IN THE SMITH COLLEGE LIBRARY.

By ELIHU GRANT, Professor of Haverford College.
Biblical and Kindred Studies, No. 1. 27 pp., 9 x 6.
Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1918.

This booklet contains reproductions of seventeen tablets of the time of the Dynasty of Babylon, acquired by Dr. E. J. Banks when in Babylonia. According to the indications of the dealers from whom he purchased them, they came from Tell Habil Ibrahim, Abu Hatab, Abu Khameez, and Abu Nekhla. As, however, the sellers always wish to hide the places from which they obtain their finds, these indications are not beyond suspicion.

The reigns represented are Hammu-rabi, Rîm-Sin, Samsu-iluna, Abi-êšû, and Ammi-îitana.

No. 252 is described as "the legal settlement of the status of a boy whose education had been paid for by his grandfather", but the text is not published here.

No. 253 gives a list of obligations in grain and silver to various creditors.

But one of the most interesting is that numbered 264, dated in the reign of Abi-êšû (about 2042 B.C.). This is an agreement between the owner of a field and a farmer to "work the ground" on shares for one year. The peculiarity of this contract is, that the owner appears first as the landlord, and afterwards jointly with the farmer as lessee from himself. The following is the wording:—

Êqil mala bašû êqil šamaššamme û šeim êqil Hadi-wamer-Šamašitti Hadi-wemer-Šamaš bêl êqli Rammānu-šarri-ili û Hadi-wamer-Šamaš ana tappūtīm ana šattiīm išten iptalā.

"A field, as much as there is, a field of sesame and grain, the field of Hadi-wamer-Šamaš, Rammānu-šarri-il- and Hadi-wamer-Šamaš have hired from Hadi-wameri Šamaš, the lord of the field."

Two parts (*sittin*) were assigned to the farmer, and one (*ištiwat*) to Hadi-wamer-Šamaš.

Naturally, with texts such as these, the colophon-dates are an important feature on account of their historical value. Sixteen are given by these inscriptions, most of them belonging to the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Hammu-rabi (who is identified with the Amraphel of the 14th chapter of Genesis). Of this king there are nine dates altogether, the other inscriptions being two apparently of the time of Warad-Sin, king of Larsa (the tablets mention a city bearing his name), one dated in the accession year of Rīm-Sin, his brother and successor, one dated in the seventh year after Rīm-Sin captured Isina, one dated in the twenty-eighth year of Abi-ēšu', son of Samsu-iluna, one dated in the year Ammi-ṭitana destroyed the fortification of Šira or Širma¹ which had been built by Damki-ilišu, the third king of the Uru-azag or Šeš-ku (? Sheshek, Babylonian) contemporary dynasty, and a date which I am unable to identify, but which apparently refers to the erection of a fortress on the bank of the Nahr-Malka. Of the numerous dates belonging to the reign of Samsu-iluna, it is noteworthy that one form of that of his first year speaks of him as being king "by the true (faithful, unfailing) command of Merodach", equivalent to the English "by the grace of God". Nos. 261 and 263 have variants of Samsu-iluna's twenty-eighth date, which show that these and Poebel's "uncertain" date *a* in the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*,

¹ In all the copies, especially that of Ranke in the first part of vol. vi of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, the character resembles *šir* rather than *dur*. The variant of the city-name, *Šir-a*, implies that the true reading is *Širwa*. Can this be *Umma* (according to the received reading)? My latest collation of the syllabary giving the pronunciation of *Giš-uh* (generally read *Umma*), indicated the reading *Širma* or *Širwa*. See *The Babylonian Tablets*, of the Berens Collection (Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. xvi), pp. vii-viii.

vol. vi, part 2, p. 79, should read as follows: "Year (and 'year after') Samsu-iluna, the king, by the ordinance of Enlila (destroyed?) Yadi-abum and Muti-[hursag?]."

The copies seem to be well drawn, and are also well printed. It is a pity, however, that the author has not given complete translations in every case. One would have liked, also, to have his renderings and notes upon some of the dates.

T. G. PINCHES.

